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NEW SERIES



THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1802.



L O N D O N :

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE present Volume of the Annual Register comprises a period when Europe was at peace, or rather when military operations were intermitted; for that can hardly be called a state of peace, in which an active and usurping power is busily employed, in undisguised efforts to extend dominion, and, under the semblance of influence, to acquire despotic controul over all other countries. The transactions of this period proved the wisdom of those, who, at the beginning of the French revolution, predicted, that it must terminate in a rigid military despotism; and that a people so enslaved, would be very capable of carrying slavery into all parts of the world.

Our narrative of passing events has been constructed with a particular view to the exposition of this most important truth, and therefore, the circumstances attending the assumption of the sovereignty of Italy by Bonaparte; his acquisition of extended power in France; the perfidious manner in which the indemnities in Germany were arranged; and the undisguised attempt to re-establish slavery in St. Domingo, have been related with minute exactness.



In our Domestic History, the most prominent point is, the Debates on the Peace of Amiens. In detailing these we have been unusually copious, considering the sentiments of every statesman on this great topic, an interesting and valuable record, and one which, not only those who personally participate in the reputation of the speakers, but all posterity will regard with the sentiments due to discussions on a subject so momentous, and, under all circumstances, so new. It is not, however, intended, in future, to afford such large details, but to resume our old and approved mode of compressing the general merits of every important debate.

As the plan of publishing a Volume of the Old Series of the Annual Register, with one of the New Series has been adhered to on the present occasion, no apology is offered here for any apparent delay in the publication of this Volume. Every effort will be exerted to keep pace with our repeated promises, and with the just expectations of the public; but those promises would be ill performed, and those expectations miserably disappointed, if, in order to gain a reputation for dispatch, the Editors were to send into the world crude, undigested, and incorrect narratives, which cannot be perused with satisfaction, nor quoted with confidence.



THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1802.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.



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CHAP. I.

*Effect of the Peace in England. A Party dissatisfied. Various parties contented for different Reasons. From preference of the Cause of France. From Conviction of the Difficulty of Proceeding in the War. The Nation in general satisfied. The National Spirit unbroken. The Attachment to French Principles likely to abate in Peace. The Party which disapproved of the Peace highly respectable. Secret Treaties and Intrigues of France. Inquiry whether the separation of Great Britain from all Connexion with the Continent, could be occasioned by the Peace, or prevented, by continuing the War. Holland, Spain, Italy, the northern Powers. Turkey, its distracted condition. Massacre of some of the Beys in Egypt. Indignation of General Hutchinson. Treaty between France and the Porte—between France and Russia—and between France and Portugal. Their beneficial effects to France. Statement made by that Government of the improved condition of the Country—on Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, Turkey, and England. The people of France rejoiced at the Peace. Public celebration fixed for the Ninth of November.*

IN concluding the history of the preceding year, the last subject noticed, was the preliminary articles of peace concluded between Great Britain and the French republic. The extravagant joy demonstrated by the people on this occasion, and the apparent prostration of the national character in the reception of General Lauriston, were regarded by some, who had ever shewn the most ardent zeal for the honour of their country, with undisguised concern



concern and indignation, but the general satisfaction was too loud and too violent for their reasonings to make, at the time, any sensible impression.

Perhaps no peace was ever made, in which so many parties rejoiced for reasons so widely different. They who had always opposed the war with France, although they did not unite with the ministry, professed an early and decided approbation of the preliminary treaty. The reason assigned for their satisfaction was, that as England had entered into the war without any just cause, it was fit, that on its termination she should be foiled and disgraced; and that the treaty ought in justice to be honourable and advantageous to France, because that country had been during the whole war, injured and insulted.

The friends of the late administration, who had supported the war from its commencement, and who now declared their satisfaction at its termination, were rather driven by necessity than invited by their judgment to that opinion. In the progress of the singular and eventful contest, which was just closed, they had been continually assailed with demands and propositions the most artful and perplexing. While the public jealousy was excited by repeated declarations, that the war was begun for no other purpose than that of restoring the family of Bourbon to the throne of France, ministers were perpetually required to define the objects for which they were at war. The answer to such questions could not, in such a contest, ever be satisfactory, because the singular character assumed by the French nation

at all periods of the revolution, presented danger in so many shapes, that the measures which would have appeared to afford security at one time, would have been most ineffectual barriers at another. At all periods too, the party in opposition had been violent in clamouring for peace. During what the French term the reign of terror, when all was anarchy and blood, and when the principles openly professed were destructive of the independence of every nation in Europe, the English ministry were required to desert the general cause, and make peace. When by the successes of the allies some reasonable hopes were entertained, that whatever might be the form of government she ultimately adopted, France might be prevented from accomplishing those injuries she avowedly meditated against all the governments of Europe, the British ministers were urged to frustrate these salutary hopes by making peace. When the possessions of the allies of England were torn from them, when new governments were established by art and by force in their dominions, and neither peace nor neutrality could afford protection against the revolutionary manœuvres of France, rendered confident by success, and audacious by finding, that the evil which was done was always excused, or even defended; then too Great Britain was required to remove the only effectual obstacle to the general diffusion of French principles and power, by soliciting peace. When the desertion of some allies, reduced the powers who remained firm to unexpected distress, the English ministry were incited to augment the difficulty by a similar breach of faith, and when-



whenever they had concluded a treaty with any of the European powers, and measures had been taken for giving it the most vigorous effect, the cry for peace was ever most strenuously renewed and most urgently repeated. In the debates too on these subjects, and indeed, on all connected with the war, the French revolutionary governors found their atrocities palliated either by direct assertion or by comparison; every new government was recommended as worthy of confidence, because it had not, in its outset, furnished decisive evidence of bad faith; when some time had established its sway, it was pronounced as permanent as any other government in Europe, and when notorious instances of its injustice were alleged, they were partially vindicated by allusions to the ancient government of France, and by still more offensive declamations against the conduct of those powers with whom the British government was in alliance.

The ministers generally answered these arguments in favour of a premature and dishonourable peace with triumphant force, but the ill success which attended the operations of the allies, and at last drove them all to the necessity of accepting terms dictated by France, gave perpetual resources to those who were desirous to repeat and enforce arguments which had been previously refuted, and to draw from events those conclusions which they had failed to establish by reasoning. In these circumstances, men who had never varied in opinion respecting the justice of the British cause in the beginning, or the propriety of persevering at any period of the contest, now rejoiced

in, and were prepared to applaud a peace, which gave repose from a dispute which there remained no hopes of terminating advantageously by means of conquest, and which in its further duration, would only have protracted, without commensurate advantage, the misery of a large portion of mankind.

On the side of those who thus approved the peace, was not only the thoughtless rabble, who in the hurry of exultation had disgraced the British name, by giving a sort of civic triumph to the envoy of the enemy, but the great body of the nation. The glories of the British arms, afforded frequent grounds of joy and pride, but of late, all the advantages gained in war did not appear to forward any of the principal causes, for which it had been undertaken. The power of France had not in fact been diminished, but greatly augmented, nor did it seem possible, that the force of England should effectually shake it. The diffusion of such revolutionary principles, as could be dangerous to the British establishment, was no longer apprehended, since in France, the suppression of every thing like freedom in speech, in the press, and in the conduct of the people, seemed to be one of the great ends of government. The visitation of scarcity which had lately afflicted the country, and which could not, at the time the preliminaries were signed, be considered as absolutely removed, had produced a great degree of apathy even among those who had been very zealous in support of government. The assertion so often repeated, both in parliament and in print, that the



war was one great cause of this calamity, although not true, was sufficiently plausible to find many supporters. They who had voluntarily armed, and acquired military discipline for the purpose of protecting the country, in case of invasion by a foreign enemy, or of a rebellious insurrection among the people, felt deep regret at being frequently called out to protect property against the attacks of those who alleged that they were urged by famine, and at finding their intended services limited to the terrifying of the people whom it had been their hope to encourage and protect. The volunteers, whenever embodied on these occasions, had executed their task with spirit and steadiness, but their love of military duty was diminished, in proportion as the approbation of many with whom they were obliged to mingle in their social hours, was withheld or converted into disgust.

Yet it could not be affirmed, that the national courage was so depressed as to render peace indispensable on that account. The war with France had ceased to be popular from the operation of the causes above alluded to, and many others, but when, in the beginning of the year, the people saw the government compelled to engage in a new, extensive and dangerous contest to rescue the nation from an evident injustice, and to establish an acknowledged and beneficial right, they merely regarded the crisis with that solemnity of consideration which it demanded; they did not censure the boldness which referred their rights to the decision of the sword, nor did they regret the probable increase of

burthens, privations and difficulties with which they were threatened. Their triumph in success was un-mixed with censure, and the northern aggressors had few advocates out of parliament, except among those who were the objects of just suspicion to government.

Even with respect to these persons, the situation of government during war, was one of extreme difficulty. A pretended zeal for the establishment of liberty and equality formed the lure which had induced many individuals, and some bodies of men, to connect their wishes, and to unite their efforts with the promoters of the French revolution, and there is often a fatal obstinacy in political matters, disguised under the specious name of consistency, which makes men adhere to the individuals, whose cause they have once espoused, even after every principle which first engaged them to adopt such a party, has been explicitly as well as practically renounced. Thus while France professed nothing but the reverse of her original fallacious promises; while conquest, plunder, and the suppression of every thing resembling freedom in the countries visited by her arms, were both her avowed principles, and her constant practice; a party both in Great Britain and Ireland, which had first avowed an attachment to her cause when extension of dominion was disclaimed, and a wish for universal freedom and happiness was pompously alleged as the only impulse which actuated her government, still held out her hands to claim her protection and alliance, and still appeared to hope, that through her means, general liberty would still be established.

That



That the persons composing this party could only recover from their delusion, or rather from that irritation of mind which produced the effects of delusion, by being allowed quietly to resume their stations in society, could not be doubted; but this permission could only be safely given in a time of peace. During the existing war, a ministry would have been justly censured as deficient in prudence, if they had renounced the protective regulations which had been adopted, and exposed the public security to danger, either from deliberate treason or from surprize. The necessity of uniting again the whole nation, so fatally separated by the French revolution, was generally felt, and this formed one powerful motive with many for approving the peace.

But this approbation was not universal. Some statesmen, formidable from their character and talents, rather than their numbers, professed an early and unequivocal dissatisfaction at the peace. Their opposition could not be ascribed to anti-patriotic motives, for during the whole course of the war, they had been conspicuous in their endeavours to animate the country, and indeed all Europe, against the common enemy. To represent them as men who preferred war to peace, was an effort of gross, and malignant injustice, which their character, as exhibited on every occasion, evidently refuted. They did, however, prefer the late war to the present peace, and their reasons ably and amply detailed by themselves in the two houses of parliament, are the materials from which a judgment must be formed of the correctness of their views,

and the justness of their inferences. Their reasonings did not make any great number of proselytes, but the motives which dictated their disapprobation of the peace, prevented all but those whom long opposition had hardened into injustice, from blaming the spirit of their proceedings. That their party should not be numerous, could excite no surprize when it is considered, that most of those who had supported the war, whether in or out of office, applauded the peace as safe and honourable, and all those who had opposed the war, rejoiced in the peace, as a striking illustration of their long continued prophecies, that it must be disgraceful to Great Britain, and beneficial only to the enemy. Against parties who took so wide a range in their course of approbation, little room was left for those who deemed the peace unsafe, dishonourable and unjust, because it sacrificed the advantages to which the country was intitled, left the continent to the mercy of an encroaching enemy, and fortified a power founded on rapacity and violence, and threatening universal plunder and subjugation.

At the time here alluded to, that is, before the meeting of parliament, many transactions then concluded, and which tended materially to advance the power of France, were unknown. Her extensive intrigues and formidable military force were not unnoticed, but much had been gained by secret treaty, and much was preparing by private influence, of which no evidence was yet collected, but which therefore, could only be surmised in general, or pointed at by conjecture.



That Great Britain was in a great degree cut off from her wonted connexion with the continent, appeared to many to be the effect of the peace, but it is not easy to describe in what manner a continuation of the war could have changed that circumstance. The influence of France, wherever it extended, could not be less decisively exerted during hostilities than in peace, and therefore, Holland, Spain, and Italy could not have been less friendly to us than before. Neither was the recent pacification won from the northern powers, likely to be strengthened by the difficulties and misunderstandings which might have resulted from a continuance of war with France, ever subtle and persevering in suggesting complaints and discovering grounds to excite contention.

The service rendered to the Grand Seignor by the expulsion of the French from Egypt, might have been expected to afford to Great Britain some advantage in his dominions, but those evidently could only be commercial, and were not peculiarly beneficial in a time of war. The presents and honours accumulated on the British officers who had distinguished themselves in Egypt, were no less flattering in themselves than justly merited; but the very nature and state of the Turkish government, forbade any hope that during a continued war, any considerable benefits could be derived from the gratitude and friendship of that power, even if they could be permanently relied on.

The distracted condition of the Ottoman empire, where successful rebels were continually able to

contend successfully against the established government, would necessarily render its councils weak, fluctuating, and subject to the impulses of artifice, or the sway of accident. That a dispute with England was not impossible even on the very scene where such important services had been rendered, was proved by an incident which occurred soon after the departure of the French.

Although the Porte had assented to the re-establishment of the mamaluke government in Egypt, and pledged its faith to support it, still a secret resolution was formed for its subversion, and that by means the most atrocious and dishonourable. A plan is supposed to have been arranged for securing the Beys under specious pretences, and conveying them to Constantinople, where they were to have been put to death, and the execution of the project was committed to the Grand Vizier, and the Capitan Pacha. From some unknown cause, however, the scheme was varied; perhaps all could not be secured, and therefore a few of the most eminent were selected as victims to be sacrificed on the spot. The most distinguished were invited to Alexandria, under pretence of concerting the re-establishment of their authority; they were received in the most distinguished manner, but the Capitan Pacha soon informed them that the Grand Seignor required them to renounce for ever the government of Egypt, and even that they should be conveyed to Constantinople. The mamalukes had long perceived the improbability, that they should retain their power throughout Egypt, and therefore, trusting to the



the promises which were made them, that their persons should be unmo-  
lest, and their dignity greatly  
advanced in the capital, and relying  
on the effect in their favour, which  
might justly be produced by the  
exertions they had made in reco-  
vering their country from the  
French, they heard this arrangement  
without dissatisfaction, and seemed  
to entertain no suspicion of the  
fate intended for them. The  
Grand Vizier and the Capitan  
Pacha, acted in concert on this  
occasion, but who was criminal  
in the event which followed it is  
not easy to determine.

The Beys seized by the Capitan  
Pacha, were proceeding with him  
on board his own boat, to dine  
with Admiral Bickerton in the  
harbour of Alexandria. As they  
passed on the lake Mareotis, the  
Capitan Pacha went on shore to an  
officer, who said he brought dis-  
patches from Constantinople, which  
required an immediate answer;  
and the boats by his order, stood  
toward a Turkish gun-boat in the  
lake. The suspicion of the Beys  
being excited by these extraordi-  
nary circumstances, they attempted  
to seize the vessel, but were vigo-  
rously opposed by the Turkish  
rowers, and the gun-boat when  
they approached, poured on them  
a discharge of musketry. The  
mamalukes, after a stubborn re-  
sistance, were obliged to submit;  
Osmyn Bey Tambourgi, their  
chief, Osmyn Bey Lashzar, Ma-  
hommed Bey Manfich, and Mu-  
rad Bey, first Chamberlain to Tam-  
bourgi, were slain. A similar  
fate awaited the Black Caia Bey,  
who was observed to fight, with  
desperate fury, till he expired.  
Osman Bey Bardici was severely

wounded, and with the survivors  
considered as a prisoner.

As the persons of the mamalukes  
were under the direct protection of  
the British faith, General Hutchin-  
son acted on the occasion, in a  
manner becoming the dignity of  
his own, and of the national cha-  
racter. He immediately ordered  
his troops under arms, and not  
satisfied with the excuses of the  
Capitan Pacha, who attributed the  
disaster which had befallen the  
mamalukes to their own unfounded  
suspicions, he forced the Turks to  
give up their living prisoners, and  
caused the dead to be buried with  
military honours, expressing the  
most vehement indignation at the  
fate they had met with.

Such an incident, had a pro-  
tracted residence in the country  
been necessary, might have pro-  
duced a most serious change in the  
sentiments of the two governments,  
and the campaign in Egypt, far  
from cementing mutual friendship,  
might have become the very cause  
of hostility. The acknowledgment  
of the republic of the Seven Isles  
contained in the preliminaries of  
peace with Great Britain, although  
in itself highly beneficial to Tur-  
key, could not afford grounds for  
expecting that it would produce  
permanent friendship; on the con-  
trary, it was already represented by  
the enemy as beneficial neither to  
the people, nor to any government,  
but as a source of misery and dis-  
cord alone.

The French would undoubtedly,  
even if war had been persisted in,  
have endeavoured to regain their  
ancient ascendancy in the Turkish  
councils, and in peace it was not  
to be supposed that such an object  
would be neglected. On the con-



trary, in a few days after the preliminaries had been signed  
 Oct. 9. at London, a treaty was executed at Paris between the minister for foreign affairs and the Turkish ambassador, by which, the French, artfully assuming the merit of consenting to evacuate Egypt, and of acknowledging the republic of the Seven Isles, obtained a stipulation that whatever indulgences should be granted in Egypt to other powers on the part of the Porte, should also be extended to France; that the treaties which existed before the present war between France and the Porte, should be renewed on their former footing; and that, in consequence of this renewal, the French republic should enjoy, in every part of the dominions of his highness, all the rights of commerce and navigation which she previously enjoyed, as well as those to which the most favoured nations might henceforth be admitted.

In this treaty too, the Porte was to acknowledge the guaranty of the French republic as well as that of Russia for the republic of the Seven Isles, and England was not even mentioned on the occasion. This compact exhibited conspicuous proofs of artifice and duplicity. The successes of the British arms were turned against the British nation, and the conquest which had been achieved in Egypt was sold by the conquered, to the prejudice of the victors. Thus in two treaties, with Great Britain and with the Porte, the French who already knew, although the other contracting parties did not, that their army in Egypt had capitulated, made the cession of Egypt the price of some covenants in their own fa-

vour. To obtain their point with the Ottoman minister, it is even said that extraordinary means were used to keep from him and his suite all intelligence of recent events, even of the signature of preliminaries with England.

With Russia too, in a week after the articles with England, Oct. 8. a treaty was effected; of less comparative consequence, since it only stipulated the establishment of peace, while the two countries could hardly be considered at war, and obliged both to abstain from interfering in the internal concerns of each other, when it was not the interest, nor appeared to be the inclination of either to do so. A commercial treaty was to be framed at a future period.

A little before the Sept. 29. conclusion of these compacts, but evidently with a view to them, and as part of a general system, a treaty was entered into at Madrid, between the French republic and Portugal, by which, after declaring the termination of hostilities, it was agreed that the ports and roads of Portugal should be shut against English vessels, both of war and trade, and opened to those of France; that Portugal should not furnish to the enemies of France and her allies any aids whatever, in men, ammunition, provisions or money; and that all treaties at any time before entered into, obliging her so to do, should be deemed null and void. These articles, considering the time at which they were concluded, only two days before the peace with Great Britain, are of little importance, except as they prove the complete ascendancy of the republic, and the abject submission of Portugal.

A stipu-



A stipulation of much greater consequence was that which fixed the limits of the French territory in Guiana. It was in these terms. The boundaries between the French and Portuguese Guiana shall, for the future, be determined by the river Carapanatuba, which falls into the Amazon, at about a third of a degree of the equator, north latitude, above Fort Macapa. These boundaries shall follow the course of the river to its source; thence they shall be continued toward the great chain of mountains which divides the waters, and follow the inflections of that chain to the point where it approximates to Rio Branco, near two degrees and one third, north of the equator.

Beside this new description, or cession of territory, which was deemed highly advantageous to France, it was agreed that a treaty of commerce should be, at some future period, established between the two countries; that, in the mean time, all communications should be re-established, and that the woollen manufactures of France should be admitted into Portugal on the same footing with those of the most favoured nations.

These were the compacts into which France was known to have entered at the period when she had concluded, or was on the point of concluding one with Great Britain, and by the effect of them, together with those which had been previously disclosed, was the relative situation of the two countries to be judged. Connected with the treaty of Luneville and other treaties concluded in the preceding part of the year, they tended to secure the ascendancy of France on the continent, to tranquilize all apprehen-

sions of efforts to change her established government, and to afford leisure for the resumption of her agricultural, mechanical, scientific and commercial labours. It was indeed evident, that France, being extricated as she was from all the dangers and difficulties which had menaced her in the course of the Revolution, and placed in a situation of unexampled power and pre-eminence, could only be disturbed in the possession of such advantages by making attempts hostile to the general repose and safety of Europe. Every good that a wise government could rationally desire was to her abundantly secured, and if her governors were wise and moderate, there was reason to hope for a continuance of the repose rendered necessary by such long and violent conflicts.

Such indeed appeared to be the manner in which the French themselves viewed their position. In the statement of the situation of the republic, printed by authority soon after the signature of the preliminaries, the government congratulated the people on the change which had been effected in the course of the year, which, opened in every direction, a long perspective of hope and happiness. In support of this assertion, were cited the efforts made to suppress insurrection and conspiracy, and an apology for the new special tribunals, which it was said, had pronounced 780 sentences of which nineteen only had been reversed by tribunals of appeal. The establishment of religion was applauded as having been effected without injury to the protestants, without great expence to the state, and without prejudice to the freedom and independence of opinion.



opinion. Then, after exhibiting the state and circumstances of France in many other particulars, both domestic and colonial, and acknowledging that the prosperity to be expected depended on the benefits of peace, the relation of foreign countries with the republic was reviewed in terms which seemed to shew that the government was apprized of the wisdom of moderation.

Holland, it was said, had voluntarily changed its constitution because ill adapted to the manners and genius of its people; and the number of French troops stipulated to be retained there had been reduced from twenty-five to ten thousand. Switzerland had been agitated by factions; the First Consul had been applied to for advice on the future government of the country, and had recommended as its basis, simplicity; above all, exhorting the rulers, for the example of Europe, to preserve liberty and equality in that nation which had first taught all others the lesson of freedom and independence. And it was affirmed that France had withdrawn from Switzerland all her troops, except four thousand which were left there by desire of all parties.

Turning to Italy, the official paper observed that the Cisalpine and Liguria had paused in their organization, fearing the commotions which would result from the first nominations. They appeared desirous to refer the matter to the First Consul, and he would endeavour to reconcile the wish of these two republics so dear to France, with the more sacred functions imposed on him by his situation.

Lucca having expiated by the torture of a provisional system the

errors which had drawn on her the vengeance of France, was employed in preparing a definitive organization. The King of Tuscany, tranquil on his throne was recognized by many great powers, and would soon be by all. Four thousand Frenchmen kept Leghorn for him, till he could organize a national army; the sovereign pontiff possessed his estates intire, the Cisalpine troops having withdrawn from those strong places which they held for his benefit; but 1500 French were yet in the citadel of Ancona, to preserve a communication with the army of the South. The moderation shewn to Naples was also extolled.

Peace being concluded with Russia, nothing henceforward could interrupt the connexion between two great nations, who with every reason to love, had none to fear each other, and whom nature had placed at the two extremities of Europe, to counterpoise each other in the North and South. The Porte, it was added, restored to its true interests and to its inclination for France, had returned to its oldest and most faithful ally.

On the treaty with England, the following remarks were made. "This peace was to be the result of long negotiations, supported by a system of warfare, which, although slow in preparation, was infallible in its success. England was already abandoned by the greater part of her allies. Hanover, the only continental possession of her sovereign, was still in the power Prussia; the Porte, threatened by our important positions on the Adriatic, had begun a separate negotiation: Portugal alone remained, and that had been so long submissive to the influence



ence and exclusive commerce of England, that it was in fact a mere province of that country. There Spain was to find a compensation to offer for the restitution of Trinidad, but when after a few light skirmishes she ratified the peace of Badajos, then she assented in effect to the loss of that island, and from that period, England would never listen to any proposal for restoring it.

“With equal inflexibility Great Britain refused the restitution of Ceylon, but the Batavian republic will find, in the numerous possessions which are given up to her, the re-establishment of her commerce and her power.

“France has sustained the interests of her allies with the same zeal as her own, and even sacrificed her own advantage to theirs; but those allies, exhausted as they were, no longer offered her any resources for continuing the war. Thus, in all parts of the world, the republic has now nothing but friends or allies, and in all parts, her commerce and her industry will return into their accustomed channels.

“In the whole course of the negotiation, the present ministry of England have shewn a frank disposition to terminate the miseries of war: the English people have embraced peace with enthusiasm; the hatred occasioned by rivalry is extinct, and nothing of it will remain but the emulation of great actions and useful enterprizes. It has been the ambition of government to place France in her natural relation with other nations, and it shall be the glory of government to maintain their work, and to perpetuate a peace which will constitute the happiness of France and of mankind.”

Notwithstanding the specious professions which were only repeated in this official paper, the intentions of the French government were viewed by many sound politicians with uneasiness and suspicion; the position of Italy, Holland, Switzerland and Turkey, excited many alarms, which were considered merely speculative at the time, but were regarded with more and more seriousness as their justness was rapidly unfolded.

If the mere inclination of the people could have been supposed to sway the government of France, the peace, which was by all acknowledged necessary, might also have been expected to be permanent. Their joy, so far as it could be exhibited without dictation and without constraint was indisputably sincere, but in the circumstances which attended it, latent designs on the part of government, and the jealousy incident to new and uncertain power, were also to be observed.

On the evening when the intelligence of signing the preliminaries arrived, the news were spread by the firing of cannon, by a public declaration at the theatres, and by a sort of proclamation, made by detachments of police officers, assisted by parties of horse, by torch-light; and the public offices and some houses in Paris were illuminated. Compliments on the occasion were presented by the legislative body to the First Consul, who, in replying to their congratulations, did not forget to remind them that the stability of the social organization had principally contributed to the present peace. Many other public bodies, military as well as civil, were admitted by their



their deputies to the presence of Bonaparte, and testified their satisfaction in congratulatory speeches. The grand celebration was however deferred till the 9th of November, a day which was to be thus doubly joyous; it was to commemorate the return of peace, and the

accession to power of the First Consul.

Before this celebration, and the circumstances which attended and followed it, are related, it will be necessary to notice the proceedings in the British legislature on the peace, and some other subjects.

## C H A P. II.

*Slight change in the Ministry during the Recess. Meeting of Parliament. King's Speech. Address in the House of Lords carried without opposition. Sentiments of the Duke of Bedford on the Peace. Address also voted in the House of Commons without division; but with observations on the Peace by various Members; Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Sheridan, Earl Temple, and Mr. James Martin. State of the Ministry on this occasion; evident appearance of a new Opposition; conduct of the old Opposition. Further proceedings. Treaties laid before Parliament; observations on them by Lord Grenville, who requires explanatory papers; which are not granted. Similar observations made by Mr. Grey in the House of Commons, but treated as irregular. On an ensuing day Lord Hawkesbury gives the required explanation.*

30th July. **D**URING the recess of parliament, a slight change had taken place in the ministry; the Duke of Portland having been appointed president of the council, which situation became vacant when Lord Chatham accepted of that of master of the ordnance, vacated by the Marquis Cornwallis; his grace was succeeded in the office of secretary of state for the home department by Lord Pelham.

29th Oct. Parliament was convened as soon as possible after the signature of the preliminaries with France, and, in his speech from the throne, his majesty informed the two houses of that event, observing that the treaty, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would

also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. He also stated that the differences with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede. The essential rights for which the nation contended were thereby secured, and provision made, that the exercise of them should be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties. Copies of these papers were to be immediately afforded.

His majesty also mentioned, with gratitude to divine providence, the blessing of a plentiful harvest, and paid a just tribute of applause to the



the temper and fortitude which all descriptions of the people had manifested under the various and complicated difficulties with which they had had to contend. Having then acknowledged in proper terms the valour and eminent services of his forces, both by sea and land, the exertions, zeal, and perseverance of the militia, yeomanry, and volunteers, and particularly of the army, which had expelled the French from Egypt, the king concluded in these terms:

“ It is my first wish, and most fervent prayer, that my people may experience the reward they have so well merited, in a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, in a progressive increase of the national commerce, credit, and resources, and above all, in the undisturbed possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, under the safeguard and protection of that constitution, which it has been the great objects of all our efforts to preserve, and which it is our most sacred duty to transmit unimpaired to our descendants.”

In the upper house the address was moved by Lord Bolton, and seconded by Lord Lilford. In their speeches the noble lords dwelt on the blessings of peace, and the joy with which the news of signing the preliminaries had been received through every part of the country. Peace was in itself so emphatically felt to be desirable, that men did not allow themselves to doubt of its being advantageous, but gave free and unbounded indulgence to their joy. It was a ground of pride and satisfaction that ministers had chosen a moment for the negotiation when our resources, by the spirit, loyalty,

and attachment of the people, were in their full vigour; when the nation had distinguished its character by the firm, manly, and determined posture of preparation into which it had voluntarily put itself on the menaces of an invasion, and when our finances were unimpaired, and our armies triumphant.

It was a grand and magnificent triumph for England to make peace, when her navies and armies were every where conquerors, from the frozen seas of the north, to the pillars of Hercules; and from Africa to the extremest shores of Asia and America. The feeling was rendered still more gratifying and exalted, when we made our triumphs only accessory to the spirit of moderation which dictated our appeal to arms—when the unexampled achievements of that band of heroes who had rescued Egypt from its invaders, were made only to restore it to its rightful owner; and when our most endearing and splendid trophies appeared to be human happiness and order, instead of aggrandizement or gain. The noble struggle this country had made, unassisted and alone, was calculated to fill the mind with the most enthusiastic veneration. Some of our allies had already made peace, the states of others were invaded and possessed by the enemy, and the integrity of Europe could no longer be preserved. Had it been possible to do so any longer, it must have been done by the power of Great Britain.

———*Si Pergama dextrâ  
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.*

While every other country which had opposed the principles inseparable from revolutions, had either  
had



had its government subverted, or its rights, more or less, invaded and injured, this happy empire had safely stood the shock; the fabric of her constitution remained unimpaired, her religion unviolated, and her laws and liberties preserved. The glorious figure our arms had made in the contest, and the strong proof we had afforded that this country possessed a spirit and an energy equal to the defence of every thing that was dear to us, were to be considered as the best guarantees of the security and permanence of the peace. From abroad we had little to dread, and at home we could have nothing to fear from domestic enemies, if any remained either here or in the sister kingdom; since those few who might continue to act under the influence of the pernicious principles that had so much agitated and endangered other countries, would find that they had no longer any abettors.

No opposition was offered to these sentiments. The Duke of Bedford alone, in expressing his intire approbation of the peace, and hearty concurrence in the address, intimated that a more fit time might have been found by ministers much earlier. When he said this, he did not mean to impute the smallest blame on this account to his majesty's present ministers; the fault did not certainly lie with them; they had negotiated and effected a peace with all practicable alacrity from the moment that they came into office, for which he returned them his sincere thanks, and he hoped that, as speedily as possible, the constitution, of which the people had been so long deprived, would be restored to them,

and a true attention be paid to their wishes.

Although the House of Commons, like the Lords, voted the address without division, yet the observations of members were characterized by more radical differences of opinion than the peers had expressed, and gave a prospect of a settled opposition to the measures of government.

The address was moved by Lord Lovaine, in a speech which treated on topics nearly similar to those advanced in the other house, and Colonel Woodhouse seconding the motion, made a few observations of the same kind, approving the peace, but deprecating a premature discussion of the preliminary articles.

Mr. Fox, cordially concurring in the address on the happy and long desired attainment of peace with France, spoke of the event with joy and exultation, and said it was one in which the people of England had the greatest cause to rejoice and exult.

Mr. Pitt, declaring that he should now, for the first time in his parliamentary life, utter his sentiments upon any subject in which the house seemed inclined to be unanimous, declined making any observations on the preliminaries; but when he came to express his motives for rejoicing in the attainment of peace, possibly they might appear to be very different from those of the preceding speaker. Whatever opinion he might entertain as to the propriety of certain articles, he highly approved the outline; the event was matter of joy to the country; and he cheerfully gave his tribute of praise to those ministers who had obtained it.



it. The blessing was due to the gallantry of our fleets and armies and the good conduct of the people, and so long as the people of England were true to themselves, and their representatives true to their interests, they had nothing to fear from external foes.

Mr. Windham, differing from both the preceding members in their expressions of joy and exultation, said he would not concur in the address, if it went so far as to pledge the house to an approbation of those preliminaries specifically; but, as it did not, he would not withhold from it his support. He only considered it necessary to state in the outline, the reasons of his differing from those who approved this peace concluded under the present circumstances of Europe. "I must own" he said, "that to stand as a solitary mourner in the midst of general exultation, to wear a countenance clouded with sadness, while all others are lighted up with joy, is at once rather unfortunate and ungracious. I would ask—Are the circumstances of this peace the natural signs for rejoicing that have been wont to justify our exultations on former occasions? I own they strike me in a contrary point of view, and when I am called on to rejoice, before I put on my wedding suit, I shall first enquire whether I am called upon to celebrate a marriage or a funeral. When I am desired to illuminate, I shall first endeavour to learn whether it is to light me to a feast or a sepulchre. For, if the solemnity of a death-bed declaration has any claims to veracity or sincerity, I should have no hesitation, were I to make it at this moment,

to state my firm persuasion and belief, that my honourable friends, in signing this peace, have put their signature to the death-warrant of their country. I know the inconsistency of human affairs, and I am not profane enough to set bounds to the dispensations of providence—neither can I pretend precisely to foresee what different changes may be wrought in the dispositions of the people of England, by intrigues from without, or convulsions from within; but upon no rational view that I can take of this subject, nor any prospect to which my discernment enables me to look, can I see my way out of the evils it will entail upon my country. The only one thing which France wanted to enable her to divide with you, the empire of the seas, was a participation of your commerce, to enable her to extend her navy; this participation she will have effectually secured by this peace, while, by the surrender of your conquests, you will have thrown out of your hands the only means to prevent this aggrandizement, the extension of your colonial system. What were the motives that induced ministers to conclude these preliminaries under existing circumstances in Europe, I know not precisely. Some of these motives I have heard, but they do not convince me; on the contrary, they appear wholly insufficient. If those who have concluded the peace will shew me it is a safe one for England, I shall ask them no further reasons; but if we were really driven to this peace by any fatal necessity; if ministers have been forced to accept it through any inability of resorting to alternatives, their conduct is the more excusable,

and



and we have to thank them, not for what they have acquired, but for what they have saved for their country. If they have yielded to necessity, instead of censure for what they have given up, they may be intitled to gratitude for what they have preserved. If they can shew that they have, by ceding foreign colonies, saved objects nearer and dearer to us; if they have saved Portsmouth and Plymouth, and Ireland; if they have preserved the soil of England from ravage and devastation, they will establish, not an apology, but a claim to thanks. Such a plea, however, I do not recognize. How far they were actuated by such necessity, will be a matter for future discussion."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer animadverted on the impropriety of discussing thus prematurely, the preliminary articles of peace. The speech from the throne said nothing more than that copies should be laid before parliament, and his right honourable friend, Mr. Windham, had acknowledged that the address did not pledge the house to any approbation of them. To the objection that the conquered colonies ought to have been retained for the preservation of the British marine and commerce, he answered, that the relinquishment of what we had conquered, was the only pledge for our security; and that in preserving our own constitution and defending our own possessions, and not in extending our territories by conquest, we hold the best securities for our rights and the extension of our commerce. He disclaimed the motive for peace intimated by Mr. Windham; that it was the result of necessity, and of

a want of the means to continue the contest; and publicly declared, that had it been found indispensably necessary to persist, no deficiency whatever would have been found in the finances and resources of the country.

Mr. Sheridan could see no objection to the address as it stood, nor should he disturb the unanimity of the vote; but, notwithstanding this singular unanimity, he sincerely believed, that if this were the time for men to deliver their opinions, if this were the moment when they were to speak out their real thoughts, there never was a period of less real unanimity. He could not agree with those who characterized the peace, as glorious and honourable, and still less with those who contended that it was inexpedient to make peace at all. This, Sir, he said, is a peace of which every man is glad, but no man can be proud. It is a peace involving a degradation of national dignity, which no truly English heart can feel with indifference. It is a peace, such as the war had a tendency to lead to, as its necessary result. The war was one of the worst in which this country was ever engaged, and the peace is, perhaps as good as any man could make in the circumstances, in which the country was placed.

The debate was closed by Earl Temple, and Mr. James Martin, the former expressly declaring that in sanctioning the address, he did not mean to pledge himself to support the peace; the latter protesting that his adoption of the same course, must not be construed into any thing like an engagement to give a single vote in favour of those men who had so long carried



on a war ruinous to their country, and who had so materially trenched on the constitution.

The discussion of the address was most anxiously expected by the public; for as parliament was not sitting when the preliminaries were signed, the sentiments entertained on them by public men could only be known by reports in print, and by some extraordinary expressions at convivial and political meetings. In the debate in the House of Commons, the rudiments of a new opposition appeared, for although Mr. Windham qualified his disapprobation of the peace with expressions of respect for the ministers, and although in the debate the term right honourable friend was ostentatiously repeated on both sides, still it was not difficult to foresee that they who differed radically in opinion, on a question of so much moment, would not long be bound by the regulations of mutual forbearance. These expressions were construed like those compliments which, in the transactions of private life, are observed to be more punctually paid when friendship is declining, or when past esteem is yielding to present rivalry. Earl Temple had been considered an opponent of ministers from their first coming into office, and, therefore, his conduct was less ceremonious than that of Mr. Windham.

In the support received from the old opposition, the ministry had no further reason for congratulation than what arose in the passing day. The duke of Bedford indeed afforded them his countenance with manly dignity, his approbation of their measures was conveyed in terms equally free and generous, unstained with adulation, uncon-

taminated with reproach; but in the lower house, every expression uttered by that party in praise of the peace, contained some strong censure on the war which the present ministers had strenuously supported, and which must be highly offensive to Mr. Pitt, on whose friendship and assistance they still continued to rely. The connexion of the new opposition could easily be ascertained; it was evident that it would form a centre about which a great number of individuals would in time be collected, and it was clear, on the other hand, that many of those who on this occasion expressed approbation of the measures of government, would at some period be induced, by the operation of all the motives which sway public men, to combine in endeavours to remove them from their posts.

The nature and form of the incipient opposition became more clearly marked Oct. 30. on the following day, when, in pursuance of the promise contained in the king's speech, the convention with Russia, and the preliminaries of the peace were laid on the table in both houses. These papers were not in themselves matters of curiosity, the terms of the convention having long been ascertained, and the preliminaries with France having been published verbatim, by that government, and copied into all the English papers, but it was regular to notice them in parliament, only when they were officially presented.

As soon as that was done, lord Grenville stated the great satisfaction he felt at observing the perfect unanimity which prevailed on the preceding evening. There



were many circumstances which rendered this unanimity desirable. The re-appearance of his majesty in the house must have kindled universal joy in the breasts of all his subjects; but more particularly in those of their lordships, who, from their situation, had nearer and more frequent opportunities of witnessing his paternal virtues. But having performed this duty, another remained which had been recommended in the speech, that of discussing, and exercising their judgments on the several matters submitted to them. His lordship then expressly guarded his assent to the address from being construed into an approbation of the peace. From what was past, he feared every sort of evil, every ruinous consequence, and all his hopes and expectations of salvation, were founded on that which had not yet, and he trusted never would be done. From the prominent and responsible part he had borne in the late war, he felt himself imperiously called upon again to maintain and assert those principles upon which he had always acted, and when the proper day arrived, he should not be found wanting in that duty, which he owed to his country and to himself. He should then give his reasons for being decidedly of opinion, that there never was any transaction of this kind, in the history of this country, at any period, or under any circumstances, in which so much had been given up without any equivalent, such unlimited concession made, so much disgrace incurred, and the nation placed in such awful circumstances of impending peril.

He was induced to make some observations on this occasion, by

the expressions which had fallen from the mover of the address, and the noble lord who had seconded that motion, importing, that the treaty evinced the fidelity of Great Britain in securing the integrity of the possessions of her allies. In this treaty were three articles respecting our allies, which stood greatly in need of explanation. The stipulation in favour of the Ottoman Porte he could comprehend very well, as it agreed that its territories and possessions should be preserved intire, such as they existed previously to the war. With respect to Portugal the case was very different; and he knew not yet, in what manner the integrity of that kingdom was to be understood, whether, as it stood before the war, or as it stood before the signing of the present preliminaries. It was notorious, that Portugal had made a treaty with Spain, and, since, another with France, both which contained considerable cessions. He asked then, for he could not resolve the question from the ambiguous tenor of the article, whether the preliminaries with England would do away these cessions? There were also other states which had been connected with us in certain circumstances nearly similar, respecting treaties with the French republic and its allies, and which must come within their lordships contemplation in the course of this discussion. It would be impossible for the house, when the day for consideration of the articles should arrive, to enter into it effectually, without fuller information before them, explanatory of the meaning and extent of that article, to which he had alluded. He assured his noble friend,



friend, the Secretary of State, (Lord Pelham) that he should feel sincere regret, if he found himself compelled, by a sense of his duty to the country, even to appear to lie under the necessity of opposing the measures of his majesty's government; but the honour and interests of the country were deeply concerned in the true construction of the article in question. It was by ascertaining this great and important question respecting the integrity of Portugal, previous to the entering into a discussion of the articles, that the house could alone be enabled to judge of these two things; first, whether the good faith of this country had been kept with our allies? And next, what was the comparative value of the sacrifices and concessions that had been made to the French republic, and of the peace that had been obtained in exchange for these concessions?

Lord Grenville then read his intended motion, which was for an address to his majesty, "that copies of all treaties, conventions, and agreements, made within the last year between any of his majesty's allies, and the French republic; which had been communicated to his majesty, be laid before the House." He repeated, that he had the highest respect for his noble friend, and should deeply regret the being obliged upon the point in question, to oppose the measures of government. So far, indeed, was he from meaning any such matter, that if his noble friend would say that he had his reasons for wishing that he would not press his motion at present, he would most readily forbear to make it.

Lord Pelham, lamenting that his noble friend should even intimate that he might feel it necessary to oppose his majesty's ministers, especially on the important point in question, reminded him that a separate day would be appointed for taking the articles into consideration, and then he should be prepared to enter into every necessary explanation. With respect to the papers referred to, it must surely be recollected, by a noble Lord of so much experience, that while matters stood between this country and the French republic, as they did at present, in point of negotiation, such papers could not be laid upon the table, without considerably embarrassing government, and greatly endangering the public interests. It was true the treaties had been made public; but they had had no other authority than that of the French and other journals; they were indeed in general communicated to allied and friendly governments, but it was rather in a confidential manner, and it might easily be supposed, that foreign powers would be unwilling to have treaties which did not refer immediately to ourselves, made subjects of debates and discussions in that house.

Lord Grenville strongly disclaimed the intention of making a general opposition to government, stated in new terms the altered situation of Portugal in consequence of the treaties with Spain and France, which would for ever prevent the renewal of the same commercial intercourse that before subsisted between her and this country. Far from meaning to embarrass ministers, or oppose their measures, unless in matters of such



moment as left him no option, he was desirous to give them all the assistance his humble abilities would enable him to give, provided they continued to act with firmness, and maintained all that was alike dear to the honour and dignity of the kingdom. In conclusion, he desisted from making his motion.

Lord Pelham expressed great satisfaction at Lord Grenville's candid declaration, that he did not mean to enter into opposition: it would afford as much satisfaction to those with whom he acted in office, as it did to himself.

Oct. 30. In the House of Commons, on the same day, Mr. Grey made similar observations to those of Lord Grenville on the stipulated integrity of Portugal, adding some remarks on the article in the treaty between that country and France, which stipulated that the goods of the republic should be introduced into the markets of Portugal, with every advantage and privilege formerly extended to the most favoured nations. He wished to be informed whether such an article was known to ministers, or whether they had obtained satisfactory assurances, that our relations with Portugal would be maintained on the same footing as before the conclusion of this treaty. Such an article, he contended, would be contrary to all the treaties between this country and Portugal, formed in the last century, and would, in fact, virtually abrogate their stipulations. Were ministers then aware of this, or had they received assurances, that no former commercial arrangements between this country and Portugal were to undergo any material change? He considered an explanation on those

points highly necessary, but offered no motion.

Lord Hawkesbury considering the questions unusual and irregular, declined, for the present, any explanation; but in both houses the third of the ensuing month was fixed for taking the preliminaries of peace into consideration.

The day before the Nov. 2. grand discussion, however, an explanation was given by ministers on both the points alluded to, and on another arising out of the treaty.

Mr. Whitbread led to the subject, by observing, that it appeared in the second article of the preliminaries between this country and France, that great sacrifices had been made of the territories of Spain and Holland. He therefore desired to know, if any communication had been made to those countries relative to the cessions agreed upon; and if any person had been appointed by those countries, empowered to accede to such cessions?

Lord Hawkesbury answered, that neither Holland nor Spain had appointed any person to represent them before the signing of the preliminaries; but France was to be considered as capable of acting for herself and allies. Then proceeding to answer the question put on a former evening by Mr. Grey, he said, it was meant that the territories and possessions of her faithful majesty should be maintained intire, as settled by the treaty of Badajos. With respect to the admission of the manufactures of other countries into Portugal, upon the same terms as those of England, he could only observe, that the preference given by each country



country was reciprocal; and if Portugal admitted the woollens of other nations to be imported upon the terms heretofore exclusively enjoyed by this country, we should be at liberty to place all other wines upon a footing with those of Portugal.

## C H A P. III.

*The Preliminaries of Peace discussed in the House of Lords. Previous Conversation respecting Portugal. Observations of Lords Grenville, Pelham, Thurlow, Hobart, and the Lord Chancellor. The Lords proceed to the order of the Day. The address moved by Lord Romney; seconded by Lord Limerick; opposed by Earl Spencer; supported by the Duke of Clarence; Lords Pelham and Westmeath; speech of Lord Grenville against it; answer of the Lord Chancellor; who is supported by Lord Moira; the Earl of Warwick opposes the peace; it is defended by Lord Mulgrave and the Duke of Bedford; condemned by the Bishop of Rochester; applauded by the Bishop of London; attacked by Earl Fitzwilliam; justified by the Earl of Westmoreland, Earl Saint Vincent, and Lord Nelson; censured by the Marquis of Buckingham, and Lord Caernarvon; general reply of Lord Hobart. The address carried by a great majority.*

ALTHOUGH from the discussions which had already taken place, the ministers were abundantly prepared to expect an opposition to the address in approbation of the preliminaries, yet they had not probably apprehended that it would be so strong in matter, or conducted with so much earnestness as they afterwards experienced.

Nov. 3. Notwithstanding the explanation afforded the preceding day in the house of Commons, Lord Grenville on the day the preliminaries were to be discussed, anticipated the business by repeating his former questions respecting Portugal, to which Lord Pelham answered, that Portugal was at liberty to treat with this country, and that the integrity of her territory was guaranteed from and after the treaty concluded on the 29th of September last.

This answer Lord Grenville

censured as not explicit, and Lord Hobart was proceeding to speak, when Lord Thurlow complained of the irregularity of a conversation without a motion; the order of the day being the matter before the house.

Lord Grenville insisted that his mode of acting was not unusual; but to comply with the wish of the noble and learned lord, and to place himself within the strict line of the rules of the house, he would move an address to his majesty, praying that a copy of the treaty concluded at Madrid, on the 29th of September, between the most catholic king and her faithful majesty, might be laid on the table. He would adduce as an argument for the production of this paper, that the silence of ministers made his conjectures not doubtful. They had given an answer to his question as to the integrity of the territory



of Portugal; but they had been silent as to the commerce. He put it to the honour of their Lordships, as well as to their wisdom and independence, whether they would give their approbation of the terms of these preliminaries, when a measure so intimately connected with them was concealed from their knowledge.

Lord Hobart expressed astonishment, that the noble lord should ask for a paper which his own particular experience must convince him, it would be injurious to the country to grant in the interval between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty. If the noble lord were still in the situation which he lately held, he would feel it his duty, as he had often felt it, to refuse the production.

The Lord Chancellor too, observed, that he had never before heard a motion for the production of treaties or conventions pending a negotiation, and much less for treaties or conventions, to which this country was not a party, and last of all men should have expected it from the noble lord, whose long experience and responsible situation ought to have impressed upon his mind the importance and peculiar delicacy of such productions. He confessed also his surprize, that a noble lord so habited to the rules of that house, should have thought proper, after withdrawing a motion, again to come forward, to put the same questions and renew the same motion. He could not thank him for his candour. For himself, he would acquiesce in the very worst supposition that the noble lord's fancy could devise with respect to Portugal, and argue the case upon

that supposition, rather than agree to the production of the paper.

Lord Grenville, however, still persisted, and when it was objected that his motion could not be received in preference to the order of the day, endeavoured to introduce it as an amendment on the proposition for proceeding to the order. The conversation was drawn to considerable length and maintained with much animation; Earls Spencer and Caernarvon supporting Lord Grenville, and the Duke of Bedford and Lord Darnley joining with Lord Thurlow, and the Lord Chancellor in opposing him.

At length the house proceeded to the order of the day, and that part of the king's speech, which related to the preliminaries, and the treaty itself being read, Lord Romney moved the address, expressing approbation of the peace.

His lordship began by observing, that we had terminated a war, the greatest and most momentous in which Britain had ever been engaged; a war productive of the heaviest burdens, most severely felt, though firmly, patriotically, and loyally borne, from a conviction that it was a war of necessity, for the defence of our allies, including our own independence and security, and was to preserve our religion, laws, constitution, property, established subordination and social order. Our successes, when singly engaged, had been most signal, and Egypt could witness the truth of an opinion expressed by Lord Moira, that British soldiers, if they had an equal opportunity of distinguishing themselves, would not fall short of British sailors. Success was the season for peace, and his lordship, reviewing the  
treaties



treaties which had terminated the last two wars, inferred from them, that conquests ought to be retained only as they tended to security. We had in this war secured our religion, laws, constitution, property, and independence; we had manifested not only valour, military and naval ability, but resources of every kind far beyond even our former conception. In a season of great pecuniary distress, the wisdom of our minister, and the spirited exertions of our countrymen, had supported the bank, and revived the value of the funds. Such we had shewn ourselves during the war. The treaty before the House secured all the important objects for which the contest had been carried on. Ceylon and Trinidad, his lordship shewed to be possessions of considerable importance, and our successes in India combined acquisition with security. We had also procured restitution to the allies who continued faithful to us; we had driven from the Turkish dominions, an enemy who had seized the most valuable part of the Sultan's territories, and the granary of his metropolis. To our allies, indeed, we behaved with magnanimous liberality; we supported them as long as our support could render them any useful assistance; when fidelity to us was no longer beneficial to themselves, we released them from their engagements. The aggrandizement of France, it was beyond our power to prevent, and even if we could send to the continent 500,000 men, we could not recover the conquests which had been made, and we were not, under such circumstances, to continue a hopeless contest, and for the sake of an island more or less, an object not

necessary to our security, go on accumulating debt and aggravating taxes. It had been objected, that the peace could not be lasting. One great security for its permanence was the interest both of Britain and France. Both countries had immense capabilities, which, in improving to the utmost extent, they might, far from hurting each other, reciprocally promote their highest commercial interests.

Lord Limerick, in seconding the motion for an address, augured most favourably of the peace, from the general approbation with which it was received. To estimate its merits, let their lordships look to the state of surrounding nations, and compare the way in which they had concluded peace with the recent common enemy, with the mode in which Great Britain had agreed to terms, and the result would obviously be in favour of this country. Its character was undiminished, and not one inch of ancient territories or possessions surrendered; on the contrary, our laws, religion, and constitution were preserved pure and inviolate. Let the present situation of this land be compared, even with that in which she stood at the last peace; and the comparison, he averred, would decidedly be in our favour. On the former occasion, our finest colonies were rent from the bosom of the parent state. Island after island, and fortress after fortress were shamefully ceded to the enemy; that peace was deservedly reprobated by all. The ministry of that day were prevented from perfecting what they had well begun, being driven from their seats by an unexpected and unnatural coalition. He hoped nothing of that



fort, no paltry coalition would take place in the present day. His lordship then reviewed in an able manner, and eloquent terms, many of the events of the war, proving the integrity of the country, and the bravery of her warriors, and at length adverted to Ireland, the part of the United Kingdom to which he had the honour to belong. After a well expressed, and merited eulogy on his countrymen, although a great part of the inferior orders were so circumstanced as to require the greatest circumspection on the part of government; he said, that when the gibbet had ceased to be burthened, and the sword was sheathed, there were many who imagined it proceeded from fear, and when England was left alone in the late arduous contest, their hopes obviously revived. In what a situation England would be left, if the projects of the traitors in that country had succeeded, he shuddered to contemplate even in imagination. She would not then be fighting for this or that island, but for her very existence as an independent nation; and, although he had no doubt of her being ultimately successful, yet what sacrifices such a contest must demand, their lordships would best feel. The late ministers deserved the gratitude and applause of the country and the present ministers deserved no less. They were trusted with the reins of government at a period of great difficulty, and their conduct since evinced their patriotism and ability; particularly in procuring for the nation such advantageous preliminaries of peace.

Earl Spencer professed the most heartfelt regret at delivering an opinion in opposition to that of the

two preceding lords. He should have been content to deplore the calamity of the peace in silence; he should have lamented the enthusiastic joy with which it was received by the people, and should have suppressed his deep feelings of mortification at the degradation of his country, without rising to oppose his majesty's ministers, if he had not been compelled by a sense of the duty which he owed to his own character, to his king, to that house, and to his country. It was with particular regret that he opposed a government composed of men with whom he had so long acted, and with some of whom it had been the pride of his life to be in the strictest habits of friendship. Peace, abstractedly, was undoubtedly a good and desirable thing. A safe and honourable peace was the sole end of every legitimate war; but by these preliminaries, not one object of war had been attained. We had sacrificed all means of protection. In every part of the globe we had made cessions, either to France or her allies, of every thing which our gallant forces by sea and land had acquired; and every thing by which we might have been secured against the consequences of the aggrandizement of France on the continent. But it was said we had protected our allies. What was the fact? The integrity of the Porte had been preserved; but was that owing to the cabinet? No; it was the result of the glorious campaign in Egypt. What had been the protection to Portugal he could not comprehend. Her boasted integrity was limited to a certain portion only of that integrity, for a most important part of the province of Olivenza was to be ceded.

Another



Another ally, the Prince of Orange, was not even named in the preliminaries, though by his faithful attachment to us, he had lost his territory and station. The peace produced none of the just objects of the war, neither indemnity for the past, nor security for the future. We had only the settlements of Ceylon and Trinidad, which could not be viewed as any adequate indemnity for such a war, much less as affording security for the future. In every quarter of the world had our cessions enlarged our danger. In India, the gallantry and enterprise of our armies reduced Tippoo Saib, and extinguished that enemy; but this treaty, by ceding the Cape and Cochin, had given an opening again to the coast of Malabar, while in South America, by the article in the treaty with Portugal, it was known that our rival was to have a military post at the mouth of the river of Amazons, which would be fatal to our possessions in the East, by the use which the French would make of it. We had surrendered the strong central position of Martinique, and we had left them in intire possession of St. Domingo, an island which, according to themselves, was calculated to erect around her an independent republic of islands. In the Mediterranean we had surrendered every thing. We had intirely excluded ourselves. Malta was to be put into the hands of a third power, but the French were to have equal footing with us. In short, he saw nothing but a precarious peace, and to which nothing but strong precautions on our part could give a chance of security. That peace which was unequal, could not be permanent; ministers said, it would

be the interest of France to maintain it; but who could say what would be the interest of an usurper? If ever peace was precarious, this was so; if ever precarious peace was dangerous, it was this. French principles were triumphant; those principles which noble Lords, and he, among others, had been ridiculed for opposing, were adorned with all the attraction and dignity of success. Expressing these opinions, he disclaimed all systematic opposition; he felt mortification to differ from ministers; he should feel it his duty more than ever to give his support to measures of vigour that might give the country a chance for safety.

The Duke of Clarence strenuously supported the ministry. He reviewed with approbation the policy of the war, and observed that the retention of the Cape of Good Hope was rendered less important by our successes in the East, begun by the Marquis Cornwallis, and completely confirmed by the penetration and the wisdom of the Marquis Wellesley, who had overthrown and destroyed the power of the tyrant Tippoo, and secured our possessions by the fall of that restless chief, and the total reduction of his government. The expedition of the French to Egypt was calculated to subvert this happy establishment, and their defeat by British valour obtained from his royal highness a warm eulogy, with an honourable tribute to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and a due notice of the navy, the regulars, the militia, and the volunteers, whose services had been so very useful to the community at large. At the close of the war he observed, England and France, finding



finding that each, from its vast conquests, was placed in that particular predicament in which no blow could be given with effect, the best plan to be adopted was an adjustment of differences, and a reconciliation of parties. France had completely overcome every contending power on the continent, consequently had no new conquests with which she could exercise her numerous armies. Great Britain, so far as regarded maritime affairs, was in a similar state. Having therefore no other objects of peculiar attack or conquest, except the invasion of each other's domestic territories, they were reduced to the necessity of extending an unavailing war, with the accumulation of debt and its concomitant calamities, or of negotiating a peace on terms safe and honourable to both governments. This was not therefore a common peace, but a reconciliation of differences between the two greatest nations in the world. The interest of New France appeared to be its continental conquests, the interest of Great Britain was its commerce. The former was consequently, from its relative situation and constitution, a military government; the strength of the latter was in its navy. Continental territories were the existence of the one, commerce that of the other. We had therefore to look forward to the cultivation of the arts of peace; to the improvements of the nurseries of seamen: they had to look forward to the preservation of that military system which had overcome all opposition on the continent. Necessity impelled France to act on the principle here described; wisdom must induce England to adopt a plan dia-

metrically opposite; and notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, his royal highness entertained the best hopes of a secure and a lasting peace. The civilities which had passed between the two countries were honourable to each, and indications that the peace would be durable. It was not necessary to discuss minutely the value of the possessions ceded, but the Cape of Good Hope was a place of no trade, and consequently it had not the advantages attributed to it.

Lord Pelham, lamenting the difference of opinion between himself and Lord Spencer, justified the treaty, not only by a view of its stipulations, but by a comparison between them, and the terms to which ministers would have acceded, in the negotiations in 1796 and 1797. The latter period most resembled that in which the present peace was made, and he wished to compare the *projet* which ministers then gave in, with the preliminaries which his majesty's present servants had obtained. In the projet of 1797, the Cape of Good Hope, as well as Ceylon and Trinidad, was to be retained. In 1801 the Cape was only to be a free port. Was there such a difference in this as to justify the continuance of war? But our conduct to our allies was an argument. No mention was made in the preliminaries of the Prince of Orange. It certainly was not in our power, by persevering in war, to replace that prince in his power; the turn of events, and the revolution in his country, made it impossible; but the opportunity was not lost of treating for him; and it would not be neglected. It had been said that Egypt had not been saved to  
the



the Porte by treaty, but by conquest; but this distinction was immaterial to the discussion. Naples, at present occupied by the armies of France, was to be restored to its legitimate sovereign; and Malta was to be available to neither of the contracting parties. With respect to Portugal, when he considered how freely the speeches of noble lords were published through newspapers, he must abstain from entering into the particulars at this critical and unseasonable time.—He would only say, that Portugal would retain every thing which in reason could be useful to her, and would make no sacrifice that could be injurious. She was essentially protected. With respect to the West India islands, he would entreat noble lords to say, whether any one island, or all of them together, would have been worth the calamity of continuing a struggle, by which the two nations were to exhaust one another, or rather each to exhaust itself. In the East, the overthrow of Tippoo had secured our possessions against all annoyance. We owed his extinction to the war, since it was by the intercepted correspondence that we had discovered his intrigues. Ceylon and Trinidad were great and important acquisitions; and was it no conquest to have subdued the erroneous opinions prevalent in England and Ireland, and to have rescued them from French principles?

Lord Westmeath also defended the treaty, being fully persuaded that we had obtained the securities of peace, and had consequently established on the firmest basis, those essential points which were nearest to his heart, the prosperity and happiness of Great Britain. By

the blessings of peace we might restore trade, improve agriculture, and strengthen our constitution, which had always been the envy of nations. Our system of government, instead of being the sport or attack of mad theorists, who wished to overturn the glorious fabric of our ancestors, would, as hitherto, become the admiration of the world, the envy of the universe!

Lord Grenville began a speech in disapprobation of the peace, by declaring the great satisfaction and lively joy he should have felt, if the dictates of his own judgment would have allowed him to concur in the line of congratulation marked out by the mover of the address; to have concurred in stating that we had brought an arduous and important contest to a successful termination. It had been justly observed, that security had been the object of the war; but instead of obtaining it, we were now left in a situation of far greater insecurity than at the commencement of the war, or at any time during its continuance. The question was not, whether peace was desirable upon secure and honourable terms, for such a peace was the object of every war; not whether it should, or should not now be agreed to; for the honour of the nation was pledged to perform the conditions; but it was this: What were the merits of the present treaty? and he could not agree in carrying to the foot of the throne an address, which told his Majesty that the terms deserved their approbation, because he thought them disadvantageous to the country, and fraught with degradation and national humiliation.

In entering into negotiation, every



every statesman knew that the basis must be, either to take the original state of things, at the commencement of hostilities, the *status quo ante bellum*; or the actual state of things, the *uti possidetis*, at the moment of negotiating. If the state of things was such, that they could not be replaced in their original position, or the superiority on one side was such as to render such a project ridiculous, at least every deviation ought to be narrowly watched and maturely considered. But our inferiority to the enemy was loudly denied. If it was so; if the situation of the country was elevated and prosperous, we ought to have had honourable terms of peace, because we were in a condition to demand them; and entitled to ask such as were commensurate with our rank and power.

He would consider the relative situation of the two countries, and in so doing, it was far from his intention to undervalue the acquisitions of France; on the contrary, he thought them more important than they were generally esteemed. She had made the Rhine the boundary of her empire; she had acquired Savoy, &c. and had not only extended her territory beyond what the most ambitious of her monarchs ever had in contemplation, but she had her frontiers protected by dependent republics, and tributary kings. On our side we had successes no less brilliant than striking; we had multiplied our colonies, and our navy rode invincible. We had rescued Egypt; we had captured Malta; we had possessed ourselves of Minorca; and the Mediterranean was shut up from the ships of France and Spain. In the East Indies, we had every thing except

Batavia, and that we should have possessed but it was not worth the cost of an expedition. We had the Cape of Good Hope, if not the only, at least an important key to the East. In the West Indies we had every thing desirable, Martinique, Trinidad, &c. &c. Upon the continent of South America we had an absolute empire, of almost equal extent, and superior to that power to whom we had restored it; he meant Surinam, Demarara, &c. indeed, the value of it was not known until, in British hands, it had felt the benefit of British industry and British capital. Such were the colonial possessions which we had acquired by the war. It was true that the war was not undertaken for the purpose of colonial conquests; yet the force of the country had been most wisely directed to that object; for whenever we were at war with France, one of our first objects must always be to cripple her marine, which could never be better done than by contracting her commerce—by depriving her of her colonial possessions. But although we were disappointed in the object of the war, these possessions should nevertheless have been held as pledges of indemnity, and still more as pledges for security; and if the continent of Europe could not have been restored to its former state, they ought to have been retained as a counterpoise to the power of France.

In defending the treaty, recourse was had to a sort of *argumentum ad hominem*, to a comparison of the treaty with the *projet* of Lisle. He disdained to retract what he then did, but he thought the question ought to be decided by arguments of higher importance, and drawn



from the nature of things themselves. But it escaped the noble lord's memory, that in addition to what they proposed to cede by the *projet* of Lisle, the present treaty gave up Surinam, Malta, and Minorca. Upon what new principle in negotiation was it, that after four years of additional war and expence, they should offer more to receive less, which was the case, as between the present treaty, and the *projet* of Lisle? The noble lord said, that they treated on a footing of equality. At Lisle the case was different, for at no time during the continuance of the war was the spirit of the country so much depressed as just at that period. If he were asked, why did ministers chuse such a moment of despondency to negotiate? He would fairly say, that it was a moment preferred by no man; but they were fully convinced, though it was then a melancholy reflexion, that the war could no longer be carried on, unless the people of this country were convinced that peace would not be granted by the then rulers of France, upon any terms of moderation, or such as could be acceded to. A variety of causes combined to produce that despondency: the stoppage at the Bank—the consequences of which were expected to be more dreadful than they turned out to be: the defection of our allies, which was as discouraging as unexpected: and above all, from that cause which he wished it were possible to blot from his memory, he meant the deplorable mutiny in our fleet. If such was the situation of the country, the terms then might have been defended upon necessity; but at this time no man ventured to assert the pre-

sent was a measure of that nature. It was affirmed, that as much was secured by the present treaty as would have been by the *projet* at Lisle, but by that we demanded the Cape and Cochin; and further, though in that we gave up much for ourselves, yet we retained the dignity of stipulating for our allies. We then stipulated for Portugal, not equivocally, but expressly; and we had also another ally, who was not omitted in the *projet* at Lisle, though he was abandoned by the present treaty; and of all the circumstances for which he objected to it, and there were many, for no one did he object to it more, than for the degrading omission of the Prince of Orange. The noble lord said, that some measures might be adopted in the definitive treaty relative to that point. Was it enough to say that some *might* be adopted? If ministers had insisted upon an indemnity for the Prince of Orange, did they think the French would have made that matter of sufficient importance to break off the treaty? If not, they would have gained with certainty an indemnity for our illustrious and unfortunate ally.

With respect to the guaranty of the integrity of Portugal, his satisfaction was abated by an explanation he had heard from the noble secretary. In the first place he would protest against the practice of signing preliminaries, which bore one view upon the face of them, but were limited by secret understandings between the parties. The House should know what the concessions were, and not be degraded into an approbation of terms unknown. The noble lord told them this integrity was as settled by the treaty



treaty of Badajos; and by his explanation, it did not appear but that, instead of guaranteeing the integrity of Portugal, it confirmed her dismemberment. Neither was this all; the treaty of Madrid and that of Badajos, either of them gave to France the means of a naval arsenal at the mouth of the Amazon river; and if French Guiana were to extend to the limits prescribed by those treaties, it would throw the whole of the Brazils completely under her controul. To estimate the consequences, their lordships should look at our Indian dominions. What we had gained there we had gained by the war, and not by the preliminaries; for by the cessions we made to the French in India, we put our own possessions in a state of great hazard; particularly by the cession of Cochin and Pondicherry. The fort of Cochin was one of the strongest in India; and at the time of the treaty at Lisle, administration had made up their minds that on no consideration would they resign that fortress. When we had driven out Tippoo, and destroyed all competition in the Mysore country, there was no more ground for the French to remain in Pondicherry and Cochin, than for us to cede the Netherlands, and yet claim to garrison the barrier towns with our troops. They could have no object in retaining those possessions, but to excite the native powers against us. As to Pondicherry, it was of no great importance except as connected with Cochin; but for the latter, he conceived it to be the most dangerous in the hands of France. What would prevent her, being in possession of those places, from filling them with European troops equal

to the number of our own in that country; and if so, would it not form a dangerous diversion, if, when we had any dispute with the northern native powers, we must also dispatch an European force south to protect the Ghauts, and the flat country? Combine this with the cession of the Cape. Much had been lately said as to the importance of the Cape as a point of commerce: his lordship still retained the old fashioned opinion, that it was of very great importance. It was said, that it had of late become the practice to proceed direct to the destination in India, and not to touch at the Cape, which consequently rendered it less important. In answer to this he had to observe, that it was not matter of indifference, in case even of stress of weather, for an East India ship to have a friendly port at which she could enter and refit. But another consequence resulted from this argument: if the Cape was of no value, why retain it so far as to stipulate for a free port? The consequence must be, that this article in the preliminaries must be of no value if the Cape itself was of so little. Was it of no value as a port of war: There was a danger of the French excluding us from the ports of Brazil; and if we were also excluded from the Cape, we should have no means of sending an armament to the East. For though commercial ships might proceed direct, yet transports could not; for if they proceeded in that manner, they would be fitter for the hospital than for action upon their arrival.

As to the West Indies, he was not inclined to undervalue Trinidad; but the advantages to be derived



rived from it were as yet merely speculative. The House was told that it was capable of becoming a great military station:—may be so. But what had we given in exchange?—Martinique. That did not require being brought into cultivation; it was already cultivated and it was already a military situation.

Adverting next to the Mediterranean, Lord Grenville observed, that we had there possessed ourselves of every thing, and ceded every thing. Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Porto Ferrajo, and Egypt, were all in our hands. The first indeed we had retained; but every thing else we had given up. The first consequence of our liberating Egypt, was a treaty by our ally with the French, by which they were put in the same situation with ourselves in the dominions of Turkey. Malta we had also surrendered, which was a most important military station, and had reserved its future protection to a subsequent discussion; but no future arrangement respecting that island, could put us in the same situation in which we stood before the war. As the treaty did not specify who the protecting power was to be, it would be indecorous in him to say more upon the subject: but in any contest with that power he would hold that important fortress as a pledge for our acquiescence in any demands which might be made.

In the present instance there was a deviation from all accustomed practice in signing preliminaries. It had been usual to make them as comprehensive as possible, and leave but little to the definitive treaty. The reason of such a system was obvious; but in the present case, mi-

nisters might resist any new demands, yet he was not sanguine that they would obtain better terms at Amiens. This observation applied to another article, which was referred to future discussion—he meant the Newfoundland fishery. England had nothing to wish but that it should remain as it stood at the last peace; what occasion was there, therefore, to throw open this subject, especially as any new arrangement must be in favour of France?

One point more, as respecting Naples. If we treated her as our ally, we ought to have stipulated effectually for her; at present the terms were perfectly illusory. France was to withdraw her troops, but she might go into the Cisalpine republic, within sixty miles of Naples; and it might happen, that all which she could get would be a precarious respite of three days.

Such were the principal points in our treaty. If we negotiated on a footing of equality, he saw no reciprocity; all the sacrifices were on our part, and none on that of the other contracting parties. The result was, that we had given them the only thing they wanted—the means of creating a navy, and of rivalling us in commerce. This treaty would extend their trade as much as their territory.

If the peace was not a measure of necessity, was it one of expediency? Were the disadvantages of the war more than the advantages of the peace? He could not think so; instead of security, in his opinion, we stood in a state of greater danger than ever. He saw no motives to submit to such a peace. He would not suppose the  
threat



threat of invasion to influence it; if it did, that would be repeated whenever the enemy had a point to carry. By the peace we had removed every security we had before possessed. Malta, Minorca, the Cape, Cochin, all surrendered, and our only security was, the word of the government of France. Much had been said of our reliance on France, and it had become the fashion to consider it now as a monarchy; but even that state in France would not secure the duration of peace, since the countries had hardly ever been tranquil for ten years together. Further, it had been said that opinions and doctrines were disseminated inimical to order and good government: those doctrines which it was also said still existed. Could not France avail herself of this disposition to disturb the repose of this country? What the influence of France might do, after the specimen they had lately seen of the behaviour of some part of this country, he dreaded to contemplate. Many loyal subjects no doubt rejoiced at the peace; but there was not a villain or a traitor who did not exult with rapture. His lordship concluded by hoping that vigorous measures for repressing such principles would be adopted; and that ministers would act like men, who having incautiously given up their out-works, yet, having the citadel remaining, would rather bury themselves in the ruins than surrender it.

In reply to these arguments, the Lord Chancellor claimed the attention of the House. The war, he said, had been carried on until it became hopeless to proceed. It was undertaken to guard the country against the effect of principles

and practices, which had been propagated and carried on by persons combined together for the very purpose of overturning the constitution, and it had been attended with success, because those principles no longer existed to any extent that could be attended with danger.

He must not however be understood to vapour in praise of the peace, as if it was a very honourable one. The principal objects had been, that it should be secure and lasting, and the former ministers had often declared they had no other object in view. If the representation was true which the noble lord had given of the external and internal state of this country, he would ask him, at what period could he ever hope to make a peace? what were the restorations he would refuse? it was true this country got several possessions belonging to the enemy; but had France got none at all? Had she no dominion over Naples or Portugal?

It was a fact, that in 1797, a peace had been fought with the French directory; but nothing had been done at the negotiations at Lisle, except proposing the basis on which the parties were about to treat; and there was a material difference between a proposition and an *ultimatum*. It was not, therefore, certain, what conditions would have been agreed upon had the negotiations proceeded.

The observations with regard to Portugal were not well founded; and, whatever consequences might arise from the new arrangements with regard to her American territory, it was an evil which could bear no proportion to that of continuing the war. He would not

continue



continue the war for the sake of getting rid of the war.

The circumstances under which this country had entered into the contest might have imposed a necessity of requiring that a competent provision should be made for the illustrious house of Orange; but it would not have been justifiable to hazard the success of the treaty by insisting on such a condition; and therefore it would be wiser to leave it as a subject for future arrangement.

As to the Cape of Good Hope, he certainly had heard seamen and statesmen say, that it was a place, of the first consequence; and it was so only as it served for a harbour to our shipping on their voyage to India. This advantage was still to continue; but on what grounds could the cession of this port be a matter of regret? Was it because the place had been fed at a most enormous expence, from which this country was most happily relieved? It was not then necessary to treat on the value of the place as a free port, but if there were no other object in carrying on the war, than that of determining whether a certain point of land, at the extremity of Africa, was to belong to Great Britain, or to Holland, and considering, at the same time that since this place got into our possession, no less a sum than 125 millions had been spent, and that another year would take away thirty millions more, without this country being one whit nearer the object in view; he had no hesitation in declaring which course he should pursue.

The noble lord found fault with the cession of territory and a port in the Mediterranean; and asked,

what was to become of our fleets sailing in that sea? What would the noble lord have said on this subject, had he consented to make peace in 1797, when neither Malta nor Minorca was in our possession? If he conceived the occupation of them on the part of Great Britain as necessary to the security of this country, how could he have supposed it possible for England to make a secure peace when we did not possess them. The occupation of Minorca was not at all necessary to our security: and as to Malta, if we considered the facility with which it became an acquisition to France, it must appear that our security with regard to that port must be increased with the difficulty of the French being able to take possession of it again, while under the guarantee of a third power. With respect, therefore, to Malta, we were evidently in a better situation than we would have been, had peace been concluded in 1797. As to our ships in the Mediterranean, if they had nothing else to do but to sail round that ocean, he thought it by no means an useful employment. There was no use in keeping a naval station there, if we could not command the commerce of that sea; particularly so, if the French had taken possession of Naples and Portugal as they might have done.

Turning then to the West Indies, the Lord Chancellor assured the House that government would have retained Martinique in preference to Trinidad, had it been in their power; but as that object could not be obtained, what alternative was there? Nothing but that of spending thirty millions more, that ministers might be able to ask them-



selves that day twelve months, how many more years were to pass away before peace could be made.

But if the present treaty was to be condemned, on what terms would its opponents consent to a peace? There were some members in both Houses, who thought it necessary to continue the war until the ancient monarchy of France should be restored. He would not then enter into the question, how far that was a desirable object; but if the present government of France was an evil, how was it to be removed? It could not be done without a great coalition of the European powers; and even when the combination did exist, it was able to effect nothing. And on the other hand, to have insisted on continuing the war till France would restore all the territory it had seized on the continent of Europe, would have been, on the part of ministers, a criminal waste of blood and treasure.

From the dissemination of French principles there was now no reason to apprehend any danger; to say that the present government of France was founded on principles destructive to civilized government, was an absurdity in itself; and the people of England had too much sense to shed the blood of one half their countrymen in a civil war, for the sole prospect of gaining something which could never be called a system of liberty.

As to the danger, that the peace would not be permanent, there was a greater chance of its being so now than in 1797, when the late ministers negotiated with France; and, although he did not attempt to represent this peace as a glorious one, yet it was a peace which he be-

lieved would be conducive to the security of the substantial interests of the country.

The Earl of Moira, although most of the sentiments he intended to deliver had been anticipated by the Lord Chancellor, offered some arguments against those adduced by Lord Grenville. The peace had been termed inadequate, and so it certainly was; but how? It was inadequate to the expectations which that noble lord and his colleagues had so confidently held out to both Houses of Parliament, and to the country at the commencement of the war; of indemnity for the past, and security for the future. Those were promises given by the noble lord in that House, year after year; and, although more ample supplies than had ever been intrusted to ministers in any former war were voted every year with a prodigal liberality, yet, year after year, all their promises failed, and still the blind confidence and delusion of the people continued till they were brought to the verge of ruin, and a peace at any price became absolutely necessary. His lordship also insisted that the peace was not as it had been called, hollow and precarious, and that the 'cessions which had been made by the British government were not just objects of censure. From the moderation and candour observable in the speech of the noble Secretary of State, he flattered himself that his majesty's present servants meant well, and that among other proofs of their inclination to give the people the full and free enjoyment of the constitution, they would do away those violations of it, which, in his opinion, had not been justified by actual necessity, but which could

now



now be no longer requisite, if at any time there had been any such necessity. The peace, he added, would be likely to produce the most beneficial effects on the seditious in Ireland.

The Earl of Warwick rejoiced in the peace, as highly necessary to terminate the difficulties and distresses of the country; at the same time, he did not consider the preliminaries adequate to the expectations which our glorious successes intitled us to entertain; nor did it appear that we had been able to keep our faith with our allies, or to obtain the smallest pledge of security for the performance and safety of the peace.

Lord Mulgrave, comparing the present terms with the *projet* of 1797, could not but think, that, considering the enormous expenditure that had since taken place, no less than one hundred and twenty-five millions, peace was cheaply purchased at the price we had consented to pay for it. It would puzzle a plain man to find out what beneficial consequences we could expect from prolonging the contest; at sea, scarcely a point remained at which France was vulnerable, and on land, for England singly to attack her, was little short of madness. His lordship then shewed the value of Ceylon and Trinidad, which had been retained, and reduced to their just estimate the conquests which had been surrendered. He noticed also our security and extensive power in India, which made Cochin of no particular value; and in an animated eulogium attributed that security and power to the valour and skill of our naval and military defenders.

The Duke of Bedford, support-

ing the peace, applauded the candour and moderation of the Secretary of State, as a contrast to some expressions of the mover and seconder of the address in which he could not concur. He defended the coalition, which he considered to have been improperly reflected on by Lord Limerick, and insisted that the appellation of factious demagogues, could not with justice be applied to the party who had acted with Mr. Fox. On the war, which the present ministers had just put an end to, the noble lord who had arraigned the preliminaries in terms of such severity, might recollect that it was owing to the ill conduct of it, that an inadequate peace was now made. It could not be forgotten, that he and his colleagues had uniformly been humbled by every turn of ill fortune, and elevated beyond bounds by the return of success. In the one situation, they had condescended to hold the most abject language, and, in the other, they had assumed a tone of arrogance and insult. If it were not at the expence of the country, what a triumph might not he and his friends feel, at the fulfilment of all the predictions they had so repeatedly made, that a war so miscondacted would surely end in an unequal and disgraceful peace. Lord Grenville had no reason to applaud his own *projet* of 1797 as preferable to the treaty now concluded; since, notwithstanding the extraordinary success of our arms, owing to the gallantry and intrepidity of our officers by sea and land, military success placed the French republic, if possible, in a higher situation than that in which it stood in 1797. He did no more than act consistently with the language he



had held for years, in declaring his thorough approbation of the peace, unequal as it was, and disgraceful as it might be. His Grace entertained lively hopes, that the king's present servants would conduct themselves on principles of more equanimity and less violence than their predecessors; that they would not be forward to shew humiliation and abjectness to the strong, and pride and disdain to the weak. He returned them his thanks for having made the peace, and he trusted, that they would follow it up by a full restoration of the constitution to the people, and an immediate repeal of those statutes, which originated in childish alarm, and unfounded apprehension of dangers that never existed, but in the minds of his majesty's ministers. His Grace concluded with declaring, that he would vote for the address, and a promise that he would support ministers, if they continued in the same course in which they had commenced their career in office.

The Bishop of Rochester apologized for the course he was about to take, by saying, he was aware how awkward it was for him to rise from the bench on which he sat, and appear the enemy of peace. He was not an enemy to peace, but to the semblance, the counterfeit, and the pretence of peace, which contained in it the germs of future war, and possibly ruin and destruction to the country. Pursuing this notion, the bishop stated his objections to the treaty, on nearly the same grounds as Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville, and reprobated the arguments by which the preliminaries had been defended. The mass of cessions, he said, should be weighed against the advantages of

a precarious and hollow truce, and then the House would be able to decide with judgment and exactness. Having incurred so much danger, he hoped the king's servants would meet it with vigorous measures, and above all, that they would not rescind those salutary statutes that had preserved peace and tranquillity, and kept down the factious and seditious.

The Bishop of London said, he was only anxious to be heard, lest the House should conclude that all the reverend bench were of the same opinion, with the right reverend prelate who preceded him. He was satisfied with the peace, because after nine years of war, and two of famine, in which the people had suffered such severe distress, repose was absolutely necessary to the country, to recover its resources, and renovate its strength. He was also satisfied, that, although the resources of the country were not exhausted, it would be an useless waste of blood and treasure to continue the war, since our successes in every part of the globe had been pursued as far as the French republic was vulnerable.

Earl Fitzwilliam, in expressing his disapprobation of the peace, denied that he was unwilling to agree to any treaty made with republican France. He agreed with Lord Grenville in considering it a hollow, and precarious truce, with no symptoms of security or permanence. The terms of the *projet* at Lisle, were more favourable to the country than the disgraceful and humiliating conditions now obtained, and the exultation of the people appeared extremely suspicious, and the effect of momentary delusion, which would vanish as soon



soon as they should return to their reason, and calmly reflect on the importance of the cessions and sacrifices we had made, and the comparative insignificance of the cessions of the French republic. For the two islands of Trinidad and Ceylon, this country had been nine years engaged in war, and had wasted some hundred millions of money, and the lives of thousands of her subjects. Among other objections, not the least, was the letting loose of corresponding societies, and giving an opportunity of dispersing the pernicious principles of the French republic to the seditious and disaffected. But while he professed these sentiments, the Earl declared, that he was far from wishing that the public faith should not be kept. His majesty had been advised to order the preliminaries to be signed, and however ill he might think of them, he would be the last to recommend the smallest departure from the sacred execution of them.

The Earl of Westmoreland expressed regret that in the few observations he was about to offer, he should appear to differ from two noble lords with whom he had long acted, but in fact it was those noble lords who differed from themselves. If the whole subject was a matter of mere terms as Lord Grenville had stated, it was a little extraordinary that those noble lords should insist with so much indignation against the present preliminaries, after they had themselves offered the *projet* of 1797, and called upon that House to concur in an address to the throne approving that *projet*. After an able investigation of this *projet* compared with the present preli-

minaries, his lordship pronounced the peace, such as it was, a desirable one for Great Britain, and that it had been made at a happy moment.

Earl St. Vincent denied that the preliminaries on the table were attended with circumstances of humiliation and disgrace; he was convinced they were equally honourable and advantageous to this country, and the share he had in advising them, he should ever consider as the pride of his life. We had obtained two of the most valuable islands in the habitable globe, considered either in a political or commercial view.

Lord Nelson too, defended the preliminaries against the imputation of too extensive cessions. Minorca, he said, was of little value to us, as at too great a distance from Toulon to serve as a station to watch the fleets. On his return from the battle of Aboukir, he had thought it his first object to blockade Malta, because he deemed it an invaluable service to rescue it from the hands of the French. In any other view, it was of no consequence to this country. It was true, it contained a most extensive and commodious harbour, with a strong fortification, but it would require at least 7000 soldiers to man the works. By the preliminaries, that island was to be put in the possession of a third power, and in any hands but those of the French, it became immaterial to us. As to the Cape of Good Hope, when the Indian men were heavy ships, it might have been found useful to them to touch there and refit, but now since those ships were coppered, like men of war, and swift sailers, it frequently happened that they



reached India without touching at any port whatever. He considered it as merely a tavern in the passage, which served to call at, and thence often to delay the voyage. It produced little that made it worth holding, and it could not be maintained but at an enormous expence, and therefore, considering the present situation of our territories in England, ministers had acted with prudence and economy in giving up the Cape, and making it a free port. The king had often assured parliament that he would be ready to accede to terms of peace as soon as the government of France should wear an appearance of permanency; and could any man now say, that government was not as permanent as that of any other state? Ministers were therefore pledged to seize the first opportunity of making peace, and the preliminaries on the table were honourable and advantageous.

The Marquis of Buckingham lamented sincerely that he could not give his assent to the preliminaries on the table, because he thought them humiliating and disgraceful. They were dishonourable, inasmuch they did not keep faith with our allies, but left them exposed and unprotected. Portugal, in particular, was most shamefully abandoned, for the treaty with France, of which the House had heard and seen so much, had been ratified since the first of October, the day on which the preliminaries were signed. By that treaty this country was all but excluded from her former commercial intercourse with Portugal, and if it were true that the cloths of France were to be received as those of the most favoured nation, our woollen manufacturers

would soon taste the bitter fruits of this peace, in the loss, if not of our greatest, at least of our oldest customer. With regard to security, nothing was stipulated, but we were left to depend solely on the bare word and honour of the person now holding the government of the French republic. What was there in the character or conduct of that person which should give us any just and reasonable hopes, that he would not take the earliest, the first favourable opportunity of breaking the peace? In what instance had he shewn the milk of human kindness so much as to lead us to rely on his abstaining from fresh hostilities, as soon as he felt his interest to recommence the war against us? Had he never betrayed a rooted jealousy towards this country, an implacable revenge, and a deep lodged hatred? Was his milk of human kindness so superabundant and overflowing as to wash from his remembrance all his past animosity towards us? Since the signing of the preliminaries, the intrigues of the French had negotiated a private peace between the republic and the Porte, and preventing the latter from feeling a just and grateful sense of the manifold support and assistance we had afforded it (greater assistance he would venture to say than had ever been afforded the Porte by any European power) and prevented it from making those returns to which we were intitled. Let their lordships remember that we had conceded every thing that would enable the French republic to recover its commerce, and restore its marine. We had given to the First Consul "a giant's strength," and we might be assured, he would "use it like a giant." Another matter truly alarming,



alarming, his lordship said, was, that, although it was stipulated that the seamen of France confined in this country were not to be returned before the definitive treaty was signed, yet report said, that many of them were already embarked and sailed from our ports. If this were so, it was putting into the power of the French republic instantly to equip her own navy, the navy of Spain, and the navy of Holland, and thus enabling her immediately to recommence hostilities against us.\* Paying a just tribute to the valour of the sea and land forces, the Marquis observed that when ministers first came into office, he had declared that he could not give them his confidence, because they were untried men, but he had nevertheless forbore to oppose any of their measures till the present preliminaries came to be the subject of consideration. It was painful to him to object to them, but entertaining the sentiments he had expressed, he could not vote for the proposed address. If any thing could lessen the danger to which he in his conscience thought the terms of peace exposed the country, it must be by following up the measure on the table by others of vigour and energy; if his majesty's ministers would make the necessary exertions to render the peace less precarious than it appeared to him to be, he would give them his hearty support.

The Earl of Caernarvon also condemned the peace. He began by censuring a principle which he understood to have been advanced

by the Lord Chancellor, that no peer ought to disapprove the present treaty, unless he could present an outline of a better; nor would he agree that the approbation of the *projet* of 1797 prevented the House from condemning the present terms, even if the former were less beneficial than those under consideration. Recapitulating some of the arguments of the Lord Chancellor and the Marquis of Buckingham, he observed, he felt no apprehension, that France would not wait till the definitive treaty had put her in possession of all the advantages of the peace; but when we had restored without equivalent, all that had been taken in nine years of war, with small exceptions, and disgracefully submitted to the uncompensated plunder of our friends and allies, she might then pursue, against this country, any object which her policy, or insatiable ambition, might dictate, and her augmented power might enable her to execute. These preliminaries the moment they were put into execution, would place us in a worse relative situation than at the moment the treaty was signed, or in any period of the war; and we must then depend upon the good faith of a nation, not conspicuous for that virtue, and generally esteemed our natural enemy, and trust that she will not avail herself of her advantages. The Lord Chancellor had put a question on each individual article, whether it was an object worth the continuance of a bloody war, and an annual expenditure of millions, as if each separate article required a se-

\* The return of the French seamen was immediately and expressly contradicted by Lord St. Vincent.



parate war, and its pursuit the separate expenditure of millions, as it might require separate discussions on its utility. Those who considered the peace as necessary, had only viewed the state of this country, and shut their eyes to that of France; but France was, as much as this country, fatigued and exhausted with the war, and a peace, more adequate, safe and honourable, might have been obtained, had not our negotiators ineffectually surrendered the interests of the country.

Lord Hobart investigated the objections advanced against the peace. It was a mistake to say that the French were enabled by the treaty with Portugal, to erect a port within one hundred miles of the river Amazons, in South America, by that part of the compact which made the river Arrouara the limitation of the cession made to France. And as to the alarm of our being excluded from the usual exercise of our commercial intercourse with Portugal, there was undoubtedly an article in the treaty between that country and France, which excluded us from all commercial intercourse with Portugal during the war; but, on its termination, the exclusion was to cease, and we were to be admitted to a commerce equally free with France or any other nation. The mutiny in our fleets could not have formed one reason for framing the *projet* in 1797, in terms so favourable to the French, for the mutiny was at an end before that *projet* was tendered, and Lord Duncan's victory over the Dutch, which took place in that year, proved that there was no mutiny remaining; and after that, his majesty had expressed his

inclination, notwithstanding the success of his arms, to listen to any terms of peace that might be safe and honourable to the country. His lordship supported Lord Mulgrave's declaration, that Cochin was now of no importance to us, while we had possession of the Myfore territory; and it might be added, that Cochin was no port, that it had a bar before it, so that none but small craft could approach, and that a large ship could not even be hove down. It was surrounded by our possessions, and those of the Rajah of Travancore, our ally, so that we had nothing to apprehend from the cession of it to Holland, even although that republic was under the influence of France. With regard to the Cape, it could only be kept at an enormous expence; it had already cost a million, and increased the scarcity of corn in England. Nor was it necessary for ships to touch there, in their passage to India, and in war his majesty's ships might water at the Cape de Verd islands, at Madagascar, and at various other places. With respect to the *projet* of 1797, Lord Grenville had omitted to mention, that he had not only offered, by that *projet*, to cede Martinique and other islands in the West Islands, but also Cape Nicola Mole, and other valuable ports then in our possession in that quarter. Nor was there any ground for the alarm, that the peace would encourage the seditious societies, and the agents of French principles. In the first place, France herself had abandoned those dangerous and pernicious doctrines that the republic at one time held, and disavowed that extraordinary declaration of their determined purpose to overthrow all the



the established and regular governments of Europe; and as to any apprehensions of the corresponding societies, and the advantage that domestic traitors might be inclined to take of the peace, he could assure the House, that already all the societies and disaffected persons shrunk their heads with shame and despair, exasperated that so effectual an end was put to the possibility of carrying their traitorous designs into practice. In the course of the debate, several lords had taken notice of the stadtholder, our firm ally, and had objected to the preliminaries, on the ground, that no care had been taken of him; the fact was, ministers were not insensible to the stadtholder's claims on this country, for their

best interference in his behalf; but it was at his express desire, that no stipulation was made in his favour, in the articles on the table, because an arrangement was negotiating, through the medium of the court of Berlin, which promised a favourable issue. The present preliminaries, his lordship observed, were the basis of a peace, as likely to be safe, honourable, and permanent, as Great Britain, under all the circumstances of the relative situation of the two countries could hope for.

This protracted debate, which continued till five o'clock in the morning, terminated in a division, in which the numbers were, contents 94, proxies 20; non-contents 10.

#### C H A P. IV.

*Debate on the Preliminaries in the House of Commons. The Address moved by Sir Edward Hartopp; seconded by Mr. Lee; the peace disapproved by Lord Levison Gower; vindication of the treaty by Lord Hawkesbury; censure of it by Mr. Thomas Grenville; defence by Lord Castlereagh; it is opposed by Lord Temple; approved by Mr. Banks, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Address voted without a division.*

Nov. 3. **W**HILE this discussion was proceeding in the Lords, the lower House was engaged with equal eagerness on the same subject.

In this House too, the debate was anticipated by a question relative to the integrity of Portugal, which was offered by Mr. Thomas Grenville, in terms similar to those used by his relative in the House of Peers. Lord Hawkesbury, avowing that the only information he had on the subject was a confidential communication from the court of Lisbon, stating that the only sur-

render of territory made by Portugal to Spain, by the treaty of Badajoz was that of the town of Olivenza. The treaty of Madrid was not ratified by France; and the only regulation made by the treaty of Portugal with France was an alteration of the frontier between the two Guianas, making the river Arrouara their common boundary.

After a few words on this topic from Mr. Grey, who was answered by Lord Hawkesbury, the title of the preliminaries was read, and Sir Edward Hartopp, intreating indulgence to his imperfections, expressed his



his sanguine hope that as the sentiments of the people without doors were universally and unanimously in approbation of the peace, so would the sentiments of those whom he had the honour to address. The war had been just and necessary; its two great objects were to defend their country from the destructive and sanguinary doctrines of jacobinism; and to prevent France from extending its dominion over the continent of Europe. The destructive principles which had occasioned the war, had, he hoped, sufficiently manifested their own malignity to be for ever reprobated by the people of these realms. Even in France they were generally detested; and thus by the excess of their own violence and malignity had effected their own destruction. By our vigilance and perseverance, we had maintained unimpaired the purity of our happy constitution. Our widely extended dominions in every quarter of the world, we had not only preserved in their integrity, but considerably increased by valuable attainments in the East and West Indies; and of these we secured the retention of the very valuable possessions of Ceylon and Trinidad. The treaty proved, on the part of this country, a spirit of liberality and moderation, and vindicated the British character from every imputation of rapacity or injustice. The cause of failure in the other great object of the war, was the want of co-operation on the part of our allies, which rendered it expedient for us to enter into negotiations for peace. The unparalleled events of the last campaign had not altered the pacific dispositions of ministers, but by surrender-

ing a part of our conquests as a price of security to our allies, we had held forth to Europe an illustrious example of honour, justice, and faith. His motion was, for an address, thanking his majesty for the communication of the preliminaries, and expressing the firm reliance of the House, that the final ratification of those preliminaries would be highly advantageous to the interests, and honourable to the character, of the British nation.

Mr. Lee seconded the motion, and in applauding the peace, vindicated the war, denying that it had been commenced on a principle of interference with the internal forms of government in France. When Austria and Prussia had commenced hostilities, Great Britain had, in 1792, reduced her naval establishment far below that of France; and her military force to 16,000 men; but France, on the contrary, had laboured to effect the subversion of the British constitution, and to excite rebellion in Ireland by the same revolutionary principles upon which her own government was subverted. The House could not forget the machinations practised by emissaries sent hither to seduce the lower order of the people of England; the operations of the corresponding and reforming societies; and the effects of their lessons upon, and committees formed in, Birmingham, Sheffield, and other manufacturing towns; as well as the laws which became necessary for their suppression. Austria had views decidedly hostile to the French revolution. Those of England were merely for self-defence; but fearing, however, the disposition of France towards this country, it became the duty of England



to unite with the other powers of Europe for common defence. Having thus described the origin, Mr. Lee gave an account of the progress of the war, enumerating the glories of the British forces both by sea and land, and applauding the vigour displayed in the contest with the northern nations. By the extension of our power in India, and the acquisition of Ceylon and Trinidad, we had augmented our territories to a degree at least equally important with the extension effected by France.

Mr. Lee then noticed the efforts which had been made by the former administration for the attainment of peace. In 1796, ministers had offered to surrender all our conquests stipulating only for the Cape of Good Hope, and could any person who was in office at that time, and agreed to those cessions, object to those which the present ministry had made. The surrender of the Dutch East India settlements proposed at Lisle, was now infinitely less objectionable; since the possession of the Mysore country left no room for apprehension.

We had succeeded in all the great objects of the war, in the preservation of our constitution, and the defence of territories; and having made the Cape of Good Hope a neutral port, it could not be worth while to risk another campaign for the chance of effecting a better alternative. Our best security for the permanence of peace, was, because France and England, the two greatest powers in the war, had approved it, and were considerable gainers by the contest. The objection arising from the instability of the French executive government was removed; but whether that co-

lossal power was permanent or crumbled to pieces, we ought not to interfere with its internal policy. The chief consul amused the people with an idea that they enjoyed a free republic, while in fact, he himself possessed more absolute authority over them than the Bourbons had ever exercised; but the people were satisfied, and no form of government established since the revolution had promised so much stability. There was, in fact, no security for peace between any two nations, the moment it became the interest of either to violate it; and when an Emperor of Morocco directly avowed that to be his principle, he had spoken, in plain blunt terms, the liberal language and principles of the modern courts of Europe.

Lord Levison Gower could not agree that any gentleman who was friendly to the terms offered during the negotiation at Lisle, was necessarily bound to give his approbation to the terms of the preliminaries now submitted to consideration. It was not merely by considering the terms but the circumstances, that the comparison must be made. A short time before that negotiation commenced, the bank had stopped its payments, and commercial credit had received a most violent shock. A spirit of dangerous insubordination existed in our fleet, and the funds had fallen so low as almost to give birth to despair of the future resources of the country. In Ireland, though rebellion had not openly broken out in the field, yet symptoms of violent disaffection had been unequivocally displayed, and communications were held with the enemy for the purpose of overthrowing the govern-



ment. The navy of the enemy was then nearly equal to our own; in the north sea we were inferior in numbers, and in the Mediterranean there was not a single British frigate, while the empire of the enemy was undisputed and uncontrolled. But how changed was the present aspect of our public affairs! Credit and commerce had risen to the utmost pitch of splendour. Ireland was for ever secured to us by the act of Union. Our fleet was in a state of most excellent discipline, and the spirit of our sailors was elated by the remembrance of the brilliant victories in which they had shared. Yet were our present cessions infinitely greater than those proposed in that negotiation. These cessions his lordship enumerated, complained of the French treaty with Portugal, but added, that although the terms of the preliminaries were far below his expectations, as he had witnessed the universal joy which the news of peace excited throughout the country, he could not consent to vote against it.

Lord Hawkesbury began a detailed and able vindication of the peace by objecting to the comparison endeavoured to be made between it, and the *projet* delivered by Lord Grenville in 1797, because no man could venture to deny that Lord Grenville would gladly have taken less from the government of France than he demanded at that period of the negotiation. The additional effusion of blood and increase of debt rendered peace desirable at this time, although it was far from true that ministers in making it were impelled by an overruling necessity. His lordship was aware that the peace, however eligible, however adequate to the re-

lative state of this country and of France, however it might be justified on principles of sound policy, was not free from all evil, all chance, all risk or danger. But, what event had ever taken place, or what event would yet take place, in accounting for which it had been or would be possible to remove every objection? He would not pledge himself for the security which the peace would give to this country, or be responsible for the stability of the treaty; but, under all circumstances, he would maintain that it was honourable and advantageous.

To the objection that the end of the contest had not been gained by the peace, Lord Hawkesbury answered, that the destruction of republicanism was not its object; and that no interference in the internal concerns of France was intended. This country was forced into the war by the conduct of France; it was she who interfered in the affairs of other nations; who took part and direction in the internal regulations of all countries; who, both openly, and by her agents and intrigues, propagated disaffection, sedition, anarchy, and revolt. The revolution was a torrent so dreadful and violent in its origin and progress, that no man, or set of men, could be so sanguine as to entertain a hope of checking its rage and impetuosity: but if we had opposed it, even in its fatal and almost irresistible course, with some success; if we had, even when there existed but a very faint prospect of a favourable issue to our labours, rendered it less dangerous in its effects than it would otherwise have been: if we had, at least, changed its direction, and made it flow in a channel



channel less injurious to the general happiness and interests of the world; some acknowledgment must be due to the wisdom, vigilance, and perseverance of government, as well as to the spirit and exertions of the country. The most superficial observer, viewing the present state of France, considering the striking and almost incredible alteration which had taken place in the manners, opinions and habits since 1793, must be convinced that an important change was effected, and the moral evils of peace greatly diminished.

With regard to the continuance of hostilities there were two considerations by which we must be regulated: first, whether we possessed the power of forming another coalition against France; and second, if we continued the war, what harm could France do to us, and what harm we could do to France? The ill success of two coalitions was but too well known, and the state of Europe presented no probabilities of forming a third; and as to the mutual injuries which Great Britain and France might inflict, it would not require many words to shew satisfactorily, that a cessation of any thing like serious and decisive aggression had taken place.

In defending the peace, three considerations pressed strongly on his mind. The time, the tone, and the terms of the treaty.

The time was that when our triumphs were complete, and when it became the spirit and the magnanimity of the government, and the people, to listen to the voice of peace.

The tone of the peace was that of dignity and independence; the honour of the nation had been pre-

served, and every idea of humiliation resisted with success, both with respect to ourselves and our allies.

As to the terms, it would first be proper to direct the attention of the House to our conduct toward our allies; and particularly to the strict maintenance of that good faith for which we have been so eminently distinguished. Our generosity had released powers connected with us, from express and positive stipulations, when they were exposed to danger, from continuing faithful. To Portugal every assistance had been given consistent with our strength, and with her interests. Naples was called upon by France to exclude our shipping from her ports; but she went further, and joined in an alliance which would have warranted a declaration of war; yet we had interfered in her favour, and obtained the restoration of her dominions and the re-establishment of her independence. For the Ottoman Porte, which of all our allies remained faithful to the last, we obtained not only the restitution of all her dominions and territories, but also the renunciation of France to acquisitions which threatened her independence, and even her existence. France had ceded Venice to Austria; Austria had, in return, ceded the ex-venetian islands to France. These islands, which from their situation might have been productive of the most serious danger to the Porte, had been abandoned by the republic, and their independence recognized. There were indeed two other powers which it might be proper to notice; the Stadtholder and the King of Sardinia: we were not bound by any obligation of strict faith towards them; yet every



every thing which this country could do for them had been performed. An arrangement with respect to the former had at our instance been carried on at Berlin; but, from various causes, withdrawn. In favour of Sardinia we had also interfered, although she had given up the coalition, and entered into an offensive alliance with France.

Coming next to the subject of acquisitions, Lord Hawkesbury observed that the spirit of acquiring might easily be strained beyond its proper limits; an increase of power does not take place in proportion to the increase of acquisitions. Applying this observation to the West and East Indies, he could not perceive any cession made by us which could be the subject of regret; nor was any possession given to France which ought to be viewed with jealousy. Minorca we had always conquered when we pleased, and always restored it at the conclusion of peace. Of Malta, he spoke with less confidence: from its situation, and its almost impregnable state, it was certainly of considerable political importance in the Mediterranean; but it was no source of trade and opulence; and if it were considered as connected with the prosperity of the Levant trade, its importance in that respect would be greatly diminished. The Levant trade might, like many other subjects of commercial speculation, be highly valued; but as it related to this country, it was next to nothing. The British manufactures exported to the Levant, during the war, had not exceeded 112,000*l*. Its chief supply had been from the South of Europe, and the articles drawn from the North had been

furnished by the Dutch. If it were asked how the Dutch, who had no port in the Mediterranean, could carry on this commerce with more advantage than England; the answer would be, that their quarantine laws were more lax, and in that respect wiser, than ours. His lordship then descanted in warm language on the value of Ceylon and Trinidad, contending, on the whole, that although some gentlemen might refuse to the peace the term glorious, it was, at least, honourable.

In proof of this assertion, Lord Hawkesbury examined the treaties of Ryswick, of Utrecht, of Aix-la-Chapelle, of Paris, and of Versailles. By two of these peaces, those of Ryswick and Aix-la-Chapelle, the country gained nothing. By that of Versailles, we lost very considerably, for we were deprived of our American colonies and some valuable possessions. It was only by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, and that of Paris, in 1763, that we gained any thing. Yet the treaty of Utrecht was not superior to the present in point of advantage, or in the promise of stability. By the treaty of Paris, France gave up Canada, and Florida was ceded by Spain, yet they were not real acquisitions. In the peace of Utrecht the severity of the conditions imposed on France, disposed her to renew the war; and the cessions made to us by that of Paris led to the contest between England and America.

With respect to the negotiation at Lisle, it was difficult to conceive the consistency of persons who could sign that treaty, and object to this. In the *projet* we only required Ceylon, Trinidad, and the Cape;

if



if we had since obtained several important possessions, we had been deprived of others, among which was St. Domingo, where we had some of the most valuable points and strongest holds. The only power we then stipulated for was Portugal, yet nothing was attempted at that time to what had been effected at this. The increased power of France was to be considered, but, on the other hand, Austria, Russia, and Prussia had also made great acquisitions, by the partition of Poland, and the appropriation of Venice.

In estimating the relative power of Great Britain and France, his lordship took a comprehensive view of the augmented commerce, and extended navy of this country, comparing the present state of each, with that which it was in before the war, and observing that the manufactures and commerce of France were depressed to the lowest degree, and, were her whole attention directed to the recruiting of her navy, she could not, in many years, rival that of Great Britain, and were hostilities to be renewed in seven, eight, or ten years, we should enter into them with more advantages than we did into the late contest.

“ I have one question,” Lord Hawkesbury said in concluding, “ to put to every man who hears me, and that is, whether peace could be made upon safer and more honourable terms? His Majesty’s ministers accepted their situations when the country was involved in war with almost every power of Europe; with France, Spain, Russia, and the rest of the Northern powers. The convention concluded with them, will I trust, be considered

“ as a fair acknowledgment of our maritime rights, and with that acknowledgment it is ardently to be hoped, that the complete restoration of peace and harmony will take place. Since that event, a peace with France has been effected. I do not wish to affirm that it has been brought about by any extraordinary means; but I can say with confidence, for my colleagues and myself, that nothing has been neglected, nothing left undone on our part, in exertion, in perseverance, and in moderation, to give to the country that blessing of which it was so much in want, and for which it is so eminently indebted to its own admirable spirit and patriotism, and to the zeal and gallantry of its soldiers and sailors. We have been engaged in a most tremendous contest: but we have come out of it with honour and advantage. The situation of Europe, and that of Great Britain, may still appear critical; yet I hope that in a sound system of policy, consisting of a mixture of firmness and moderation, will be always found a counterpoise to every danger, and a remedy for every evil.”

The refutation of these arguments was undertaken by Mr. Thomas Grenville. He denied that he had ever contended that the restoration of the French monarchy should be the *sine quâ non*; but he could not admit, in the unqualified manner in which it had been assumed by the gentleman who seconded the motion, that one nation had no right to interfere with the internal government of another, for the purpose of preventing an enormous aggrandizement, big with danger



danger to ourselves. But while he disclaimed the wild notions which had been imputed to him, he hoped he should never be found amongst those faithless watchmen of the state, who should seek to lull the people into a false security and a treacherous repose; he, and those with whom he acted, were not, as had been said in some of the public papers, hostile to his majesty, nor to his ministers, but he felt it his duty to contend, that both in the present treaty, and in the convention with the northern powers, ministers had assumed an humble tone, which would lead to consequences dangerous to the existence of the country.

The gentlemen who had that night supported the peace, had purposely dissembled the real object of the war; which was, in truth, indemnity and security. The enemy had threatened the existence of our liberties and our constitution; to preserve them, and obtain indemnity for the expences which we had been compelled to incur, and security for the future, was the real and avowed object of the war. Ministers seemed to have forgotten our victories and conquests, but the recollection of them would remain to heighten and aggravate the reflections that must arise from the contemplation of our sacrifices: to have been victorious, and yet to have been treated as a vanquished nation, was indeed a galling and a mortifying reflection.

Mr. Grenville then entered into a comparison of the terms of the present treaty with those which were offered at Lisle; endeavouring to shew that the latter were far preferable. He disapproved the epigrammatic observation that it was such a peace as every man was

glad of, but no man proud of; for if Englishmen could rejoice at a bad peace, of which they could not be proud, the national character was totally lost. The supporters of the peace had prudently forborne to insist on its glory, but persevered in representing it as honourable. It had been truly contended, that time and circumstances were necessary considerations in the conclusion of a treaty; but he was at a loss to perceive the wisdom of that policy, which would reject better terms in a moment of dismay, and accede to worse in the hour of victory and confidence: there might be a shew of magnanimity in such conduct, but was it wise, was it politic, was it compatible with the real interests of the country?

Then examining how far the peace was honourable as it related to our allies, Mr. Grenville said, that the integrity of the Sublime Porte had been secured. But was that her opinion? did she feel secure? A week after this stipulation for her security, a week after this extraordinary instance of our magnanimity had been displayed, Turkey preferred the guarantee of her enemy to that of her ally, and chose to negotiate for herself. As we had compelled the French to evacuate Egypt, both the security of Turkey and our own, required that we should have retained in our possession some strong fortress, garrisoned by British troops. Without this precaution, what was there to prevent the French from returning to Egypt? At the very moment when we magnanimously stipulated for the evacuation of that country, there was not a French soldier remaining in it, (thanks to General Hutchinson) who was not



a prisoner to our gallant, perfecting, and victorious army. The integrity of Naples, was as insecure as Turkey; for the French might return to it, especially as they retained possession of the Cisalpine republic, and the distance was not more than sixty miles. In casting our eyes over the map of Europe, we should look in vain for the kingdom of Sardinia; in the Mediterranean, the king had only the little island of Sardinia left, for the security of which he was solely indebted to the protection of our fleet; a protection which he would lose the moment the definitive treaty was signed. He next adverted to the treaty of Badajos, and to the cession of a portion of the Portuguese territory in the Brazils; and asked whether it was to be understood that our treaty with France sanctioned that cession? Portugal, like Naples, had been secured by us in the integrity of her possessions; and our magnanimity on this occasion had been loudly vaunted, because those two powers had formed separate treaties with the enemy. But were not those treaties the effect of compulsion on the one hand, and the result of conquest on the other? Should we have been justified in declaring war against Portugal and Naples for yielding against their will, to dire necessity? If no blame, then, attached to Portugal, if she ought really to be considered as our ally, as no human being could suspect her of possessing the ability to resist her enemy, there could not be the smallest reason for any diminution of our attachment to her. How had we provided for her security? The preliminary articles would tell. Looking at them, he read these sti-

pulations: "V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose dominions and possessions shall be secured in their integrity such as they were before the war. VI. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty shall also be maintained in their integrity." France, as far as any treaty could bind her, had concluded a peace with Portugal; but had taken from her Olivença and the adjoining territory, and at the same time, took for herself a portion of the Brazils, which gave her the command of the river Amazon and all the adjacent coast. Was this the mode of guarantying the possessions, of securing the integrity of a faithful ally? Not unless integrity and dismemberment were synonymous terms.

The term honourable was absurdly applied to the present treaty. No peace was safe that was not honourable, and no peace honourable which was not safe; but, unfortunately, this peace was neither: nor could any peace be honourable, which gave us territories that did not belong to the power by whom they were given. He was surprised at the expressions of ministers, relative to the acquisitions we had made by the present peace, which had been contrasted with Lord Malmesbury's *project*. We should have been fully justified in the retention of Ceylon, and the Cape, and Cochin, for the more effectual defence of our eastern empire. His mind was not satisfied with the situation in which the Cape was left by the treaty; we had ceded a port which might become a great annoyance to our trade; and it furnished a military station





station of vast importance in the event of a sudden war. The Marquis Cornwallis had strongly pressed the necessity of retaining Cochin, and the Cape; or if only one of them, the Cape in preference. The importance of that settlement might be considered less than was represented; and it might be said that our ships might touch at the Brazils. The settlement which the French had acquired in that quarter, would then become of additional importance. The Cape and Cochin were insisted on by Lord Malmesbury, at Lisle, as points from which we would not recede; and these were now given up, from that want of vigour, spirit and prudence, which marked our negotiations. An attempt had been made to represent the Levant trade as unimportant to this country; but our manufacturers would tell a far different tale. Was Malta too unimportant; that fortrefs which had sustained a blockade of nearly two years? To rescue Malta and Egypt from France was deemed an object of primary importance; but when it was considered expedient to give them up, their importance suddenly vanished, and they became trivial and insignificant. No part of the treaty of peace, nor any thing connected with it, excited so much astonishment in his mind, as our treatment of the House of Orange, except the defence of that treatment. Britain was formally bound by a solemn treaty with that House. He understood some private arrangement was making, between France and Prussia; but the Prince of Orange was not to be thrown as an outcast on the world, by those for whom he had sacrificed his all. Where would have been the difficulty in in-

troducing an article in the preliminaries, similar to one which was prepared at the negotiation at Lisle, which stipulated for the restoration of the whole property of the House of Orange, or its full value in money? There could be no objection; but we wanted the spirit, the vigour, the courage to support an ally, who had been so unfortunate as to be an enemy to France! Though he did not think the peace of 1783 was either glorious or honourable, it presented nothing but defeat and humiliation, but the present would be found infinitely worse in itself, and infinitely more dangerous in its consequences. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had indignantly disclaimed the plea of necessity, and no one would contend that we were reduced to the necessity of making a peace, dishonourable to our allies or unsafe to ourselves. Mr. Grenville then contrasted the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, and that of 1763, with those of the present peace; showing the vast augmentation of power which France had acquired now, and the consequent increase of danger to ourselves. In the event of a war, notwithstanding our stipulations, all the ports and fortresses in the Mediterranean would be seized by France, and shut against us. She would monopolize its commerce in time of peace, its power in time of war. Acting upon such a principle of negotiation, or rather of sacrifice, if the definitive treaty were completed, it would place us in a state of war with France in twelve months. Could peace be good if its duration were so short? It would reduce us to the necessity of dismantling our navy, and disbanding our army and our volunteers; it



it had deprived us of all the military points and stations; and, notwithstanding all our exertions of economy, what would be our condition, if France, in the course of twelve months, should take us unprepared, and direct her whole power against us? Such a war would shake our country to the very centre.

Lord Castlereagh did not feel any of those fears which so much alarmed the last speaker. If France thought proper to commence a fresh war, we should be found capable of again repelling her attacks. The peace would try France; and it was fair to give her a trial. If she was still influenced by the same inordinate ambition, by which her councils were heretofore directed, but particularly at the commencement of the revolution, she would find the same unshaken firmness to contend with in this country. The question for consideration was, whether, under all circumstances, England ought to have continued the war? The contest was entered into purely for the purpose of defence, and though, in all respects, it had not answered to our wishes, yet Great Britain had acted in the most disinterested manner: she had not only poured forth her blood and treasure in defence of her own independence and constitution, but offered to Europe the means of preservation. When the confederacy of powers on the continent was dissolved, it became necessary for Great Britain to make peace, if it could be done on terms consistent with safety and independence. France had certainly attained a degree of power, which could not but create uneasiness in the mind

of every thinking man; while Great Britain, with a navy all powerful as it was, could not affect France on the continent, unless assisted by a confederacy of continental states. His lordship then examined at large the preliminaries, which he contended were as favourable as we could look for; and that Great Britain had not only maintained her own security, but had, with her usual generosity and good faith, stipulated for the integrity of her allies.

Earl Temple, although he would prefer even the terms of peace under consideration, to a farther continuance of the war; could not help disapproving of the concessions which ministers had made, as dangerous to the safety, and degrading to the honour of England; no security having been retained to counterbalance the immense territorial acquisitions of France. He apprehended much from the exultation with which the tidings of peace seemed to have been received by the disaffected; their hopes appeared to revive; and a party of degenerate Englishmen, he saw with regret, was to be found, mean enough to drag the coach of General Lauriston, the bearer of these tidings through the streets of London, with cries of "Long live Bonaparte." It was an afflicting prospect, and augured ill to the country: but it was in some degree encouraged by the conduct of ministers; for he understood it to be a fact, if not so he should wish it to be contradicted, that Lauriston was accompanied from France by a person who had been twice sent out of this country under the alien act; that on his arrival at Dover, this person being recognized by



the proper officer in that part, he refused him permission to land; but Lauriston threatening if he did not, he would return to Paris with the preliminaries, the officer, afraid of taking the responsibility upon himself, suffered him to land and proceed to London, and he was actually in the coach with Citizen Lauriston, when dragged through the streets. His lordship added, he was informed ministers had not the spirit to take notice of the person alluded to; an unhappy omen of what this country had to expect from an intimate connexion with France, particularly under such ministers. He opposed them from no factious motive; he thought them undeserving the confidence of the country, and the preliminaries convinced him they were so. He was aware he should not be seconded in his objections to the terms of the proposed peace, by those who were in the habit of opposing the conduct of administration; but he did not wish for their support. He who should declare his pleasure at the peace, because it was glorious to the enemy, was not the connexion he would court; it was a sentiment which could not dignify the patriot or the Englishman; he should shrink from it with abhorrence; the man who employed it should be carefully avoided, and his principles guarded against. The peace which was supported upon such motives, must be hollow and suspicious.

Mr. Banks defended the peace as preferable to a prolongation of the war, when there were no hopes of a continental combination against France; the terms were better than those demanded at Lisle, and even if by delay, we could have

obtained some additional settlement, as the Cape of Good Hope, it could not have been equivalent to the continuance of the war, even for a month. He relied, not on any terms of treaty, but on the vigour and nerve of the country to sustain itself in every situation. He wished for peace to be made in the spirit of peace; and requested the house seriously to consider, that suspicion on the one side could not fail of engendering distrust on the other.

Mr. Pitt regretted that on this occasion, it must be his lot to differ from some, with whom he had been happily connected by the strictest ties of friendship, for the greater part of his life. In considering the question, whether these terms should be accepted or rejected, one proposition might be laid down with little danger of contradiction; that now, for some time past, all rational, all thinking men, had concurred in an opinion, that whatever their wishes or hopes might have been at different periods of the contest, yet, after the events which had taken place on the continent of Europe, the question of peace or war between Great Britain and France, became a question of terms only; of terms to be obtained for ourselves, and for those allies who still remained faithful to us, and to their own interests. In saying this, he wished to be understood as being more anxious about the general complexion of the peace, as affecting the character of this country for good faith, honour, and generosity, than about any particular acquisition, or specific object to be attained. In considering the terms, it would be necessary to inquire, in the first place,



place, what would be the expence of continuing the contest, what were the difficulties with which it would be attended, and what hopes could be entertained of its ultimate success. It was undoubtedly the duty of every government, in negotiating a treaty of peace, to obtain the best possible terms, but it was sometimes difficult to know how far particular points might be pressed without risk of breaking off the negotiation. For his own part, he would rather close with an enemy upon terms short even of the fair pretensions of the country, provided they were not inconsistent with its honour and security, than continue the contest for any particular possession. He would not aver, that this peace fully answered all his wishes, but the government had undoubtedly endeavoured to obtain the best terms they could, and the difference between them and those of retaining all we had given up, would not have justified ministers in protracting the war. The principle upon which administration acted, and in which he perfectly concurred with them, was, that in selecting these acquisitions to be retained, it was our interest not to aim at keeping possession of any fresh conquest which we did not materially want, but to attempt rather those acquisitions which, from their situation, or from other causes, were best calculated for confirming and securing our ancient territories. The object which must naturally first present itself to every minister, must be to give additional vigour to our maritime strength, and security to our colonial possessions. To them we were indebted for the unparalleled exertions which we had been enabled to make in

the course of this long and eventful contest; by them we were enabled, in the wreck of Europe, not only to effect our own security, but to hold out to our allies the means of safety, if they had been but true to themselves.

Having established and explained these principles, Mr. Pitt proceeded to discuss, the value of our conquests during the war, and the benefit which might have resulted from retaining, or injury which might arise from the restitution of them. These conquests were all in the East and West Indies, and in the Mediterranean, and without attempting to undervalue any of the territories ceded, and still less the efforts by which they had been acquired, he agreed that with a view to national security and prosperity, ministers had acted wisely in preferring the possessions in the East and West Indies, to those in the Mediterranean. The trade to this latter sea was of very small importance to England, compared with that which she directed to other regions, and although volumes had formerly been written, and wars undertaken for the sake of the Levant trade, yet its importance had been exaggerated, even in those days when Great Britain did not possess the numerous sources of commercial prosperity which discovery and industry had since opened. In this view, Mr. Pitt examined the value of Malta, and Minorca. It appeared to him consistent with wisdom and sound policy, rather to put Malta under the protection of a third power, capable of protecting it, than by retaining it ourselves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealousy of the enemy. He regretted however, that cir-



cumstances prevented us from retaining so important a place as Malta; and that it was not possible for us to have made a more definitive arrangement respecting its future fate; but unless we had been prepared to say we would retain it ourselves, he did not know any better plan than to make it independent both of England and France. As to Minorca, he perfectly concurred in the opinion of Lord Hawkesbury; it would always belong to the power who possessed the greatest maritime strength; and in time of peace, it was not worth the expence of a garrison.

In turning his attention to the East Indies, he acknowledged that the opinion he had been taught to entertain of the value of the Cape of Good Hope, was much higher than that expressed by his noble friend; but thinking thus highly of it, he considered it far inferior indeed to Ceylon, which he looked upon to be of all the places on the face of the Globe, the one which would add most to the security of our East India possessions, and as placing our dominions in that quarter in a greater degree of safety, than they had been from the first hour we set foot on that continent. With respect to Cochin, which it was asserted Lord Malmesbury had been instructed to insist on retaining; he did not feel at liberty to state how far Lord Malmesbury was directed to insist on, or recede from certain points contained in that projet, but he believed no man would be inclined to say, that it must of necessity be an *ultimatum*, because it was contained in a *projet*. Indeed, one of the complaints which we had made against the

French on that occasion, was, that they wanted us, contrary to every diplomatic form, to give in our ultimatum first. But the importance of Cochin at that time, depended upon its being a frontier post, to secure us from an enemy whom we had since completely destroyed. It would not surely be contended for a moment, that when the power of Tippoo Sultan was intire, and there was a direct road from his dominions into ours, Cochin was not of infinitely more importance than it could be now, when his dominions were in our possession. So Berwick upon Tweed was formerly of great importance as a fortified frontier post, but since the Union of England and Scotland, it was comparatively of little value.

Considering our situation in the West Indies, he was decidedly of opinion, that of all the islands which the fortune of war had put into our hands, Trinidad was the most valuable; he should prefer it even to Martinique; to our Leeward Islands, it was the better of the two; its value as a post from which we might direct our future operations against the possessions of Spain in South America, must be felt by every one. He had always been of opinion, that if it came to be a question merely of terms between England and France, we ought to retain possession of one great naval station in the West Indies, because that was our great want in that quarter. The four great naval stations were Guadaloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Trinidad; of these, Trinidad and Martinique were the best, and the former the better of the two.

Mr.



Mr. Pitt next treated at great length on our conduct to our allies. For the Porte, we had obtained the evacuation of Egypt, and the integrity of her dominions. There was another object which we had obtained, and to which he did not think as much importance had been given as it deserved. He meant the establishment of an infant power, the Republic of the Seven Islands, which would perhaps have otherwise fallen under the dominion of France: this certainly was an acquisition of great importance for this country, not inferior perhaps to the possession of Malta itself. But it was said, there had been a treaty concluded between France and the Porte, by which the evacuation of Egypt was stipulated for; no one could doubt that to the exertions of this country, and the brilliant achievements of our army and navy, the evacuation of Egypt must be attributed; and if France had, by a diplomatic trick, taken the advantage of this in two treaties, that could not derogate from the merit of this country.

For Naples we were not bound to do any thing. She had even desired to be released from her engagements to us, but to this she was compelled by an overruling necessity, and this country had endeavoured to repair her fortunes. It had been argued, that we ought to have guaranteed to Naples her dominions, because, from the contiguity of the Cisalpine republic, the French might, in pursuance of the treaty evacuate their territories one day, and re-enter them the next; but if, from the situation of Europe, the present stipulation could not effect the security of

Naples, it must be obvious, that any guaranty would be equally unavailing. With regard to Sardinia, the same observations were applicable, for we were not bound to interfere for her, unless it was to be maintained, that we were to take upon ourselves the task of settling the affairs of the continent. But if we were unable to settle the affairs of that part of the continent, which was in our own neighbourhood, with what effect or propriety could we attempt it in Italy? Could we have procured the restoration of Piedmont, unless we could have disposed of the king of Etruria, annulled the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and driven the French from the mountains of Switzerland?

Of Portugal, every one must lament the misfortunes; but if it was right in her to ask to be released from her engagements to us, and if it was right in us to consent to it, then clearly we were absolved from any obligation to her. The cession of Olivença, certainly was not of any great importance; but much had been said about the territory which France had obtained from Portugal in South America, and a considerable degree of geographical knowledge had been displayed in tracing the course of rivers; but gentlemen should recollect, that a South American, and an European river were materially different, for when you were talking of the banks of a river in South America, it was in fact very often little less than the coasts of an ocean. It had been said, "you affect to guarantee the integrity of Portugal, but it is only after France and Spain have taken every thing they wished for." This however, was



not correct. The treaty of Badajos certainly did not give to France all she desired, because France, by a subsequent treaty, extorts another cession of still greater importance to her. What happens then? Portugal has given up this second portion of her territory by force, when you interfere and cancel the second treaty, and bring them back to the stipulations in the first. To you then, Portugal owes this difference in the limits of her South American empire, and to her you have not only acted with good faith, but with dignified liberality.

The only remaining ally was the Prince of Orange; from our ancient connexions, from our gratitude for the services of the House of Orange at the period of the revolution, from his connexion with our sovereign, we could not but take a lively interest in his fate, and we had shewn it by our conduct; parliament was not to be told of the guaranty of the constitution of Holland, without recalling to recollection, the efforts we had made to defend, the unparalleled exertions we had made to restore the prince of Orange to his dominions. Even on the present occasion, his interests had not been neglected; we did interfere for him, and we were told that his interests were at that time the subject of negotiation, and that he would receive an indemnity. Even if we were to take that upon ourselves, it ought not to stand in the way of a great national arrangement.

But it had been assumed that we ought to have obtained something to balance the great increase of power which France had acquired;

that we had given France the means of increasing her maritime strength, and, in short, that we signed the death warrant of the country. Now, in the first place, if we had retained all our conquests, it would not have made any difference to us in point of security, for the retention of all these islands could not have enabled us to counterbalance the power which France had acquired on the continent, they would only give us a little more wealth; but a little more wealth would be badly purchased by a little more war. Our resources, if any case of necessity should arise, or if our honour should require another contest, were far, very far indeed, from being exhausted; they were greater than the enemy, or even the people of this country themselves had an idea of, but they ought to be kept for these purposes, and not lavished away in continuing a contest, with the certainty of enormous expence. We might sit down in a worse relative situation than at present; the object not obtained, our security not effected.

On the general point of balancing powers on the continent; it was undoubtedly right, that if the French had conquered much, we ought also to endeavour to retain much; but in treating with France, we were not to consider what France had got from other countries, but what was the relative situation between us and France. It would be but bad reasoning, if one power was to say to another, you are much too powerful for us, we have not the means of reducing that power by force, and therefore you must cede to us a portion of your territories, in order to make us equal



in point of strength. Gentlemen might undoubtedly wish this, but that which regulated wishes would not regulate action, many things might be prayed for, which were hardly to be expected. That we should not have been justified in asking for more, he did not mean to assert, but that we should have obtained more, or that we should have continued the war to increase our possessions, was a proposition to which he could not give his assent.

The great object of the war on our part, was defence for ourselves, and for the rest of the world, in a war waged against most of the nations of Europe, but against us with particular malignity. Security was our great object. In order to obtain it, we certainly did look for the subversion of that government which was founded upon revolutionary principles; but never, at any one period, said, that as a *sine qua non*, we insisted upon the restoration of the monarchy of France; though he did not hesitate to acknowledge, that it would have been most consistent with the wishes of ministers, and with the interests and security of this country; he had given up his hopes with the greatest reluctance, and should, to his dying day, lament that there were not, on the part of the other powers of Europe, efforts corresponding to our own for the accomplishment of that great work. There were periods during the continuance of the war, in which they had hopes of being able to put together the scattered fragments of that great and venerable edifice; to have restored the exiled nobility of France, to have restored a government, certainly not free from defects,

but built upon sober and regular foundations, instead of that mad system of innovation, which threatened, and nearly accomplished, the destruction of Europe. When this became unattainable, he gave up his hopes, but we had the satisfaction of knowing, that we had survived the violence of the revolutionary fever, that we had seen the extent of its principles abated; we had seen jacobinism deprived of its fascination; we had seen it stripped of the name and pretext of liberty; it had shewn itself to be capable only of destroying, not of building, and that it must necessarily end in a military despotism; and he trusted this important lesson would not be thrown away upon the world. There were times during the war, in which government hoped to be able to drive France within her ancient limits, and even to make barriers against her further incursions; but in this they were disappointed; it became then necessary, with the change of circumstances, to change our objects, for he did not know a more fatal error than to look only at one object, and obstinately to pursue it, when the hope of accomplishing it no longer remained.

He could not agree with those gentlemen who seemed to think that France had grown so much stronger in proportion to what we had, and these gloomy apprehensions seemed to him to be almost wholly without foundation. This country always was, and he trusted always would be, able to check the ambitious projects of France, and to give that degree of assistance to the rest of Europe, which they had done upon this occasion, and he wished it had been done with  
more



more effect. But when the immense acquisitions France had made, were taken into consideration, on the one hand, it was but fair, on the other, to consider what she had lost in population, in commerce, in capital, and in habits of industry; the desolation produced by convulsions such as France had undergone, could not be repaired even by large acquisitions of territory. Comparing therefore what France had gained, with what she had lost, this enormous increase of power was not quite so apparent as some gentlemen seemed to apprehend. When he took into consideration the immense wealth of this country, and the natural and legitimate growth of that wealth, so much superior to the produce of rapacity and plunder, he could not but entertain the hope, founded in justice and in nature, of its solidity. This hope was strengthened by collateral considerations, when he looked to the great increase of our maritime power, when he contemplated the additional naval triumphs we had obtained, when he looked to the brilliant victories of our armies gained over the flower of the troops of France, troops which, in the opinion of many, were invincible; when he reflected on these glorious achievements, though he could not but lament our disappointment in some objects, he had the satisfaction of thinking that we added strength to our security, and lustre to our national character. Since the treaty which had taken place at Lisle, we had increased in wealth and commerce; but there were two important events which had given the greatest consolidation to our strength, he alluded to the destruction of the power of Tippoo Sultan

in India, who had fallen a victim to his attachment to France, and his perfidy to us. It had frequently been observed, that great dangers frequently produced in nations of a manly cast of mind, great and noble exertions. So when the most unparralleled danger threatened the sister kingdom, the feelings of a common cause between the people of both countries, had enabled them to overcome prejudices, some of them perhaps laudable, and all of them deep rooted, and led to that happy union, which adds more to the power and strength of the British empire, than all the conquests of one and indivisible France. For proof of the existence of this noble spirit in the country, Mr. Pitt referred to the transactions of the last campaign, on which he made a most animated eulogy, predicting, that if the future aim of the first consul was to exercise a military despotism, he would not select this country for the first object of his attack; and if we were true to ourselves, we had little to fear from that attack, let it come when it would. But though he did not entertain apprehensions, yet he could not concur with those who thought we ought to lay aside all caution; if such policy were adopted, there would indeed be grounds of most serious alarms; he hoped every measure would be adopted which prudence could suggest, to do away animosity between the two countries, and to avoid every ground of irritation, by sincerity on our part. This, however, on the other hand was not to be done by paying abject court to France; we must depend for our security only upon ourselves; but



but if the views of France corresponded with our own, we had every prospect of enjoying a long peace. He saw some favourable symptoms, but upon this he had no certain knowledge; and he would never rely upon personal character for the security of his country. He was inclined to hope every thing that was good, but he was bound to act as if he feared otherwise.

Mr. Fox, who followed Mr. Pitt, began by declaring he had never given his support, with greater satisfaction, to any measure, than now. Even the epithet honourable, which with some might have produced differences of opinion, would not have had much weight with him, for the peace must be honourable, or it would not merit to be submitted to a vote at all. For the epithet glorious, he could not contend; no peace could be glorious, unless it followed a glorious war, a description which, in the original principle and final result, could, by no means, be applicable to the present. The great points for consideration would be; first, generally, whether peace on the conditions obtained, was preferable to a continuance of the war; and second, whether better terms could have been procured. We had gained Ceylon and Trinidad; nor did he regret the Cape, as from its destination, we should, without expence, insure all the benefits it is calculated to afford. Perhaps, if any part of the cessions should be regretted, it was Malta, because a place of such strength and importance in the Mediterranean, must have been highly beneficial to our interests in any future war; but as we could

produce no pressure upon France, perhaps it was better not to risk the rupture of the negotiation, by insisting on an advantageous article which the pride or prejudices of the enemy would have led him to refuse. Much as the unsatisfactory state of the continent was to be regretted, it was such as there were no hopes of changing for the better, and France and England could not produce any considerable effect on each other. In Europe we could not touch her, in her colonies we had done every thing we could effect; and happily the present ministers had not founded any hopes on the financial circumstances of France. They had not built their expectations on the idle jargon so often repeated, that France was in the gulph of Bankruptcy. In such a situation, to conclude peace on these terms was to consult the dignity of the nation, because to have attached too much importance to trifling interests, might have risked the calamity of another year of war. He agreed that the resources of the country were not exhausted; the income tax, already mortgaged for fifty five millions, might be pledged for fifty five millions more; but these resources ought to be reserved, should it be necessary, for the defence of honour and independence. Even those who were the most prejudiced against the peace, in the stile of oratorical exaggeration calling it a capitulation, would not go so far as to say, that the war ought to have been continued another year, rather than submit to the present terms. Let gentlemen consider, not merely the financial loss, the lives sacrificed, but the misery to which  
for



for two years the people had been reduced. Let them consider the horrible evil of the bulk of the people subsisting on charity, all ranks levelled by the most dangerous equality, an equality of claims to be fed, claims destroying true charity, and subversive of character, honesty and independence. It was better therefore, that the bulk of the people should be able to purchase, by their labour, that subsistence which the war had placed beyond their reach, than we should retain Malta and the Cape, even if they had been to be gained at such a price.

Some regretted that the peace was glorious to France. Men's feelings on that subject must depend on their conception of the war. The object, not indeed as a *sine qua non*, was the restoration of the accursed House of Bourbon; and to him it was a recommendation of the peace, that this object had failed. Had that object succeeded, it must have been attended with the most fatal effects to the general liberties of mankind. It would have been followed by quarrels among princes, not of their estates, but the mutual oppression of their subjects. To the people of this country, it must have been followed with the most deplorable consequences. Had such coalitions been carried on successfully in former times, could any man think that in the last century, the liberties of England could have been preserved against the House of Stuart? Could any man think that Hampden could have rescued the people from illegal ship money, or that, in a word, the revolution could have been brought about. The restoration of the Bourbons, therefore, had

it been effected by a successful coalition, would have been the greatest misfortune that ever threatened this country.

Mr. Fox reviewed the origin of the war, contending that it had been one of aggression on the part of this country, because ministers took no steps to procure reparation or disavowal for any acts of which they complained. He condemned the insulting language used by the then ministry before war was declared, and while they pretended to cultivate the strictest neutrality. He ridiculed the system of the war, in which, although the restoration of the Bourbons was avowedly the first object, there was a second best, with which they were to put up in case of necessity. But what was that second, that succedaneum for money, for religion, for social order? Was it Ceylon and Trinidad? Or, how were they satisfied now, when every argument for abandoning Naples, and Portugal, without sufficient guaranties, argues the impossibility of doing any thing against France on the continent? Respecting the terms and tone of the treaty, he agreed with the noble secretary; but with respect to the time, he was convinced, that even before the war, had it been adviseable to accept cessions, better terms could have been procured than now. At that period, satisfaction might have been obtained for Holland and Flanders. At every period since, better terms than the present were always in our power. The negotiation at Paris, broke off upon the extravagant pretensions of ministers, and on the failure of that of Lisle, Mr. Pitt had candidly confessed, that he trembled lest it should  
succeed,



succeed, and employed it merely to facilitate the adoption of his solid system of finance. Much better terms might have been attained in 1800, and Egypt might have been ours by the capitulation of El Arish. But it was said at that moment, that we were to pause! We did pause, and the pause cost us seventy-three millions of money, besides the lives of thousands. That fatal pause cost seventy-three millions, a sum which exceeded the national debt from the revolution, to the beginning of the year 1755. Thus Mr. Pitt's pause had cost more money than all the Duke of Marlborough's victories, and those of King William besides.

But it had been said, the danger of French principles was extinct, and that we had only to dread the power of the republic. No man felt more strongly than he the misfortune to England and to Europe, from the unsatisfactory state of the continent; but it was not the peace but the war, that produced so fatal an aggrandizement. It was the measures of the Right Honourable Gentleman, which had excited an irresistible spirit in France, a spirit of proud independence. The injustice of the attack lent extraordinary vigour to France. All men were fired with devotion to their country, and the thoughts of independence inspired an energy that nothing could subdue. With respect to the future, he was of opinion, that to enjoy the blessings of peace, small establishments were necessary. It was in commercial resources, that we were to compensate the aggrandizement of France. To cope with France in expensive armies

and navies, would be the surest way to unnerve our exertions, and to reduce us from a great people into a subordination to France. He was not sanguine enough to calculate on a seventy years' peace, but he entertained a pretty sanguine hope, that the new order of things would cherish dispositions mutually pacific, and that the restless and hostile spirit which had actuated the Bourbons against us for so long a period, would be changed. God forbid that he should insult that family in their misfortunes! But, when the interests of the country were at stake, he could not but animadvert on the little security we could have for repose, were that family replaced upon the throne. The trade of France had suffered much; but the interior of that country was improved, and it derived great benefits from the system of equal taxation; but British commerce, although at the beginning of the peace, it might be in some degree checked, would finally increase; and if it should be said that debts and taxes would disable us to compete, the only reply was, that another year of war would have rendered that cause still more fatal and destructive. He considered the power of France most alarming to an Englishman; but if principles were first to be dreaded, were principles to be assailed with guns, and pikes, and cannon? These instruments were not calculated to oppose principles, though when the occasion was favourable, they were the means by which power might sometimes be retrenched. The French revolution was calculated to direct men's attentions more eagerly to the question of liberty. But was



that to be opposed by the sword? Defeat and overthrow might have tended to weaken it in the opinion of men, but glory and success only gave it more credit with the multitude. After animadverting with severity on some expressions importing that Ireland had been managed with a delicate hand, and descanting on the conflagrations, whippings and massacres which had taken place in that country, Mr. Fox observed, that among the promised good effects of the peace had been mentioned, that it might enable government to indulge us with a greater portion of liberty. It was melancholy to hear the liberties of the country spoken of in a tone so little worthy of them. If, however, the common law was restored, in room of martial law; if the Habeas Corpus Act was put in force, he should rejoice. But there were times in which these were considered as sacred pillars of the constitution, not as indulgences; and if they were restored to vigour, he should receive them as a right; he could not be grateful for them as a boon.

Lord Folkestone, Mr. Windham and Doctor Laurence, having made some observations, the substance of which is not preserved, the debate was closed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said, it had always appeared to him, as well as to many others, that the duty of negotiation commenced, when all hopes of continental aid in checking the power of France were at an end. His predecessors had been of this opinion, and had twice sought a negotiation, though their efforts had been unsuccessful. The present administration, immediately on their appointment, had followed the

example, making it the leading feature of their first endeavours, to efface that angry aspect and tone which had been apparent not only towards the government of France, but also to other countries of Europe; and at the same time to unite firmness with conciliation. The effects of this system were soon felt, and had been productive of the most inestimable advantages to this country; but the struggle had been an arduous one, and its success had been doubly owing to perseverance.

The treaty had been censured as not providing sufficiently for the integrity of Portugal, but he could state from indisputable authority, that the government of Portugal was not apprehensive that the boundary allotted to France in Guyana, would be productive of any injury. The security of Naples, had been treated with levity; but if the honourable gentleman who had ridiculed this subject, would take the trouble to inquire of the worthy and able representative of that sovereign in this country, he would find that his master was well satisfied that ministers had done their best, and that the efforts they had made, were as great as circumstances afforded the opportunity of making.

When the exertions of the continent had ceased, the continuance of the war could only have driven this country into such an extremity of danger, and want of means, that if France should at any future period, take advantage of her powers, and attempt to renew her views of aggrandizement, or seek to disturb the repose of her neighbours; and should the continent be again disposed to enter  
into



into a new war to check her preponderance, Great Britain would find herself in such a state of debility, as not to be able to give assistance to such efforts. Since the negotiation at Lisle, the country had expended one-hundred and fifty millions. He for himself did not wish that France should be deprived either of distant colonies, or of her proportion of commerce; and acting upon this fair and honourable principle, France knowing the maritime strength and power of this country, it would be the best security for her continuing at peace. We had closed the present contest by cementing the Union with Ireland; we had increased our capital, secured our liberties; had multiplied our resources, possessed all the former integrity of our dominions, and had added to them most important acquisitions in the East and West Indies. The peace that had been

honestly made should be faithfully regarded; nor would it be suffered, that any communication should be kept up with persons of any description, who, however laudable they might think their own opinions, had nevertheless the object of overturning the present form of government in France. The minister concluded by describing the course intended to be pursued for rendering the peace beneficial, and the nation respectable and secure. The preservation of internal security, and the defence of our coasts would be a principal object, and many others would be equally attended to; but the measures to be employed, should not carry with them a disposition to useless patronage, they should only display a just jealousy to support our constitutional rights, and provide for the security of the country.

The motion was carried without a division.

## C H A P. V.

*Debate renewed in the House of Commons on bringing up the Report of the address; Question by Earl Temple; observations of Mr. Lascelles; speech of Mr. Windham against the Preliminaries; Answer of Mr. Wilberforce; observations of Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Eliot; Reply of the Secretary at War; observations of the Irish members; the debate closed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

**B**Y the long and strenuous debates already noticed, it might have been supposed, that the discussion of the merits of the preliminary treaty was exhausted, and that no further topics of investigation remained; but on Nov. 4. the ensuing day, when the report of the address was brought up, the debate in the

House of Commons was renewed with unexpected vigour.

The address having been read, Lord Temple questioned the ministers respecting the ratification of the treaty of Badajoz, and Mr. Lascelles qualified his vote of the preceding day in favour of the address, by observing, that, although he trusted the peace would be



be beneficial to the country, he could not rejoice at the preliminaries; he felt great anxiety and apprehension, and trusted ministers would take such steps as would prevent the growth of principles inimical to the constitution of the country, and happiness of the people.

Mr. Windham then addressed to the chair a solemn and energetic appeal against the peace. His present observations, he said, were founded in a great measure, on the arguments used the preceding night.

All that I heard, and all that I saw on that occasion, he proceeded, tends only to confirm more and more the deep despair in which I am plunged, in contemplating the probable consequences of the present treaty. Notwithstanding some lofty talk which we heard, of dignity and firmness, and which I shall be glad to see realized; and a happy quotation, expressive of the same sentiments, from my right honourable friend, not now present; (Mr. Pitt), the real amount of what was said, seems to be little more than this:—that France has, to be sure, the power of destroying us, but that we hope she will not have the inclination; that we are under the paw of the Lion, but that he may happen not to be hungry, and, instead of making a meal of us, may turn round in his den, and go to sleep. That I should have lived to see the day, when such arguments could be used in a British house of Commons!—that I should have lived to see a House of Commons, where such arguments could be heard with patience, and even with complacency!—The substance of the

statement is this: We make peace, not from any necessity actually existing, but because we foresee a period, at no great distance, when such a necessity must arise; and we think it right, that provision for such a case should be made in time. We treat, or, to take at once the more appropriate term, we capitulate, while we have yet some ammunition left. Those who stand in such circumstances, be they generals or be they nations, are, to all intents and purposes conquered. I know not what other definition we want of being conquered, than that a country can say to us, “we can hold out, and you cannot; make peace, or we will ruin you:” and that you, in consequence, make peace upon terms which must render a renewal of hostilities, under any provocation, more certainly fatal than a continuance of that war, which you already declared yourself unable to bear. If such be the fact, we may amuse ourselves with talking what language we please; but we are a conquered people. Bonaparte is as much our master, as he is of Spain or Prussia, or any other of those countries, which, though still permitted to call themselves independent, are, as every one knows, as completely in his power, as if the name of department was already written upon their foreheads. There are but two questions,—Is the relation between the countries such, that France can ruin us by continuing the war? And will that relation in substance remain the same, or rather will it not be rendered infinitely worse, by peace, upon the terms now proposed. If both these questions are answered in the affirmative,



mative, the whole is decided, and we live, henceforward, by sufferance from France.

Turning then to the arguments used in defence of the peace, Mr. Windham agreed, that the question was not whether it were good or bad, honourable or dishonourable, adequate or inadequate; whether it placed us in a situation better or worse, than we had reason to expect, or than we were in before the war; but whether the peace now proposed, such as it is, was better, or not, than a continuation of hostilities? In estimating the terms of peace, it was necessary, not merely to consider the physical force, or pecuniary value, of the objects concerned, but also the effect which peace, made in such and such circumstances, was likely to have on the character and estimation of the country; a species of possession, which, though neither tangible nor visible, is as much a part of national strength, and has a value as real as any thing that can be turned into pounds and shillings, that can be sold by the score or hundred, or weighed out by avoirdupoise. To prove that this mode of estimating the motives of peace and war was neither new nor refined, Mr. Windham cited the instances of the Falkland Islands and Nootka. Was it the value of these objects, he said, that we were going to war for? The one was a barren rock, an object of competition for nothing but seals and sea-gulls: the other a point of land in a wilderness, where some obscure, though spirited, adventurers had hoped that they might in time establish a trade with the savages for furs. Were these objects to involve

nations in wars? If there was a question of their doing so, it was because considerations of a far different kind were attached to them, considerations of national honour and dignity; between which and the objects themselves, there may be often no more proportion, than between the picture of a great master, and the canvas on which it is painted. Were authorities necessary, he would cite a sentiment which Mr. Fox had uttered on a former occasion, and recurred to on the present, and which was true in the main, although marked by somewhat of paradoxical exaggeration, namely, that wars for points of honour are really the only rational and prudential wars in which a country can engage. Junius too, speaking what were once the feelings of Englishmen, and choosing such topics as would recommend him to the people, had said, that to depart, in the minutest article, from the nicety and strictness of punctilio, is as dangerous to national honour, as it is to female virtue. The woman who admits of one familiarity, seldom knows where to stop, or what to refuse; and when the counsels of a great country give way in a single instance, when they are once inclined to submission, every step accelerates the rapidity of their descent.

“It must be a weighty danger,” Mr. Windham continued, “that in the scales of a great country, can be allowed to balance the loss of any part of its dignity. What then shall we say of a country, which, abandoning from the outset every consideration of this sort, will not wait till it becomes insecure by ceasing to be respect-



able, but becomes unrespectable by ceasing to be secure? Which drops at once at the feet of its rival? Which begins by a complete surrender of its security; and suffers fame, character, dignity, and every thing else, to go along with it? Whether such is the situation of this country, we shall judge better by taking a short view of the terms of the proposed peace. The description of these is simple and easy:—France gives nothing, and, excepting Trinidad and Ceylon, England gives every thing. If it were of any consequence to state what in diplomatic language was the basis of this treaty, we must say, that it had no one basis; but that it was the *status quo*, on the part of England, with the two exceptions in its favour, of Ceylon and Trinidad; and the *uti possidetis*, with the addition of all the other English conquests, on the part of France. But what may be the technical description of treaty, is, comparatively, of little importance. It is the result that is material, and the extent of power and territory, now, by whatever means, actually remaining in the hands of France. The enumeration of this, liable indeed in part to be disputed, but upon the whole sufficiently correct, may be made as follows.

In Europe.—France possesses the whole of the continent, with the exception of Russia and Austria. If it be said, that parts of Germany, and the northern courts of Denmark and Sweden are not fairly described as being immediately under the controul of France, we must balance this consideration by remarking, the influence which France possesses in these governments, and the commanding position which she oc-

cupies with respect to Austria, by the possession of Switzerland and Mantua, and those countries which have been considered always, and twice in the course of the present war, have proved to be the direct inlet into the heart of her dominions.

In Asia.—Pondicherry, Mahé, Cochin, Negapatam, the Spice Islands.

In Africa,—the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, Senegal.

In the sea that is inclosed by these three continents, which connects them all, and furnishes to us in many respects our best and surest communication with them,—the Mediterranean,—every port and post, except Gibraltar, from one end of it to the other, including the impregnable and invaluable port of Malta, so as to exclude us from a sea, which it had ever before been the anxious policy of Great Britain to keep in her hands, and to render it now, truly and properly, what it was once idly called, the Sea of France.

In the West Indies, St. Domingo, both the French and Spanish parts, Martinico, St. Lucie, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curacao.

In North America, St. Pierre and Miquelon, with a right to the fisheries in the fullest extent to which they were ever claimed; Louisiana, (so it is supposed,) a word dreadful to be pronounced, to all who consider the consequences with which that cession is pregnant, whether as it acts northward, by its effects on the United States, or southward, as opening a direct passage into the Spanish settlements in America.

In South America,—Surinam, Demerary, Berbice, Essequibo, taken



taken by us and now ceded; Guiana, and by the effect of the treaty fraudulently signed by France with Portugal, just before the signature of these preliminaries, a tract of country extending to the river Amazon, and giving to France the command of the entrance into that river. Whether by any secret article, the evils of this cession will prove to have been done away, time will discover. In fact, (be that as it may,) France may be said to possess the whole of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements upon that continent. For who shall say, that she has not the command of those settlements, when she has the command of the countries to which they belong; *cum custodit ipsos custodes?* She has in truth, whatever part of the continent of South America she chooses to occupy; and as far as relates to the Spanish part, without even the necessity, a necessity that probably would not cost her much, of infringing any part of the present treaty.

Such is the grand and comprehensive circle to which the new Roman empire may be soon expected to spread, now that peace has removed all obstacles, and opened to her a safe and easy passage into the three remaining quarters of the globe. Such is the power, which we are required to contemplate without dismay! Under the shade of whose greatness, we are invited to lie down with perfect tranquillity and composure! I should be glad to know, what our ancestors would have thought and felt in this situation? What those weak and deluded men, so inferior to the politicians of the present day, the Marlboroughs, the Go-

dolphins, the Somers, the King Williams, all those who viewed with such apprehension the power of Louis XIV; what they would say to a peace, which not only confirms to France the possession of nearly the whole of Europe, but extends her empire over every other part of the globe. Is there a man of them, who would not turn in his coffin, could he be sensible to a twentieth part of that which is passing, as perfect matter of course, in the politics of the present moment."

To the mighty dangers to which England was exposed from this enormous power, ministers opposed as a great security, our wealth; but wealth abstracted from certain means of using it, carried with it no powers of protection, either for itself or others. Riches are strength, in the same manner, only as they are food. They may be the means of procuring both. But we should fall into as great a folly, as Midas in the fable, if we supposed that when we had laid down our arms, and surrendered our fortresses, our wealth, alone, could afford us any protection. Even our commerce would not be left to its natural course. "This game," Mr. Windham said, "will not be fairly played. Bonaparte is a player, who, if the game is going against him, will be apt to pick a quarrel, and ask us, if we can draw our swords? And here, perhaps, it is time to remark the singular fallacy, which has run through all the reasonings of gentlemen on the other side; that, namely, of supposing that in discussing the present question, the peace, such as it is, is the state which is to be contrasted with the



continuance of the war. They forget, or choose that we should forget, that this peace may, at any moment, at the mere pleasure of the enemy, be converted into a new war; differing only from the other, by the ground which we in the mean while shall have lost, and the numerous advantages which the enemy will have acquired. There is not the least reason why this treaty, if the enemy should so please, should be any thing more than a mere piece of legerdemain, by which they shall have got possession of Malta, have established themselves in all their new colonies, have perhaps re-entered Egypt, have received back twenty or thirty thousand seamen, and have otherwise put themselves into a situation to re-commence the war, with new and decisive advantages. If they do not immediately take this course, it will be, simply, because they will hope to succeed as well without it; or, because they choose to defer it till a more convenient opportunity; the means will, at every moment, be in their power."

Mr. Windham then treated on the degraded state of this country, which in consequence of the peace, could not venture to resent any aggression, or resist any incroachment of France. She would be under no necessity of going to war with us; and nothing but her own intemperance and insolence, and an opinion of our endurance and weakness, beyond even what they might be found to deserve, could force upon us that extremity. She had much surer and safer means of going to work, means, at the same time, sufficiently quick in their operation to satisfy any ordinary ambition:—she had nothing to do but to trust to the

progress of her own power in peace, quickened as often as she should see occasion, by a smart threat of war. A peace, such as France had now made, mixed with proper proportions of a seasonable menace of war, would be a specific, for the undoing of a rival country, which seemed impossible to fail. This observation was applied in detail to various countries in different parts of the world, till at length all the objects of interest and ambition which France could have in view, would lie open before her, to be taken possession of whenever she pleased, and without a struggle: without any treaty, or any act which could be deemed a struggle: her establishments would accumulate around us, till we should be lost and buried in them; her power would grow over us, till, like the figures in some of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, we should find all our faculties of life and motion gradually failing and deserting us:

— *Terpes gravis alligat artus;  
Mollia cinguntur tenni præcordia libra:*

If, in this last extremity, we should make any desperate efforts and plunges, that might threaten to become troublesome, and give us a chance of extricating ourselves, she would call in the aid of her arms, and with one blow put an end at once to our sufferings, and our existence.

In such circumstances, was it possible to recur for consolation to the supposition that the progress of the French revolution would stop, and that Bonaparte, like another Pyrrhus, or rather like that adviser of Pyrrhus, whose advice was not taken,—instead of proceeding to the conquest of new worlds, would be



be willing to sit down contented in the enjoyment of those which he had already. This, he contended, was repugnant to the general nature of ambition, to the nature of French ambition, to the nature of French revolutionary ambition.

Another hope was founded on the dissensions which might prevail in France. There had been nothing but dissensions from the beginning. La Vendée had cost the country 600,000 men, without ever occasioning her efforts on the frontiers or the prosecution of plans for the overthrow of other countries to relax. As for changes of government, they had been in a continued course of them. Since the beginning of the revolution, the government had been overturned at least half a dozen times. They had turned over in the air, as in sport, like tumbler pigeons; but had they ever in consequence ceased their flight? The internal state of the country had been in the most violent commotion. The ship had been in mutiny; there had been fighting in the waist, and on the fore-castle; but in the midst of the confusion somebody had always been found to attend the helm, and to trim the sails; the vessel had held her course. For one, therefore, he had no great confidence in the effect of these internal commotions; which would every day become less and less likely, in proportion as the power of the present government would become more confirmed, and as the people of France would become more and more bound together by the common feeling of national glory, and by the desire of consolidating the empire which they had seen established. But, even if such changes were now to take

place, they could produce to us no benefit. In peace, all that fortune could do for us, would fall dead and still-born. Nobody ready, no body would be authorized to move a step, or stretch forth a hand, to rear and foster those chances, however promising, which time and accident might bring forth.

But there was another hope, founded on rather a contrary supposition, namely, that Bonaparte, being a king himself; and a king he was, so far as power can make one, would no longer be an encourager of those absurd and mischievous doctrines, which, however they might have helped him to the throne, would be as little pleasing to him, when fairly seated there, as to any the most legitimate monarch. "I agree," said Mr. Windham, "that Bonaparte, like other demagogues and *friends of the people*, having deluded and gulled the people sufficiently to make them answer his purpose, will be ready enough to teach them a different lesson, and to forbid the use of that language towards himself, which he had before instructed them in, as perfectly proper towards others. Never was there any one, to be sure, who used less management in that respect, or who left all the admirers of the French revolution, within and without, all who admired it as a system of liberty, in a more whimsical and laughable situation. Every opinion for which they have been contending, is now completely trodden down, and trampled upon, or held out in France to the greatest possible contempt and derision. The honourable gentlemen on the opposition benches have really great reason to complain of having been so completely left in the lurch. There



is not even a decent retreat provided for them. But though such is the treatment, which the principles of "the Rights of Man," and of the "Holy Duty of Insurrection," meet with in France, and on the part of him who should be their natural protector, it is by no means the same, with respect to the encouragement which he may choose to give them in other countries. Though they use none of these goods in France, for home consumption, they have always a large assortment by them, ready for foreign markets. Their jacobin orators are not to be looked for in the clubs at Paris, but in the clubs of London. There they may talk of cashiering kings, with other language of that sort: but should any orator more flippant than the rest choose to hold forth in that strain, in the city where the great consul resides, in the metropolis of liberty, he would soon put him to silence, in the way we see adopted in the sign of the silent woman. Bonaparte, being invested, in virtue of the rights of man, with despotic power, can afford to sanction the preaching of those doctrines in other countries, of which he will not suffer the least whisper in his own. While he is at the head of an absolute monarchy in France, he may be the promoter and champion of jacobin insurrection every where else. The object, as well as wicked nature of jacobinism in this country, which, while it would rebel against the lawful authority of its own government, is willing to enslave itself to France, finds no difficulty in allowing to him these two opposite characters: and I know no reason why we should suppose him disinclined to accept them."

If it ever could have been believed, in spite of all probability, that there was any remission of that purpose, which has never yet ceased for an instant,—the purpose of destroying this country; such belief, however produced, must be instantly done away by a view of the conduct of France, in the settlement of this very treaty. Every line of it, either directly pointed to the destruction of this country, or, by a course a little circuitous, but not less certain, equally tended to the same object. What could France want with any of the possessions which she had compelled us to surrender, but with a view of rivaling our power, or of subverting it, or of removing out of our hands the means of controlling her further projects of ambition? Of the first sort were all her stipulations for settlements in South America and the West Indies: of the second, her demand of the Cape and Cochin; and of the last, that most marked and disgraceful condition on our part, the surrender of Malta. The delivery of it to the order was a mere pretence, wholly insufficient, either to conceal our shame, or to disguise the purpose of the French in making this demand: much the greater part of the order were now living in the dominions of Bonaparte, and many of them actually serving in his armies.

The circumstances of the negotiation, not less than the treaty resulting from it, would shew, in another way, the folly of those hopes, which were founded on the supposed intentions or characters of the persons with whom it was made. It did not augur very favourably for the intentions of a party in any transaction, that there

appeared



appeared, in every stage of it, the clearest proofs of duplicity and fraud.—What could we think of the artifice, which signed a treaty with us, guaranteeing the integrity of Portugal; but previously to that, at a period so late, as to make it sure that the knowledge of the transaction should not reach this country in time, signed another treaty, totally altering the nature of that guaranty? What should we think of the candour and fairness, which in a treaty with us, proposed, as a joint stipulation, the evacuation of Egypt, at a time when the proposers knew, though we did not, that every foldier of theirs in Egypt was actually a prisoner to our troops? Where was their good faith to the Turks, when, in the same circumstances, they knowing the fact and the Turks not, they took credit from the Turks for this very evacuation? It was a fraud upon a level with any of those practised at a lottery office. They insure the ticket, at the moment when they know it to be drawn.

But, in answer to these objections, it would be asked, was the war to be eternal? and what prospect had we of reaching a period, when it might be terminated in circumstances upon the whole more favourable than the present! The war would depend neither upon conventions to be entered into between the two governments, nor upon acts of hostility which might be committed between the two people, by land or on the high seas; but on the existence or non-existence of that fixed, rooted, determined purpose, which France has hitherto had, and which we had no reason whatever to think she had relinquished—of accomplishing the final overthrow

of this country. That purpose would be promoted by France in peace as well as in war, and Great Britain, like Carthage, which France chose to consider as her prototype, would be reduced by repeated attacks, after successive and alternate processes of war and peace. “When I look,” said Mr. Windham, “at the conduct of the French revolutionary rulers, as compared with that of their opponents; when I see the grandeur of their designs; the wisdom of their plans; the steadiness of their execution; their boldness in acting, their constancy in enduring; their contempt of all small obstacles and temporary embarrassments; their inflexible determination to perform such and such things; and the powers which they have displayed, in acting up to that determination; when I contrast these with the narrow views, the paltry interests, the occasional expedients, the desultory, wavering conduct, the want of all right feeling and just conception, that characterize so generally the governments and nations opposed to them, I confess I sink down in despondency, and am fain to admit, that if they shall have conquered the world, it will be by qualities by which they deserve to conquer it.”

In this view of the subject he insisted that we were still, in effect, at war, and the only question was, whether the war, that would henceforward proceed under the name of peace, was likely to prove less operative and fatal, than that which had hitherto appeared in its natural and ordinary shape. We were in a state of armed truce; and then the only questions would be, at what price we purchased this truce; what our condition would be while it should



last ; and in what state it was likely to leave us, should it terminate otherwise than we were willing to suppose.

In detailing his opinion on this head, he adverted to the evils of war, as comprizing the loss of lives and consequent affliction brought upon friends and families ; the loss of money, meaning, by that, money expended in a way not to be beneficial to the country that raises it ; and the loss of money in another sense, that is to say, money not got ; by which he meant the interruption of national industry, and the diminution of the productions thence arising, either by the number of hands withdrawn from useful labour, (which is probably however but little material), or by the embarrassments and restraints which in a state of war impede and clog the operations of commerce. In reviewing each of these particulars he shewed that the present peace, far from averting, had increased our danger with respect to commerce ; that our system of warfare and powerful navy rendered the loss of lives inconsiderable ; and our savings in peace would be prevented by the necessity of maintaining a large establishment for the sake of security. On this subject Mr. Windham intimated the possibility of effecting many savings in the military establishment, which could be better effected in war than in peace, and which would maintain the nation in a high state of defence. But should it happen, (and who would say that it would not?) that our commerce, instead of increasing, or remaining where it is, should fall off ; that our manufactures should decline ; that, from these and other causes,—such as a

great emigration, and considerable transfers of commercial property ; and above all from the great loss of territorial revenue, the income of the state should be lessened, to a degree equal only to this proposed saving, then we should have incurred all the dreadful difference to be found in our situation in case of the renewal of war, and all the no less serious dangers during the continuance of peace, absolutely for nothing.

Having discussed these dangers at length, he would treat of one, directly produced by the peace itself, and now first commencing ; a danger which might be conveyed in one single word, but a word of great importance — intercourse. “ From this moment,” he said, “ the whole of the principles and morals of France rush into this country without let or hindrance, with nothing to limit their extent, or to control their influence. While the war continued, not only the communication was little, or nothing, but whatever contagion might be brought in by that communication, found the country less in a state to receive it. The very heat and irritation of the war was a preservative against the infection. But now that this infection is to come upon us in the soft hour of peace ; that it is to mix with our food ; that we are to take it into our arms ; that it is to be diffused in the very air we breathe : what hope, can we suppose, remains to us of escaping its effects. With respect, indeed, to one part of the danger, the principles of France, meaning by that the political principles—we are told, that all danger of that sort is at an end ; that in this country, as every where else, the folly of the revolutionary principles



ples is so thoroughly understood, that none can now be found to support them. Jacobinism is, as it were, extinct: or, should it still exist, we shall have as our best ally against it, Bonaparte himself." This he treated as an idle hope. Jacobinism remained either as an instrument to be used by France, should her occasions require it, or as a principle never to be eradicated out of any community in which it once took root. "However true it may be," he said "that the example of France ought to serve as the strongest antidote to its poison, and that it does so in fact, in the minds of many; yet it is equally true, that, in another view, and to many other persons, it operates in a directly contrary way, not as a warning, but as an incitement. What I am now speaking of, is, however, not the danger of the political principles of France, but the still surer and more dreadful danger of its morals. What are we to think of a country, that having struck out of mens' minds, as far as it has the power to do so, all sense of religion, and all belief of a future life; has struck out of its system of civil polity, the institution of marriage? That has formally, professedly, and by law, established the connexion of the sexes, upon the footing of an unrestrained concubinage? That has turned the whole country into one universal brothel? That leaves to every man to take, and to get rid of a wife, (the fact, I believe, continues to be so,) and a wife, in like manner to get rid of her husband, upon a less notice than you can, in this country, of a ready furnished lodging? What are we to think of uniting with a country, in which such things have happened, and

where, for generations, the effects must continue, whatever formal and superficial changes, prudence, and policy may find it expedient to introduce in the things themselves. Do we suppose it possible, that, with an intercourse subsisting, such as, we know, will take place between Great Britain and France, the morals of this country should continue what they have been? Do we suppose that when this *Syrus in Tiberim defuxit Orontes*, when that revolutionary stream, the Seine, charged with all the colluvies of Paris, with all the filth and blood of that polluted city, shall have turned its current into the Thames, that the waters of our fair domestic flood can remain pure and wholesome, as before? Do we suppose these things can happen? Or is it, that we are indifferent, whether they happen or not: and that the morals of the country are no longer any object of our concern? The very scenes that we shall witness, even in the course of the present winter, will give us a sufficient foretaste of what we may expect hereafter; and show, how little the morals of the country will be protected by those who should be their natural guardians, the higher and fashionable orders of society. In what crowds shall we see flocking to the hotel of a regicide ambassador, however deep in all the guilt and horror of his time, those, whose doors have hitherto been shut inflexibly against every Frenchman; whom no feeling for honourable distress, no respect for suffering loyalty, no sympathy with fallen grandeur, no desire of useful example, and in some instances, I fear, no gratitude for former services or civilities, have ever been able to  
excite



excite to show the least mark of kindness or attention to an emigrant of any description ; though in that class are to be numbered men, who in every circumstance of birth, of fortune, of rank, of talents, of acquirements of every species, are fully their equals ; and whom the virtue that has made them emigrants, has, so far forth, rendered their superiors ! A suite of richly furnished apartments, and a ball and supper, is a trial, I fear, too hard for the virtue of London. It is to this side, that I look with greatest apprehension. The plague with which we are threatened, will not begin, like that of Homer, with inferior animals, among dogs and mules, but in the fairest and choicest part of the creation ; with those, whose fineness of texture makes them weak ; whose susceptibility most exposes them to contagion ; whose natures, being most excellent, are, for that very reason, capable of becoming most depraved ; who, being formed to promote the happiness of the world, may, when “ strained from that fair use,” prove its bane and destruction ; retaining, as they will still do, much of that empire which nature intended for them, over the minds and faculties of the other half of the species. “ The woman tempted me, “ and I did eat,” will be to be said, I fear, of this second fall of man, as it was of the first.”

It was not the true result of this argument that we should never make peace with France at all, until the monarchy should be restored. That no kind of peace with France would be safe till then, he was not in the least disposed to deny : but the nature of human affairs did not admit of our getting always what we might

think most admirable. The misfortune of the country had been, that it had never seen, and felt, fully, the extent of its danger. The country, speaking of it in general, and not with a view to particular places, or classes of people, upon whom the pressure of the war had borne with peculiar severity, had been so rich, so prosperous, so happy ; men had enjoyed here in so superior a degree, and with such perfect freedom from molestation, all the blessings and comforts of life, that they had never been able to persuade themselves, that any real harm could befall them. Even those, who had clamoured most loudly about the dangers of the country, had given at times, the most exaggerated representations of them, had really, and when their opinions came to be examined, never described this danger as any thing truly alarming. For their danger had always been a provisional and hypothetical danger, such as we should be liable to, if we did not conform to such and such conditions : but as these conditions were always in our power, and were now actually resorted to, our real and absolute danger was, in fact, none at all. “ You will be “ ruined if you continue the war ; “ but, make peace, and you are “ safe.” There were undoubtedly dangers and evils in war, but there were evils and dangers, not less real and certain, in peace, particularly in a peace, made on such terms as the present. These dangers were augmented a hundred-fold by terms at once so degrading and injurious, as those to which we had submitted.

“ One only topic remains,” Mr. Windham proceeded, “ a most im-  
portant



portant one indeed, but which I should have been induced, perhaps, on the present occasion, to pass over in silence, if in one part of it I did not feel myself called upon, by something of a more than ordinary duty.

When a great military monarch of our time was at the lowest ebb of his fortunes, and had sustained a defeat, that seemed to extinguish all his remaining hopes, the terms of his letter, written from the field of battle, were—"We have lost every thing, but our honour." Would to God, that the same consolation, in circumstances liable to become in time, not less disastrous, remained to Great Britain! I should feel a far less painful load of depression upon my mind, than weighs upon it at this moment. But is our honour saved in this transaction? Is it in a better plight than those two other objects of our consideration, which I have before touched upon, our dignity and our security? I fear not. I fear that we have contrived to combine in this proceeding, all that is at once ruinous and disgraceful; all that is calculated to undo us, in reputation as well as in fortune, and to deprive us of those resources, which high fame and unsullied character may create, "even under the ribs of death," when all ordinary means of relief and safety seem to be at an end. I am speaking here, not of the general discredit that attaches to this precipitate retreat and flight out of the cause of Europe, and of all mankind; but of the situation in which we stand with respect to those allies, to whom we were bound by distinct and specific engagements. I must be very slow to admit that construction, which

considers as a breach of treaty any thing done by a contracting power, under a clear, *bonâ fide*, necessity, such as the other party itself does not pretend to dispute. If an absolute conquest of one of the parties to an alliance does not absolve the other from the obligation which it has contracted, so neither can a timely submission, made in order to avert such conquest, when the remaining party itself shall not be able to describe that submission as injurious either to her own interest, or to that of the common cause. If we were not in a state to say to Sardinia, that it was better for us that she should continue her resistance, rather than accept the terms offered her; then, I say, we are not in a state to consider her submission as a forfeiture of the claims which she had upon us. We have left Sardinia, however, without an attempt to relieve her, without even an helping hand stretched out to support or to cheer her, under that ruin which she has brought upon herself, with no fault on her part, while adhering faithfully to her treaty with us. I must call that adherence faithful, which has continued as long as we ourselves could say, that it was of any use. The case of Sardinia is, with no great variation, the case of Holland also. Both powers were our allies; both are ruined, while adhering to that alliance; both are left to their fate. But Sardinia and Holland are two only of our allies; and placed in circumstances of peculiar difficulty. There were others, it may be said, more capable of being assisted, for whose security and protection every thing has been done, that the most scrupulous fidelity, could require. Naples, Portugal, and Turkey, will



will attest, to the end of time, the good faith of Great Britain; and show to the world that she is not a power, who ever seeks her own safety by abandoning those with whom she has embarked in a common cause. The protection which we yield to these unfortunate powers, is much of the same sort with that which Don Quixote gives to the poor boy, whom he releases from the tree; when he retires with perfect complacency and satisfaction, assuring him, that he has nothing more to fear, as his master is bound by the most solemn promise not to attempt to exercise against him any further severity. We know what respect was paid to this promise, as soon as the knight was out of sight: and it is not difficult to foretell, what respect will be paid by Bonaparte, (without waiting even, I am afraid, till my honourable friends shall be out of sight), to this solemn stipulation and pledge, by which we have provided so effectually for the security of the dominions of our good and faithful allies."

But there was another body of allies, not ranked indeed among the European powers, nor possessing much, perhaps, of a corporate capacity, but who, as men, acting either separately or together, were equally capable of becoming objects of good faith, and in fact had so become, though by means different in point of form, from those which engaged the faith of the country, in any of the instances above alluded to:—These persons were, the royalists of France, wheresoever dispersed, but particularly that vast body of them which so long maintained a contest against the republic, in the west; where they formed the

mass of the inhabitants of four or five great provinces, far exceeding, both in extent and population, the kingdom of Ireland. He mentioned these particulars of their force and numbers, not because they were material to the present purpose, but because they served to obviate that delusion of the understanding, by which things, small in bulk, and filling but little space in the imagination, are apt to lose their hold on our interests and affections. The royalists were, however, a great, numerous, and substantive body, capable of maintaining against the republic a war, confessed by the republicans themselves to have been more formidable and bloody, than most of those in which they had been engaged; and of terminating that war by a peace, which showed sufficiently what the war had been, and what the fears were, which the republic entertained, of its possible final success. But let the numbers and powers of the royalists have been what they might; had their affairs been still less considered; had they been more disowned, discountenanced, and betrayed, than in many instances they were; had more such garrisons as those of Mentz and Valenciennes been suffered to be sent against them; had they been less the real, primary defenders and representatives of that cause, which the allies professed to support; still there were our formal proclamations, issued at various periods, not expressly engaging indeed to make stipulations for them in case of a peace, but calling generally for their exertions, and promising succour and protection, to all those who should declare themselves in favour of the ancient order of things, and of their hereditary and right-ful



ful monarch. Had we acted up to the spirits, or even the letter, of our own proclamations? or to the spirit of that relation, in which the nature of the war itself, independent of any proclamations, placed us with respect to these people? He was compelled to say, though with great reluctance, as well as with great grief, he feared we had done no such thing. He feared, that a stain was left upon our annals, far deeper than that, which in former times, many were so laudably anxious to wash away, in respect to the conduct of this country towards the Catalans.

“By what purgations, by what ablutions,” he exclaimed, “shall we cleanse ourselves from this far deeper, and fouler blot, of having left to perish under the knives of their enemies, without even an effort to save them, every man of those whom we have affected, as it must now appear, to call our friends and allies; with whom we were bound, by interests of far higher import than those of a disputed succession; who were the assertors with us of the common morality of the world; who were the true depositaries of that sacred cause, the very priests of that holy faith; with whom we had joined, as it were, in a solemn sacrament; and who, on all these grounds, but chiefly for the sin of having held communion with us, are now, as might be expected, doomed by the fanatics of rebellion, to be the objects of never ceasing hostility, to be pursued as offenders, whose crimes can only be expiated by their destruction?”

Mr. Windham concluded by declaring he had stated as he thought it his duty to do, what his appre-

hensions were, as to the nature and consequences of the present peace. If the evils which he imputed were not to be found, if the dangers which he apprehended should not come to pass, no one would more rejoice in the error than himself: those who differed from him, would have nothing to complain of; he should have alarmed himself; he should not, probably, even have to reproach himself with having succeeded in alarming them. But if any there should be, who should say, that his fears were not imaginary; that they thought of this peace as he did; that they apprehended it would ruin the country; but they hoped the country might last long enough to serve their turn; that being traders they thought the trade of the country might be lost; that, being manufacturers, they believed its manufactures might decline; but that for this they cared but little, provided the peace in the mean time should prove advantageous to them; to all such, if any there could be, there must be but one answer, that they were a disgrace to their country and to their species; and that he must be as bad as they, who, upon such terms, could seek to merit their good opinion, or could solicit their favour.

In answer to this most able harangue, Mr. Wilberforce said, it was natural that the people should have expressed a general joy on hearing the news of peace, even before they knew what the terms were. He felt the same pleasure, even before he knew the terms; because he was well convinced that ministers would act to the best of their power for the interests of their country; but when the terms were known, the joy of the people was not less than before. Unless it was



contended that we ought not to make peace at all with France, the whole difference between the funeral and the festival alluded to by the Right Honourable Gentleman, was, that we consented to give up to France certain possessions, which he thought we ought to retain. Dangers arising from a communication with France, and from her moral character, were undoubtedly to be apprehended; but it did not follow that, on that account, the war should go on. If he even thought that France, within a very early period after the conclusion of peace, would renew the war, still peace ought to be made. It was the anxious wish of the people; by making it, the ministers had the hearts of the people with them; and they could call on them again with confidence if it should be necessary. Of all the confederates we had in the war, not one remained; and some of them had become our enemies. The great politicians in the time of King William, never thought of being able to prevail against France, without a powerful co-operation on the part of the continental powers, and he did not see how the dangers to be apprehended to our morals from our communication with France, could be lessened by persevering in the war; or by retaining more islands in the West Indies than we possessed already. Never was there an assertion more unfounded or misapplied, than that of our being thrown upon the mercy of France. He was sure that the historian of future times, looking back to the arduous struggle this country had so long maintained, seeing her deserted by her confederates, at one time almost ruined in her finances, and subjected to the

severest dispensations of providence, with regard to scarcity; if, after all this, he should behold her in the zenith of her glory, concluding a secure and advantageous peace, he would say that Great Britain was a country uncommonly great and powerful.

Mr. Wilberforce then maintained that we had retained colonies sufficient for our commercial prosperity; he disapproved a supposed stipulation by England and France to defend the territories of the Grand Seigneur against the attacks of other powers, as tending to involve us in a war with Russia, and he disapproved the possession of Trinidad, because the land still remaining to be settled and cleared, would require a million of slaves, and thus England would become instrumental in promoting the slave trade to an extent far beyond what it was ever before. This was a cost of human misery, which no man could contemplate without anxiety and sorrow.

When he considered the state of this country with regard to France, he was sure we should be exposed to dangers, great beyond all comparison—dangers that depended on moral causes, and which were sure in their operation; but which, as he before observed, would not be lessened by continuing the war with France. The principles of France had taken root more deeply in the human mind than many gentlemen imagined. They had shaken those political and moral obligations, which were the greatest support of civil society. The luxury and relaxation of religious principles that prevailed in France, were great and alarming; and according to Machiavel, who was no bigot, the



country where they prevailed was in the high road to ruin. When therefore he considered the intercourse that was shortly about to take place between Englishmen and the inhabitants of a great, ingenious, and luxurious nation; —When he considered the number of people who might crowd from this country to France, allured by her pleasures and her arts, he could not but think the danger great to our own country; and he sincerely wished this subject might be considered, and some provision made against the effects of that which could not be considered so much a political as a moral disease. It was a disease to which all political writers and philosophers attributed the ruin of nations; and it was the duty of the legislature to bear the subject in mind, and give effect to that practical line of conduct which this reasoning should point out to them. If this was done, nothing was to be feared from France. But if we should suffer the tree to be contaminated, the least puff of wind would blow it down, notwithstanding the beauty and extent of its branches.

Dr. Laurence, in analyzing the preliminaries, condemned the vague manner in which they were drawn up. As we never, by any treaty made such sacrifices, so never, by any treaty was there left such room for altercation. He once thought he might have done some service by pointing out these omissions and inaccuracies, but the errors of ministers were now irremediable. Marquis Cornwallis was sent to Amiens, bound hand and foot. The French had been told we were so eager for peace, or rather that peace was so necessary to us, that there

were no sacrifices which we would not make to obtain it. The treaty of Utrecht was intitled to the highest praise, and it was not without astonishment he had heard it quoted on this occasion. Excellent as it was, the ministers who concluded it had been impeached; but he could have been contented to see it brought “to point a moral, or “adorn a tale,” had not all its principles, which procured us near a century of prosperity, been now completely abolished. He could not hear, without indignation, the language used by some gentlemen, ascribing to ministers moderation and magnanimity, inasmuch as in the hour of success they had consented to terms, perhaps rather lower than they had a right to demand. Necessity was the only plea they could urge, and when they abandoned that, they laid themselves open to the most serious charge of misconduct. To prove these charges, Dr. Laurence reviewed the history of the French revolution, and explained the views of the different parties who directed the war, exhibiting an alarming view of the acquisitions of France, and of the deplorable situation in which we were left by the peace. The subjects of quarrel, he said, were immense, and we had no security, but the Chief Consul might employ some one of them as soon as he had stripped us of our conquests. We could never begin a new war in such favourable circumstances as those in which we ended the present. He could hope little from our commerce. When a philosopher was shewn by an Eastern monarch his immense treasures in gold, he replied that the possessors of iron would soon wrest them from him. The em-  
bassy



bassy of the Marquis Cornwallis might illustrate this still better. He and his suite appeared in the utmost magnificence of dress and equipage, while they were received on the road, by not the most superbly clothed, but the most military looking, corps in France. It was a well-known fact, that those troops who escorted him from stage to stage, were all picked grenadiers. In as far as concerned our allies, the treaty was disgraceful in the extreme; and the case of the Prince of Orange peculiarly dishonourable. Who could have expected, he asked, that almost upon the anniversary of the landing of King William to free us from slavery, his representative should be betrayed by us, and ruined, for no other reason than because he had adhered to our cause with unshaken constancy? For a lesson of fidelity to their allies, he desired ministers to look to the French. Never once had they been driven from any city or country without expressly stipulating for the protection and safety of those who had befriended them. Cooped up in Alexandria, Menou had refused to capitulate unless the English undertook for the security, in their persons and property of Cophts and Egyptians, Mahometans and Christians, Jacobites and Jacobins. (By Jacobites, he said, he meant a religious sect known by that name.) Henceforth it would come to pass, that when the smaller states were obliged to choose a powerful ally, they would look to France. There they might expect protection, but from us only ingratitude and dereliction. He concluded by saying, he was far from wishing to carry on the war for ever, but he did wish to see it carried on till we could

have peace. That state did not deserve the name which required us to remain in arms and to submit to an abridgment of our liberties.

Mr. Eliot enforced the observations of the preceding speaker. His mind, he said, was filled with the most gloomy and desponding apprehensions. He looked upon the peace as absolute and unqualified ruin. All the objects for which the war had been undertaken were at once given up, and we were now surrounded by accumulated danger. The treaty abrogated the public law of Europe, and went to abolish the title of sovereigns to their crowns. It was a wasteful and unnecessary sacrifice of our honour and our interests, to procure a delusive and short lived tranquillity.

To these arguments the Secretary at War replied, by restating several of the topics adduced by Lord Hawkesbury and the ministerial speakers, confessing the alarm which might be justly entertained from the accumulated power of France, but insisting that, without a continental alliance, it would be fruitless for Great Britain to persevere in the contest, and that this country could best attain security by the system adverted to in the preceding day's debate; by one of mixed conciliation and firmness.

The residue of the debate was merely a display of the reasons which influenced particular members in supporting or disapproving the peace, in which little occurred that had not been stated before. Mr. Wynne was in opposition to the measure, while it was applauded by a great number of members who had acted with the late government and the old opposition. Two representatives of places in Ireland,  
Mr.



Mr. Dawson and Mr. Oglé, testified the approbation with which the peace was received in that part of the united kingdom; every loyal man received the tidings with joy and satisfaction, and on the contrary, there was not a rebel or a disaffected individual who did not hear them with disapprobation and regret.

The debate was closed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, proceeding on the assertion of Mr. Ogle, which he had no reason to doubt, observed that those gentlemen who so highly disapproved of the peace, were countenanced in that disapprobation by the feelings and opinions of the disaffected, and their feelings, unexpectedly no doubt by them, were in unison with those of the united Irish. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Windham) seemed to think peace could not be sincerely made on both sides, or firmly established with France, until, not only the government and political principles of France were changed, but even, until the morals and manners of her people were radically reformed. With respect to these measures he should observe, that an answer to them all was comprised in a question asked by that Right Honourable Gentleman himself:—"Are we never to be at peace?" He had the highest respect for the character of his Right Honourable Friend. He well knew the uprightness and firmness of his principles, and the ardour and sincerity of his patriotism. His regret at differing from him in points of such incalculable importance, was therefore the more considerable. Adverting to the national resources, he would not pronounce them inexhaustible,

but they were far from being in that situation which some gentlemen in the course of debate seemed to consider them; and it was in the contemplation of their being further removed from such a state, that he rejoiced that the sovereign had yielded to the advice of his confidential servants, in consenting to those preliminaries of peace which had so decidedly met the cordial approbation of Parliament. He justified the comparisons which had been drawn between the present treaty; and the *projet* at Lisle, still contending that they who had approved that measure could not with justice, censure the present. It had been said, that the continental power of France was not abridged, and that Britain was confessedly unable to contest that power. It was never meant to say, that the power of Great Britain was not such, that, if properly used, it might, with every desirable effect, be placed in the scale opposite to that of France; he did not mean hostilely opposed, but in the way of comparison of their political power and influence. He must revolt at the idea, that because France had made considerable acquisitions, England could not raise its head; far from it, and in proof he had only to desire those who doubted, to look at the state of our armies and navy, and consider their achievements—to contemplate our national commerce, resources, and wealth, and, above all, our inestimable constitution. He should not omit, in a statement of this kind, the extent of our dominions, and possessions, as well at home as abroad: added to this, let the national character of both countries be thrown into the scale of



consideration, and then compare the whole with all that France possessed, and he had no hesitation in putting the question; let any wise and candid man put his hand

on his heart, and say on which side lay the advantage.

The House received the Report of the address.

## C H A P. VI.

*Reasons why the preceding debates are of peculiar importance. The opposition not factious; the ministry moderate and forbearing. View of the treaty. The great ends of the war not apparently attained by the war; yet the contest necessary and not without glory to Great Britain; and her situation at the conclusion of peace, far more glorious and advantageous than that of any other country affected by the French Revolution; the destruction of the British Constitution and power the constant aim of the French during the revolution; glorious resistance of England; and honourable termination of the contest. Statement of the Negotiation afterwards published by France. Circumstances attending that Negotiation. Note from Lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto in April 1801; terms then proposed; rejected by France; the Negotiation assumes an official form; affairs of Portugal introduced; proposition of a species of status quo ante bellum; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; further correspondence; proposals of France; answer of the British government; conference; the treaty concluded; observations on the possession of Malta; on the cessions made by Portugal; on the Prince of Orange; the King of Sardinia; and the French Royalists; general observations; strength and respectability of the new opposition in Parliament.*

THE length and minuteness with which the arguments on the preliminaries of peace have been detailed, although unusual, will not be deemed excessive by those who duly consider their importance. The conclusion of peace with the French republic, formed a great epoch, in the domestic, as well as the foreign concerns of Great Britain. On this point, a violent difference of opinion was manifested among individuals who had been so long connected by the strongest ties of political association, that they were generally considered as inseparable, and, on the other hand, the removal of those grounds of dispute which were most fre-

quently traversed in the early periods of the French revolution, afforded means, sure though not immediate, for the re-union of those whom that great political convulsion had separated, or whom the violence of its agitation, had kept more widely apart than they could have been kept by the usual course of parliamentary discussion. For these reasons, it has appeared proper, instead of selecting the principal arguments of the speakers on each side in the way of a general summary, to exhibit the most prominent sentiments of each member in both houses, since, on so great and singular an occasion, the specific reasons, and even the very form



form of speech may be considered interesting.

The attacks on the peace, although not supported by numbers, were distinguished for vigour and ability, and their impression was the greater, because it was known that the individuals who made them, were not animated by zeal for the cause of the enemy, but deplored, with sincerity, that which they, from no slight or superficial view of the subject, deemed ruinous and disgraceful to the country. The ministry, on the other hand, defended their cause with arguments of great cogency, urged without spleen. Their expressions of confidence in the strength and resources of the country were unmingled with insulting comparisons, even with the most humble of our enemies, and, although the treaty of peace was universally popular, they did not endeavour to irritate the public against those who opposed the measure.

In considering the circumstances under which the peace was concluded, some things evidently demand notice, and some arguments require a slight examination. In whatever view Great Britain entered into the war, it might be affirmed, that none of the great ends of the contest had been answered. Ministers had always denied, that the restoration of the Bourbon family to their rightful throne was their object, but even in 1800, that restoration had been recommended to France in the most public manner; of that, however, so far as relates to human agency, no hopes were at this time to be discerned. Security was an object of the war; but that had not

apparently resulted from it. The force of France was infinitely more calculated to injure Great Britain, than it had been at the beginning of the contest. The principles now professed in France, were not, indeed, so hostile to a regular government; as those of the national convention in 1792, but the revival of those principles depended entirely on the caprice of the individuals who had hitherto guided the course of the revolution, and if the same system was not publicly avowed, there was, on the other hand, nothing in their character or conduct to justify a belief that it was entirely abandoned. But, even if France had gone to the utmost extremity of condemnation, in endeavouring to remove every feeling of jealousy from the nations around her, still the example of her revolution was of the most fearful import. Not to mention the gratification which it afforded to every unworthy principle and malignant passion, by the overthrow of hereditary greatness and consecrated establishment, it exhibited the alarming view of crime sanctioned by success, and vice, aided by fortune, receiving the homage supposed to be reserved for greatness and virtue alone. The state of things existing in France, encouraged the hopes of rebels and revolutionary projectors, by shewing, that the usurpation of property, authority, and even sovereign right, might, if sustained by force, be acknowledged with as much respectful reverence, as the best founded and most honourable titles. This was not, however, to be imputed to the existing administration; the first acknowledgement of the French republic



by Great Britain, had precluded every right to take exceptions in future, and, when once it had been admitted, that it was proper to treat with the government of that country, no question remained for decision but that of terms.

But if it is allowed, that the great objects of the war had not succeeded, it must not be inferred that Great Britain ought, even if she could have done so, to have avoided the contest, or that it had been conducted without glory, or terminated without honour or advantage. The greatest object of the war was that undertaken in conjunction with the great powers of the continent, to prevent the overthrow of all governments by the operation of French influence and French revolutionary principles. In the attainment of this end, each nation had a separate and peculiar, as well as a share in the general interest; but unfortunately, in all the coalitions which were formed, every nation, except Great Britain, kept principally in view objects unconnected with the great cause, and to petty jealousies, private anxieties, and corrupt desires of indirect aggrandizement, sacrificed the more important and extensive objects of the alliance. Some nations which originally entered into the war, had been cajoled or terrified into peace and alliance with France; these had been blotted from the list of nations, or degraded to the lowest and most hopeless state of vassalage. Prussia formed an exception, and even the situation of that country, was neither respectable nor enviable. Some nations had endeavoured to preserve themselves, by observing, from the beginning of

hostilities, a timid neutrality, which some commended as wise. They had been always subjected to the convenience of the encroaching republic, and doomed to plunder, to internal agitation, to change of government, to dismemberment, or to annihilation as independent States, according to the interest or caprice of France. The potentates which had struggled with her in war, had suffered in different degrees, except Russia, which was too remote to be materially injured, but not one had gained any adequate satisfaction, or compensation for its losses. Even Russia, after the splendid campaign of 1799, and the retreat of the Emperor Paul from the grand alliance, could boast of nothing in the nature of indemnity, and was obliged to be satisfied with the reflection, that, if she had not acquired any territorial advantages, she had sustained no loss but that of men and treasure.

Against Great Britain, the earliest efforts of the revolutionists had been directed. In their pretended, but treacherous, admiration of the free principles on which her government was founded, they imperfectly concealed a zealous desire to excite a delusive predilection for that part of the constitution, which secures to the people their most invaluable rights, but which, if an undue preponderance were assigned to it, would deprive every other branch of every semblance of authority, and, in the end, subvert and destroy the best rights of the people. While peace favoured the efforts of the French reformers, this system was pursued without intermission, and to an alarming extent, but when the



the nation was at length compelled to take up arms, the affectation of good-will or esteem was no longer preserved, and not only the throne, the peerage and the church were assailed, as repugnant to the system tolerated in France; but the whole nation was devoted to execration, as a compound of meanness and arrogance, a base shop-keeping race, too cowardly and inexperienced for war, but by the donation of ill acquired gold, urging other countries to tear one another in hostilities which did not arise out of their true interests. When France had succeeded in concluding delusive treaties of peace with some nations, the language of menace was loudly sounded, and woe was denounced against the country which should persevere the longest in hostilities, for on her the whole vengeance of the republic should fall. The determination to destroy Great Britain, had been professed by all who had ruled in France, and even the grand scheme combined in the preceding year, was avowedly framed for that purpose.

In the midst of these efforts and threats, Great Britain had not only preserved her constitution against all efforts directed against it, but had made the most formidable display of military and financial resources which had ever been exhibited. Of every alliance formed against France, England was the soul and centre; and, although her contributions on these occasions were so magnificent as to astonish both her allies and enemies, yet she found abundant means, not only to protect her own possessions, but to occupy the colonies, destroy the fleets, and annihilate the commerce of her enemy.

Great Britain was the last power which continued in arms against France, yet, far from feeling the threatened thunder of her vengeance, Great Britain alone of all the countries which had successively engaged in the great contest for the liberties of Europe, came out of it with an increase of territory, and without having had a single foot of her original dominions wrested from her, in all the changes and fluctuations of a long and most eventful war.

These circumstances, so honourable to the country, formed the principal basis of the objections to the peace. As the ministers who concluded it, declared themselves to be neither prostrate through feebleness, nor palsied by pecuniary embarrassment, it was considered that they ought, out of so many conquests to have retained more, as well for the increase of wealth and prosperity to this nation, as for the purpose of preventing France and her allies from sustaining by commerce, the immense military and territorial preponderance they had already acquired. This objection was justly answered by ministers, as far as regards general principles; they had retained enough, it was said, for safety, commerce, and honour; to have insisted on more might have prevented the accomplishment of the treaty, and even had they succeeded in obtaining much more, the enemy, incensed at the hardship and degradation imposed on him by such terms of peace, would have deemed himself justified in regarding it merely as a temporary arrangement, to be broken whenever opportunity should offer of meliorating his situation, or retrieving his losses.



But the defect of this reasoning is, that the fact is assumed. It is taken for granted, that after having declared "a remote island more or less not to be a sufficient reason for prolonging the distress of the world," the French Government would have ventured to break off the negociation on that very account; and that for England to have carried this point, would have been felt as such a hardship and degradation by France, as to have risked a renewal of the war, for the sake of an object, which was not thought worth the continuance of the war. In truth, it is now well known, that the Ministry would have obtained much more, if they could. A part of the proceedings on this occasion, was afterwards published by the French Government, and as no complaint has ever been made of any partiality in selecting the documents there produced, it must be presumed to give a fair view of the subject. It is highly curious, and demands something of a detailed examination, before it is possible rightly to appreciate the conduct of our negociators.

The first overture was made on the 21st of March, by Lord Hawkesbury, and he communicated his Majesty's disposition not only to enter immediately into negociations, but to send to Paris, or any other commodious place, a Minister fully authorized to give every necessary explanation, and to conclude as well as to treat; thereby waving some points which had before given rise to adverse discussion. The French Government, however, proposed the choice of an armistice, or an unofficial understanding on the basis of a treaty to be settled here

by M. Otto. The Ministry adopted the latter branch of the alternative, and as early as April, in his second conference, Lord Hawkesbury delivered to M. Otto a note in writing, of the terms on which his Majesty was willing to conclude a treaty. The conditions were, that the French should evacuate Egypt, and give it up to the Porte. His Majesty would then restore to France and its allies the following conquests: Pondicherry, Chandernagor, Mahé, Negapatam, Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Cochin, St. Marcou, the Cape of Good Hope, on condition that it should be a free port, Goree, Surinam, Curaçao, St. Lucia, the Saints, St. Pierre and Miquelon, and Minorca. If authentic information should be received, previous to the signature of the preliminaries, of the evacuation of Egypt by the French troops, or a convention concluded to that effect, his Majesty would not hold himself bound to subscribe to the above conditions in all their extent. This proposition was rejected as unworthy of serious consideration. There was some difference, the French Government observed, between the fifth and the ninth years of the republic; the first consul would consent only to an honourable peace, founded on a just equilibrium of the different parts of the world; and that, with such a view of things, he could not leave, in the hands of England, countries and establishments of such immense weight in the balance of Europe, as those which she demanded.

When the discussions on this proposal had continued upwards of two months, the French Government, still appearing to desire peace,

required



required that the negotiation should take an official form, and that request being complied with, began to introduce the affairs of Portugal, and to press them on the consideration of ministers. In a note delivered the 18th of June, M. Otto, pursuant to his instructions, acknowledged that the great events which had happened in Europe, and the changes that had taken place in the boundaries of the great states of the continent, might authorize a part of the demands of the British government; but how, he asks, can it demand, as an ultimatum the keeping of Malta, of Ceylon, of all the countries conquered from Tippoo Saib, of Trinidad, Martinique, &c.? He therefore demanded of Lord Hawkesbury, whether in case the French government should accede to the arrangements proposed for the East Indies by England, and should adopt the *status ante bellum* for Portugal, his Britannic majesty would consent that the *status ante bellum* should be re-established in the Mediterranean and America?

June 25. On the proposition of a *status quo ante bellum* in the Mediterranean, Lord Hawkesbury observed, he understood the French government to wish not only that Egypt should be restored to the Grand Seignor, but that the integrity of the Ottoman empire should be secured. This proposition, extensive as it was, could not, in any way, produce the results it announced, nor re-establish the two nations in the *status ante bellum* in the Mediterranean. It would also be necessary that the French government should evacuate the country of Nice, and all the States of the king of

Sardinia; that the Grand Duke of Tuscany should be re-established, and that the rest of Europe should recover its independence. If that could not be, and France was to preserve a part of the influence which she had lately acquired in Italy, his majesty was legitimately authorized to keep the island of Malta, to protect the commerce of his subjects, and to watch at least over the interest of Great Britain in that part of the world.

With respect to a compensation in America for the restitution to Portugal, Lord Hawkesbury noticed the impropriety of requiring his majesty, for the sake of his allies, to make sacrifices incompatible with the security of his kingdoms. Nor could the *status ante bellum* for Portugal, be an equivalent for America. His majesty had made very important conquests in that part of the world, not only from France, but Spain and Holland. It could not, therefore, be expected that his majesty would restore all the conquests that his arms had made from several powers in America, as a compensation for the *status ante bellum* in Portugal alone; besides, it must be observed, that the *status ante bellum* in America could not be produced by the restitution of the conquests which his majesty had made there, without calling for a compensation to Great Britain, for the acquisition that France had made of the Spanish part of St. Domingo. His majesty did not mean to avail himself of the incontestible right, which he could claim from treaties, of bringing into discussion this concession of Spain to France; but he could not allow that it should pass unnoticed, in regulating the



the conditions of peace. His majesty however offered, if the French government would accede to the propositions already made by him respecting the East Indies and the Mediterranean; and if it would consent also that he should keep in America, Martinique, Tobago, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; he would add to what he had already granted, the *status ante bellum* for Spain, in consideration for the *status ante bellum* for Portugal.

To this proposal, an answer was returned, expressive of the grief felt by the first consul at seeing the negotiation assume a retrograde character, and referring to some supposed explanation which had taken place about the 6th of June, when the British ministers required only Ceylon, with Martinique or Trinidad, and the neutrality of Malta. Now that France and Spain had made great acquisitions at the expence of Portugal, Great Britain, instead of moderating her pretensions, rather advanced them.

Whether M. Otto had reported that in the course of conversation, he had thrown out some such project of a peace, and fancied, or pretended to fancy, that Lord Hawkesbury had seemed inclined to acquiesce in it; or whether it was a mere fiction of the French government for the purpose of feeling the pulse of the British Cabinet on the terms so suggested, we have no sufficient clue to guide us in determining. Yet it looks rather like an after-thought of the latter description. For M. Otto's note of the 18th of June, which professes to be an answer to that of the 6th from Lord Hawkesbury, is utterly irreconcilable to the notion of

any such explanation, as may be instantly seen above: and the next letter of the English minister after the pretended explanation was hinted, casts a direct suspicion on the fact, for it recapitulates all that had passed in the negotiation, without even mentioning this, while, in a subsequent note, he expressly denies that any new pretensions were advanced, but requires that the French government would mention some conditions on which peace might be concluded.

In answer, M. Otto, on the 26th of July, expressed himself in these terms. The question is divided into three points: The Mediterranean, India, and America. Egypt shall be restored to the Porte. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged. All the ports of the Adriatic and Mediterranean which have been occupied by French troops, shall be restored to the king of Naples and the Pope. Mahon shall be given back to Spain. Malta shall be restored to the order; and if the king of England thinks it conformable to his interests, as a preponderating power on the seas, to raze the fortifications, this clause shall be admitted. In India, England shall keep Ceylon. The other establishments, comprehending the Cape of Good Hope, shall be restored to the allies. In America every thing shall be restored to its ancient possessors. Portugal shall be preserved in all its integrity. Such are the conditions the French government is ready to sign.

The next stage of the correspondence fixed the future condition of Malta, so far as to decide that it should belong neither to England



England nor France, and the French having professed themselves inflexible on the subject of Martinique, Lord Hawkesbury offered to surrender it on one of two conditions. 1st. To keep Trinidad and Tobago; and Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice to be free ports; or 2dly. to retain, St. Lucia, Tobago, Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, giving up both Trinidad and Martinique.

To this correspondence succeeded a conference, which took place on the 7th of September. In it, among other things, it was proposed on the part of France, but absolutely rejected by the English ministry, that the restitutions to be made to France and her allies should appear on the face of the preliminaries, but that the possessions to be retained by England should be contained in a secret treaty. At this conference too, all the articles proposed to form a part of the treaty were amply discussed, and some were definitively arranged. Finally, after some further correspondence and new conferences, in which Lord Hawkesbury relinquished or compromised all the points in dispute, but the publick recital of the exceptions to restitution, as well as of the restitutions themselves, the treaty was concluded and signed.

At first sight it may appear singular, that the principal terms of the preliminaries were exactly those of the supposed explanation of the 6th of June, silently passed over, as that was, by both parties. But this, on consideration, seems rather to confirm the opinion, that it was an artful experiment of the French government on the temper of the British cabinet. They were

met, indeed, on that occasion with becoming firmness; and it took all the skill and address of M. Otto and his employers more than three months to reduce our demand down to that level. Yet it cannot be disguised, that the manner in which the negotiation commenced on our part, had a natural tendency to encourage such an attempt. He who begins by seeking peace without regard to those forms, which have been invented to assert and protect the equality of the adverse states in such proceedings, and who opens his treaty with a voluntary offer of surrendering seventeen or eighteen valuable settlements, colonies, and islands, without the slightest reference to either of the known bases of negotiation, the state of present possession, or the state of possession before the war, should recollect, that the manifestation of an over-hasty eagerness for the attainment of any object, must put the person so acting at the mercy of him, in whose power it is to give or withhold it. Too undisguised a facility of gratuitous cession can, in ordinary cases, convey to an adversary no other appearance than that of weakness incapable of resistance. It is only a strong government, in a situation of unquestionable superiority, which, by such a course, can take to itself the credit of moderation and magnanimity; a government able and resolved to adhere to the conditions so proposed, or at least to suffer no essential departure from them. Otherwise, where so very much is sacrificed at the outset as the mere price of peace, it is obvious that point after point is liable to be extorted, as happened in this very instance, because no one is of sufficient



sufficient importance to be put in competition with that good, which has already been estimated as worth so much more. Neither was the new basis introduced by our ministers such as could supply the loss of the old. It was, "that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests, for the important acquisition of territory made by France upon the Continent." The whole, in the view of a real statesman, would have formed no adequate compensation; and to call by that name the little, which it was proposed to reserve, much less what was actually reserved, was too plainly to use the language of self-delusion, meant only to throw a false splendour around conscious inferiority and humiliation.

With respect to Malta, the whole subject certainly presented only a choice of difficulties. The importance which France attached to the possession, and her continual anxiety concerning it, shewed the necessity of rescuing it, if possible, for ever, from her, and not the jealousy of France alone, but that of other powers, and the claims which had been advanced by the late emperor of Russia, made it improper for England to insist too strenuously on retaining it; especially as on Russia we must hope principally to rely for co-operating in the maintenance of the new Republic of the Seven Islands, as a barrier against France on that side of the Mediterranean. Each Government perceived the embarrassment of the other, and neither chose to risk extremities, where each was most likely to be firm. The final arrangement, therefore, of the question of Malta, was left open to the Definitive Treaty.

The objection against the peace, that England deserted her allies, is far more serious than any other. The Porte and Naples, it is generally allowed, had no right to complain, but much kindness to acknowledge. Portugal by treaties of her own, extorted from her indeed, but not through the fault of England, yielded up some of her possessions in Europe and America. It cannot be doubted that England would, if possible, have obtained the restitution of these portions of territory, but Portugal, who had a minister in England apprized of the course of the negotiation, was content, that the point should not be insisted on. Had the British ministry refused to sign the treaty on this account, hostilities must have been renewed between Portugal and France, or have commenced between Portugal and England. In either case, Portugal must have been a severe sufferer, and England must also have experienced a large share of calamity and obloquy.

Of the King of Sardinia it should be remembered that he was originally attacked not on our quarrel, but his own, and had ceased to be an ally before the conclusion of the war.

The Prince of Orange had evidently not been overlooked in this negotiation, for in the first minute delivered by Lord Hawkesbury in April, it was required that the Batavian republic should grant to the House of that Prince an entire indemnity for the loss of its property. The papers published do not disclose what further arrangements were attempted on this head; but, it is possible, that by a private understanding it was reserved for the Definitive Treaty, when the Dutch Ambassador



Ambassador might be a party to the proceeding, as it was then resumed.

For the Royalists and others in the West Indies, who had assisted in putting the colonies into our hands, some inadequate protection was provided. Though they were not allowed to remove with their property, as were any republican inhabitants of the islands which remained to us, yet it was stipulated, that none of them should be molested under any pretext, on account of their political conduct or opinions, antecedent to the definitive treaty. But no similar mention was made of our unfortunate allies in France. When we had negotiated before indeed, we had given them notice, that they might make the best terms practicable for themselves. And a pacification had consequently taken place, which many of their leaders disliking, had already sought refuge in England. This was, perhaps, too little for their security, but it was enough to furnish a specious answer to any application on our part.

The truth is, that the imperfections and omissions in the articles ultimately adopted, ought not to be considered separately, but should be referred all together to the situation of ministers, which did not leave them masters of their own actions. They had no substantive strength of their own from family connexions, great landed property, or pre-eminent talents. In parliament they were vehemently urged on the one side, and more gently encouraged on the other, to lose no opportunity of making peace; and if the people less audibly expressed their desire for it, it was perhaps because they more generally expected it from the

change of their rulers. The lofty tone in which their predecessors had declined the early advances of the First Consul, however justified by all the circumstances of that juncture, had sunk into a vain attempt at conciliation through Austria, which, after the treaty of Luneville, now naturally led to fresh overtures from new men. In the terms originally offered, they had for a guide what had formerly been proposed at Lisle. Their new basis of compensation differed little, except in words, from the old objects of indemnity and security; and on some points, where they were disposed to make a stand, they gave way only to the authority of Mr. Pitt, who might advise, what, committed as he personally was, he could not himself have done. But above all, there was an imperious necessity which could not be safely avowed. The nation was opulent, and capable of bearing whatever burdens might still be required to maintain its honour; but the public finances were in the greatest confusion. The deficiencies of the civil list could no longer be concealed; the accumulated arrear of debt, for which the income-tax was pledged, could no longer remain unfunded. With the depression of the stocks from a continuance of war, and the addition of the sinking-fund created with every loan, which could not in that case have been changed without danger to public credit, the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have found taxes in perpetuity to the annual amount of between five and six millions. These facts were but little and imperfectly, if at all, known to his opponents, and could not then be declared to the world in his defence. No experience in



our history affords the least ground of conjecturing what effects might have been produced on the temper of the people, had they been called upon to commence a new career of war under such an enormous load, unprepared, and without being satisfied, that there was no just and honourable alternative. Mr. Pitt did not venture on the income-tax till the sudden dismissal of our ambassador from Lisle had shewn peace to be unattainable.

The debates in parliament on this subject exhibited in a more clear light than it had appeared before, the formation of a new and unexpected opposition, calculated to infuse alarm. The names of the principal persons among them in the House of Commons have been given. The ten peers who divided against the address were, the Marquis of Buckingham; Earls Pembroke, Warwick, Fitzwilliam, Radnor, Spencer, and Caernarvon; Lords Grenville and Gwydir; and the Bishop of Rochester. Such a band, however small

in number at their first appearance, could not fail to become formidable from their abilities, their family connexions, and the general respect in which they were held. Many of them possessed the great advantage of having been long, and till lately, in office, so that to them the course of public business was perfectly known, and their general knowledge would be assisted by that precision and perfect acquaintance with details which are not always at the command of opposition, but which must enable them to give so much more annoyance to a ministry. Some appeared to think, and at times ministers spoke and acted as if they were willing to believe, that no general or systematic opposition was intended, but that the preliminaries of peace formed the only ground of difference between them and their late friends; but it was not possible that a difference on a point so important and extensive in its effects should be limited to any single object.

#### C H A P. VII.

*Debates on the Northern Convention; address moved in the Upper House by Lord Darnley; seconded by Lord Cathcart; opposed by Lord Grenville; supported by the Lord Chancellor; observations of several other Lords; the Address carried without a division. Proceedings in the House of Commons on the same subject; address moved by Lord Francis Osborne; seconded by the honourable Mr. Ryder; the treaty disapproved by Mr. Grey, and Lord Temple; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; objections of Dr. Laurence; answered by Lord Glenbervie, Mr. Sturges, Mr. Erskine, Sir William Scott, and Mr. Tierney; the address voted without a division. Naval and military estimates voted; explanations given by the Secretary at War. Thanks to Sir James Saumarez, moved by Earl St. Vincent; seconded by Lord Nelson; thanks to Captains Hood and Keates, and other officers, moved by Earl St. Vincent; seconded by the Duke of Clarence; similar thanks voted in the House of Commons. Thanks to Sir John Hely Hutchinson and the British army in Egypt, moved by Lord Hobart, who bestows*  
high



*high commendation on the Marquis of Wellesley; the motion supported by Lords Nelson and Pelham and the Duke of Clarence; Thanks also voted to Lord Keith; Rear Admiral Blankett; Sir Richard Bickerton, and Sir John Borlase Warren. Christmas Recess.*

IN discussing the convention which terminated the dispute with the northern powers, the ministry were again exposed to the censures of the new opposition. After Nov. 13. various postponements, this compact was examined in both houses of parliament on the same day.

The Earl of Darnley, who moved the address to his majesty, began by expressing his satisfaction in having occasion to appeal to the House, on grounds so distinct and different from those on which he had, in the course of the last session, found it his duty to offer his sentiments, and to propose an enquiry into the state of public affairs, with a view to a vote of censure on the government of that day. He now meant to propose a vote of approbation of the conduct of his majesty's present ministers. He could not but give his testimony in praise of their conduct since they came into office, contrasted with that of their predecessors, whose servile imitators they had proved themselves not to be, as he had expected. The convention on the table he considered as a striking instance. It was evident from that important document, that they had not continued to bully and insult the powers of Europe; but, by a judicious mixture of firmness and moderation, they had induced them to relinquish their unjust pretensions, and had finally established, upon an equitable and permanent basis, the maritime law of nations. That code of law was not a novel institution; it was as ancient as the introduction and

practice of navigation and commerce, and had been clearly and explicitly laid down by the ablest ministers of different countries at different periods, and uniformly admitted and coincided in by all the states of Europe, because it was founded on truth, justice, and the general convenience of all nations. Yet, however clear and beneficial this law, the supposed interests of belligerent powers made them sometimes endeavour to supersede it, for the purpose of embroiling their adversaries in new quarrels, and adding to their difficulties. Such had been the origin of the famous armed neutrality in 1780, which, if its principles had been established, would have inflicted a fatal blow on our commercial prosperity and naval greatness. Their lordships knew how the danger of 1780 was averted, but considering the glorious successes of this country by sea, and the unparalleled extension of navigation and commerce which we had attained during the war just terminated, it was not to be wondered at, that a jealousy of our superior prosperity should be excited in other powers by the intrigue of one of the belligerent states, and their envy and selfishness awakened, by the expectation of gaining some advantages while they imagined us to be exhausted and enfeebled by the enormous expence and continued exertions of a nine years' war. Far from being exhausted, we had entered with courage on this new contest, and he thanked God, the firmness and energy of ministers



ters had resorted to the best means of terminating the pretensions of their opponents.

Entering then on a consideration of the treaty, his lordship observed that the first and most important particular presented to their attention was the abandonment of that false and dangerous proposition, *that free ships made free goods*. The next point of importance, was *the right of search of ships under convoy*; which was clearly ascertained and admitted, but with the limitation of excluding privateers from the exercise of the right in question. With regard to *contraband of war*, in the enumeration of what was to be considered so in future, with respect to Russia, military warlike stores alone were to be found. He had no objection to confining that enumeration to Russia only, because naval stores were not the chief produce of Russia, and the imperfect state of her marine, added to the circumstance of her seas and rivers being rendered impassable, and locked from navigation during six or eight months of the year by the frost, made it a point of no great importance. The matter stood on a different ground with Denmark and Sweden. By the ninth article, these countries were to be immediately invited by his imperial majesty, in the name of the two contracting parties, to accede to the present convention, and, at the same time, to renew and confirm their respective treaties of commerce with his Britannic Majesty. By the treaty with Denmark of 1670, as explained by a subsequent treaty concluded in 1730, and by that of 1661 concluded with Sweden, naval stores are deemed contraband of war, and are considered as such by

the law of nations, in respect to all other countries who are not protected by the special conditions of a treaty. The fourth important matter to be found in the treaty, was the definition of the character of a *blockaded port*; the terms of which extended beyond the assumption of the armed neutrality, and placed the question, on an explicit and satisfactory ground. The first paragraph of the third article provided that the ships of the neutral power may navigate freely to the ports, and upon the coasts of nations at war. Considerable stress was to be laid on the words "to the ports" as contradistinguishing from the words "from port to port," which had been the language of the claim of the armed neutrality. The difference of expression secured an effectual prevention of the neutral from carrying the coasting trade of the belligerent powers during war, and it was manifest, that the ships of neutrals were only to be regarded as free ships, when they had, *bonâ fide*, neither enemy's property, nor contraband on board. Admitting that the treaty bore evident marks of haste, and that the wording was open in some places to cavil, his lordship required of those who should be disposed to object to it, to consider the circumstances under which it was made; the difficulties under which the present ministers came into office; the situation of unprecedented danger and apprehension in which the country stood when the rupture with the northern states broke out; the unjustifiable combination entered into against the maritime power and importance of Great Britain; the perilous and expensive war in which the country

was



was engaged ; the pressure of the public burthens, and various other circumstances, which combined, rendered the part which ministers had to act, with respect to the northern confederacy, extremely arduous and delicate. It was a strong argument in favour of this treaty, that it had facilitated the peace with France ; a peace which, if not glorious, was evidently necessary ; and which might have been better, but for the misconduct of the former administration.

Lord Cathcart, in seconding the address, recapitulated many of the arguments, and repeated many of the facts adduced by the mover, and joined with him in paying a merited tribute of applause to the valour and judgment of Lord Nelson, who had so happily extricated the country from a situation so full of peril and difficulty. The ministry were equally to be commended for their courage and firmness : in fact it was hardly possible, a few months ago, to suppose that the country would so soon stand on the proud eminence on which she was now placed. A glorious naval victory terminated the contest with the northern powers, in a manner highly advantageous and honourable to this country. By the convention on the table, the principle that free bottoms made free goods, and the exemptions claimed by our late opponents, were happily resisted, and these questions, which had, in several wars, contributed to embarrass our government, were completely decided.

Lord Grenville expressed his disapprobation of the treaty in a long and able speech. If the convention, he said, offered to us any prospect of those advantages, which had

been so liberally ascribed to it by the zeal of its supporters, they would be well justified in having claimed for it from Parliament an unqualified and unanimous approbation. The ultimate establishment and recognition of those principles, for which Great Britain fought and conquered at Copenhagen, would undoubtedly offer an occasion gladly to be embraced, for just congratulation to his majesty : and, far from opposing such a motion, he should think himself peculiarly called upon to concur in the praises of any statesmen, who had really (in the words of the address) secured those essential rights, for which we had contended, and which were inseparably connected with the existence of our naval power. Having, for many years, allotted a large portion of his thoughts and labours to the subject of the treaty, and entertaining a high sense of its importance to the interests of the country, he felt obliged to declare a full conviction, that, should its stipulations remain unaltered, our system of maritime law, instead of having been confirmed by the issue of a successful contest, would be found to have been, in all its parts, essentially impaired ; its principles shaken, its exercise embarrassed, and its clearest regulations made matter of eternal diffention and contest.

It was consolatory, that the task of investigating this treaty was very different from discussing the preliminaries of peace. In the present instance, we had treated, not with an enemy, but with an old and natural ally : not with the government of an usurper, who was still manifestly looking for his security in our dangers, and for his glory in our humiliations ; but with a law-

ful



ful sovereign, who had no real interest opposed to ours, and who had shewn a decided attachment to the ancient system of connexion, so long established between the two countries. Even if the errors of this convention, while they threatened the subversion of the British naval power, did promise some commercial advantages to Russia, we must believe that an enlarged and liberal policy, duly appreciating the permanent and solid interest of Russia herself, would reject the benefits to be purchased by such a sacrifice; but much more, if it should appear, that, even these imaginary advantages were, in fact, injurious to the very interests they were supposed to promote, and that the whole system against which Great Britain had contended was mutually dangerous to both empires, and could be profitable only to their common enemies and rivals. There could be little doubt, on these grounds, that the Emperor of Russia would readily consent to any reasonable proposal for the explanation, or amendment, of this convention. But, it was not so much for the acknowledged concessions, as for the dangerous uncertainty of these stipulations, that we were deeply concerned to provide an immediate and effectual remedy; and, in this respect, at least, we might confidently hope to find at Petersburg dispositions completely favourable.

His Lordship then briefly reviewed the origin of this contest from the time when, in the last years of the American war, the weak and temporizing policy of Great Britain toward the powers of the Baltic, had encouraged and augmented their inadmissible pretensions; stated the renunciation of those claims at

the commencement of the last war; and ascribed the confederacy to caprice and groundless disgust existing at Petersburg. The confederacy was, however, far more formidable in appearance than in reality. It was, indeed, well adapted, if we shrunk from the contest, to dictate to us the most disgraceful and ruinous concessions; but little was to be feared from its hostility, if it was only met with fortitude, and repelled with energy. The marine of France and Spain, crippled by constant defeat, during a war of unparalleled success to England, was less able, than it may perhaps be found at any future period, to support the exertions of a northern league. The union of the Baltic powers was neither cemented by common interest, nor by mutual confidence. And even the untoward circumstances of personal disposition and character, with which we had to contend at Petersburg, justified the expectation, that the resolutions adopted in that quarter would be found no less unsteady and fluctuating, than they were rash and violent. On these grounds his majesty's then ministers commenced their resistance, and the contest was decided by the victory at Copenhagen. The succeeding events were still more favourable. At the very moment when the Baltic powers had incurred the penalty of their own precipitation, when their colonies were already in our possession, when their commerce was annihilated, the defences of their own ports destroyed, and the productions of their territories accumulating at home without purchasers, and therefore without value; and when their revenues, sinking under this total stagnation of trade,



trade, were unequal even to their ordinary peace expenditure, much more to the exertions of a war against Great Britain. In this critical and decisive moment, a change took place at Petersburg, which removed every obstacle to the restoration, not only of peace, but of friendship and alliance with that court. In this situation the negotiation began, and circumstances more favourable never offered themselves to negotiators. As therefore no ill design or disposition could be attributed to either party, if this charter of our future strength, this warrant of assurance for the undisturbed enjoyment of rights essential to our naval power, should be still found deficient in that precision and certainty, which could alone constitute its value, it would behove us to pursue with earnestness the means of full and satisfactory explanation, now, while the circumstances were still propitious, while the opportunity was still such as the most sanguine hopes could hardly have anticipated. Such, he had no doubt, was the conduct which the king's government was actually pursuing, and far from implying a censure, he wished to express the fullest approbation of this endeavour. It was, however, inconvenient and unexampled to call on the House for approbation of the measure, before the terms of the accession of Sweden and Denmark were known. The House was now desired to pronounce upon the merits of a treaty, of which they knew not what the conditions might ultimately be; and to declare those stipulations to be complete and satisfactory, which their authors themselves considered

as requiring farther explanations, additions or amendments.

In examining the tenor and effect of the articles, and in stating the sense, which might hereafter be affixed to them by neutral powers, it was not his wish to persuade the House, that such were the only interpretations of which the expressions themselves might possibly be susceptible; nor even that they were, in every instance, those which, on the result of a doubtful balance, might be adopted by an impartial arbitration. It would be more than enough, for every purpose of his statement, if it should appear that these articles are, in fact, ambiguous, and that they would fairly admit of contrary constructions. The subject required the utmost precision; and correction, while the minds of the parties remained the same, and the intentions of both were fresh in their recollection, would be not only practicable, but easy; but if, from any real, or any affected indifference to these great national interests, from any false security, or any mistaken pride, this favourable opportunity were suffered to pass away, the public mischief might be such, as no future diligence, or ability could retrieve.

His lordship then directed the attention of the House to a comparison of the present convention with the corresponding provisions in the hostile conventions of 1780 and 1800, shewing, that in the form and wording of the articles, the two hostile conventions of armed neutrality had been followed with a scrupulous and servile exactness, wherever they could



be made to apply. We stood therefore, in the face of Europe, no longer as resisting, but as acceding to the treaties of armed neutrality; with modifications indeed, and changes in some important points; but, functioning, by this concession, the general weight and authority of transactions, which we had hitherto considered as gross violations of public law, as manifest indications of hostile purpose, and as sufficient grounds to justify, on our part, the extremities of war itself.

Under this impression, it would be necessary to examine the concessions of the present convention, and compare them with those claims for which this country wisely determined, at the commencement of the present year, that it was necessary, even under all the difficulties of that moment, to incur the additional dangers of a northern war.

These propositions as explained in both Houses were:

I. That it is not lawful to neutral nations to carry on, in time of war, for the advantage, or on the behalf, of one of the belligerent powers, those branches of its commerce from which they are excluded in time of peace.

II. That every belligerent power may capture the property of its enemies, wherever it shall be met with on the high seas; and may, for that purpose, detain and bring into port neutral vessels laden wholly, or in part, with any such property.

III. That under the description of *contraband of war*, which neutrals are prohibited from carrying to the belligerent powers, the

law of nations (if not restrained by special treaty) includes all naval as well as military stores; and generally all articles serving principally, according to the circumstances of the war, to afford to one belligerent power, the instruments and means of annoyance to be used against the other.

IV. That it is lawful to naval powers, when engaged in war, to block the ports of their enemies, by cruising squadrons, *bonâ fide* allotted to that service, and fairly competent to its execution. That such blockade is valid and legitimate, although there be no design to attack, or to reduce by force, the port, fortress, or arsenal to which it is applied. And that the fact of the blockade, coupled with due notice given thereof to the neutral powers, shall affect not only vessels actually intercepted in the attempt to enter the blockaded port, but those ships also which shall elsewhere be met with, and shall be found to have been destined to such port, under the circumstances of the fact and notice of its blockade.

V. That the right of visiting and examining neutral vessels, is a necessary consequence of these principles. And that, by the law of nations, (when unrestrained by treaty) this right is not in any manner affected, by the presence of a neutral ship of war, having under its convoy merchant ships, either of its own nation, or of any other country.

In examining how far the treaty had established the first of these principles, relating to the commerce of neutrals with powers at war, Lord Grenville exhibited the reasons



reasons which made the French nation endeavour to obtain a relaxation of this rule, when they were pressed by our naval superiority, and unable to conduct their own commerce in their own bottoms. He contended that the terms in the treaty did not, in a manner, sufficiently explicit, prevent neutrals from undertaking, even the French or any other coasting trade in time of war, and pressed his objection with the more earnestness as the clause was copied from the hostile treaty of 1780. But if any doubt could be entertained of our having given up the coasting trade, none could possibly prevail with respect to colonial commerce, on which point the treaty was unfortunately too explicit; that claim was indisputably and unequivocally conceded by Great Britain. After citing the orders of council on this subject, which had been issued, his lordship made a strong appeal to the Lord Chancellor, as a person to whose opinions he always listened with unfeigned respect: whether, in determining a question of property between individuals, any earthly consideration could induce him to assert, that a neutral ship carrying on the trade of the French colonies with Europe, (but not having on board either enemy's property, or contraband of war,) had violated any one of those conditions, subject to which alone this convention had expressly guaranteed an unlimited freedom to neutral navigation. Before he should answer the question, let him look to the second section of this third article of the treaty; and he would find it distinctly provided, that "all effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free,"

with no other exception than those of contraband of war, and of enemy's property. "But I have much more satisfaction," Lord Grenville said, "in looking to the means of rectifying the omission, than in examining its origin, or in tracing its consequences. I am therefore happy to remark, upon this, and upon almost every other concession of this treaty, that they are all points still susceptible of amendment; points on which Russia, disposed as she now is towards Great Britain, can have had no real interest to insist." Very great advantage would certainly result to other neutral powers from this particular concession; and its value to France might be almost beyond calculation; but to the Russian empire, it could produce no benefit whatever.

On the second proposition, which opposes the pretensions, that free bottoms make free goods, his lordship declared without reserve, that, as to Russia, the present convention seemed to have obtained a sufficient recognition of the just and established principle asserted by Great Britain, and with respect to Sweden and Denmark, as far as the public faith of nations could be considered as binding, this stipulation was already contained in our treaties with both these powers.

On the third point, relative to contraband of war, Lord Grenville lamented, that we were not left by the result of this negotiation on a like footing of advantage and security to Great Britain. It involved perhaps the most valuable of all the interests for which we had contended. In discussing this subject, he adverted first to the more obvious and avowed con-





cessions which were contained in the treaty. By a commercial treaty with Russia renewed in 1797, for a period of ten years, we had, by a temporary stipulation, admitted the subjects of the Russian empire to carry, in their own ships, naval stores to the ports of our enemies. This permission was now made perpetual, and if, as no one could assert the contrary, the marine of Russia should become sufficiently powerful, it might be exercised to an extent highly prejudicial to the most important interests of the British empire. But even if this were certain we had by another part of the convention, materially facilitated to our enemies the means of carrying on with Russia, even in her present state, an extensive commerce in naval stores. By the seventh article of this treaty, (copied with so many other of its stipulations from the hostile convention of the northern league) it was provided, that the privileges of neutrality should be allowed to such vessels only as had on board a captain and one half their crew, composed of the subjects of the power, whose flag they bear. By the rule which is now generally received in Europe, not one half, but one third only of hostile seamen are permitted to navigate a neutral vessel; but by this treaty, a direct commerce during war was authorized between the French and Russian ports, in vessels indeed bearing the Russian flag, but which would be navigated by a crew, one half of whom would be French, and who would consequently have much greater opportunities than any which subsisted previously, of fraudulently disguising the real property of the vessel, and of con-

trolling the conduct of the remainder of the crew. Besides these objections, his lordship dwelt at great length on the ambiguity introduced into the transaction by the stipulation in the third clause, that this compact should not prejudice the particular treaties of the contracting parties with other powers. If no other objection existed to this part of the treaty, except its extraordinary inaccuracy, this alone would make it absolutely necessary to resort to some farther negotiations on the subject. It was not possible that the future interests of this country, on these essential points, should be left to rest on the unsteady foundation of this precipitate transaction. In illustration of this censure, he entered into the history of the first treaty of armed neutrality, and reviewed in various circumstances, the injuries which would result to Great Britain from this too ample concession.

Coming next to the fourth question, that of blockaded ports, Lord Grenville described the stipulations as being transcribed, with the variation only of a single word, from the corresponding articles of the two conventions of armed neutrality. Those articles had declared, in substance, that no parts should be considered as blockaded, unless where the power attacking it should maintain a squadron constantly stationed before it, *and* sufficiently near to create an evident danger of entering. In the present treaty the contracting parties had substituted, "*or sufficiently near,*" intending, no doubt, by this minute change, trifling and unimportant as it was, to establish, in their full extent, the principles which



which Great Britain had maintained on this great question of maritime blockade, and which the article, in its original state, as it stood in the two neutral conventions, was intended completely to subvert. To this arrangement his lordship made several objections; he disapproved of the adherence to the form of the hostile treaties; the article by mentioning attacks on the port, seemed to sanction an unfounded opinion, that the power which blockaded a port by sea, must, like a land force, have some view of reducing it to subjection; and the stipulation, as expressed, seemed to imply that a blockade was understood to continue so long only as that danger actually existed, and was, on the other hand, to be considered as being raised as often as the danger ceased, even for the shortest interval; a proposition tending to the utmost confusion. Even were the fullest weight given to that minute verbal change, on which so much was made to depend, a strict adherence to the letter of this stipulation, in its present form, must utterly destroy our whole system of blockade by cruising squadrons.

With respect to the right of search, his lordship observed, that if it were not for the confident hope which he entertained of seeing the other deficiencies of the convention supplied by the result of the negotiations depending, he should consider all that regarded this last point as being comparatively of very little moment. The privilege of visiting, or of searching a neutral ship, could be useful only as it facilitated the exercise of other rights; as it led to the detection of frauds, and the

prevention of unlawful commerce; and as it afforded the means of ascertaining those facts which would justify detention, seizure, and confiscation. If, therefore, we were henceforth to continue to neutrals the advantages which this convention guaranteed to them, our right of visitation, or of search, could be of little value. When we had opened to them the coasting and colonial trade of our enemies, what should we gain by acquiring the utmost certainty that they do in fact avail themselves largely of that permission? When we had declared naval stores not to be contraband, what would it profit us, if we should examine every cargo of that description which is carried to the ports of our enemies? Or, when we had admitted that a port, blockaded only by a cruising squadron, is open to the trade of neutrals, what purpose would it answer to ascertain the name of every vessel sailing with such a destination? But if, on the contrary, that code of naval law which Great Britain had hitherto asserted, had in this negotiation been steadily maintained, and unequivocally confirmed, nothing could have been more important than to have crowned that great work, by placing beyond dispute the means of exercising those principles, the justice of which had finally been recognised. Subject to these remarks, Lord Grenville entered into a vindication of the right of search, which was indeed so manifest, that except some idle declamation from the schools of French philosophy, he believed it had never yet been seriously questioned. The right of searching vessels under convoy, which was denied



by the convention of armed neutrality, was indeed recognised by this treaty. But to what purpose, must be learnt by an examination of the subsequent provisions, which limited the exercise of a right, the justice of which has been thus openly acknowledged. It was in the first place refused, now for the first time, to all privateers; a circumstance to which he was not disposed to object. But it was of more consequence to consider the stipulations of this article, as they respected the future practice of the British navy. The claim of the neutral league of 1800, confined this examination to a bare perusal of the papers of the neutral ships: which papers were for that purpose, to be communicated to the belligerent by the neutral officer, on board his own vessel. Exactly the same proceeding was here stipulated; and it was added in this treaty, as in the former, that if the papers so communicated shall be found to be regular, no farther search shall take place. An exception, however, was here subjoined, which constituted the only practical difference on this subject between the two conventions. It was not, as before, laid down absolutely, that no farther search should in any case take place, but that none should so take place, "unless some valid motive of suspicion should exist." What could be a more wretched policy than to hold in reserve for periods of embarrassment and danger, doubtful pretensions, which now, in the security of victory, and in the confidence of friendship, we had been afraid to avow? In the present practice, the commanding officer going on board a ship examined the papers,

the appearance of the ship, crew, and cargo, and questioned the men; and if he saw from this inquiry a reasonable presumption of unlawful conduct, detained the ship, but by the present treaty, the suspicion must precede the inquiry. What was there in the appearance of a ship to create suspicion in an officer, who had never been on board, but viewed her through a telescope, out of the distance of cannon shot? Her sails, her masts, the fashion of her rigging, and her hull, these he possibly might distinguish. Would these inform him whether the property of the ship, or of all the goods, or of any part of them, were hostile or neutral? Whether the cargo were hostile or innocent? Of what nations the crew was composed, and in what proportions? Whether the object of the voyage were conformable to such special treaties as might apply to it, or whether it were consonant with the general law of nations? Could he even conjecture at that distance, what concealed articles the ship might carry? What ostensible, and what real papers? What false passports; granted perhaps in blank in Europe, and filled up in the East Indies, with the name of any ship, whose owner was content to pay the regulated tariff of such frauds? Would he, in such a situation, acquire the knowledge of those details with which the crew might be willing to supply him? Or, could he even satisfy his own judgment, whether the ship were sufficiently victualled and stored for the voyage which her papers indicated? Not one of all these, although these comprize all the principal grounds of suspicion which



which had hitherto led our officers to the detention of neutral vessels. Every one of these was now abandoned. On these points, Lord Grenville referred to some of those noble persons then present, the memory of whose victories, obtained in support of their country's rights, would ever warm the hearts of Englishmen: whose splendid actions would live in our grateful remembrance, even although that fatal period should already have arrived, when their effects must cease to operate: even although we should be found to have renounced, by these stipulations, the very claims which their exertions had established; and to have abdicated at the same time, by an involuntary surrender to an inveterate enemy, that high pre-eminence of dignity and safety, in which it was their glory to have placed us; and which no human power but our own, could ever have impaired. It was, he contended, but too manifest, that while we had in words established the right of visiting ships under neutral convoy, we had, in fact, so limited and circumscribed the practice, as utterly to renounce every beneficial purpose to which it ever could, by any possibility, be applied.

One general remark remained to be made. In every transaction, relating to subjects of this nature, but more especially in those in which we limit by new stipulations the exercise of our ancient rights, it ought to be the object of our particular attention to prevent, by the most explicit declarations, all possibility of converting our special engagements into general rules, applicable alike to all coun-

tries. But, this point was obviously of peculiar importance at a moment when we were about to stand, with respect to so many great commercial states, on the footing of the general law of nations, not modified by any special contract. By some fatality it had happened that we had now done precisely the reverse of this. We had not even left it as a doubtful question, whether these stipulations should extend to other countries. We had adopted, in this treaty, the very same clause which was inserted in the conventions of armed neutrality, expressly for the purpose of establishing the principles there promulgated, not only as a rule for all transactions between the contracting parties, but as an universal law, applicable to every civilized state. We had declared, that all the stipulations to which we had now acceded, "should be regarded as permanent, and should serve as a constant rule to the contracting powers, in matters of commerce and navigation." If, therefore, there were no other reasons than that furnished by this single article, this alone would abundantly prove the indispensable necessity of proceeding, by farther negotiation, to explain the ambiguities, and correct the errors, with which every part of this treaty unfortunately abounded. In the present case, one sentiment alone could prevail both in Great Britain and in Russia. The desire of every friend of peace, and every lover of justice, throughout the world, must be the same. All must concur in wishing that a precise and unequivocal arrangement on all the matters to which this treaty had relation, might confirm



and strengthen the dispositions of friendship, between those to whom Europe still looked for its preservation, and might stifle the seeds of every possible difference which could either interrupt their present harmony, or embarrass their future exertions. By loose and uncertain stipulations on these important concerns, no interest was promoted, no right asserted, no principle finally established. From ambiguity and doubt, confusion and discord only could arise.

In answer to these objections, the Lord Chancellor began by requesting the House to be on their guard against what he should say, as he had been a party to the present transaction; had given his advice as to its adoption; and therefore must be interested in supporting it. He must tell the noble lord, that the words of the treaty did not, in any manner, bear the interpretation which he put upon them. The rights for which this country contended were now completely admitted; and, what stamped an inestimable value on the present treaty, and made it the most valuable ever entered into was, that even the violation of it on our part could not be resisted by violence on the part of the neutrals; but the matter was to be peaceably settled before the competent tribunals of the country. The settlement had been made on a great, liberal basis, which shewed to the world, that Great Britain was not intolerant in her power, and that she did not wish to stand on trivial points and nice distinctions. The nation had gained the great objects for which they contended, namely, that free bottoms did not make free goods; that ships of war had the right of

search; that the blockade of ports should be recognized as legitimate; that the exercise of these rights should be regulated upon clear, intelligible and liberal rules; and, what was of more consequence than all, that any casual violation of them should not be a cause of quarrel, but should be the subject of amicable adjustment. As to slight objections from the wording of particular clauses, he must think they were not to interpret this paper as they would an indictment. When the noble Lord said he objected to particular expressions, because they were taken from the convention of the neutral powers, with some variation; he would answer, that he liked them the better for being so taken. The variation shewed that we did not recognize the doctrine as there assumed. Thus, in regard to the words, "*free navigation to the ports and upon the coasts,*" it was manifest, that we did not mean that they should enjoy free navigation *to and from the ports* of an enemy. And in the same way, the *or* in the article recognizing the right of blockading ports, was all that we could desire, since it established the doctrine, that if our squadron was stationary off a port, or sufficiently near to make an evident danger of entering, such port was to be considered in a state of blockade.

He denied that a neutral power could set up any such pretension as that of carrying on the coasting trade in time of war; the meaning and clear understanding between the parties was, that when a Russian ship should happen to take in a cargo, part of which was to be delivered at one port in the enemy's country,



country, and part in another port, such ship should be at liberty to put in at the several ports where she was to deliver the several parts of her cargo. But if at any of those places it should appear, that she took in any part of the enemy's property, for the purpose of conveying it to other ports, if, in short, she should attempt to carry on a coasting trade for the enemy, that cargo should be liable to search and confiscation.

With respect to colonial trade, were he to decide judicially on this part of the treaty, he would put a construction on it very different from that of the noble lord. He would ask, whether, if it had been intended to give up a right of such essential value as the one in question, some notice would not have been taken of it in the treaty? He had no doubt but the clear understanding was, that the right should not be given up; and a farther explanation might still be had on the subject. The French had, during the late war, endeavoured to establish the monstrous principle that they had a right to confiscate property in neutral countries, because it had once been British; the principle in the present treaty was totally different, and it was impossible to suppose, that, because we were not to prevent neutral nations from acquiring the colonial produce of the enemy, we were to enable them to carry on the colonial trade.

The interpretation of the treaty by Lord Grenville on the subject of contraband trade, he contended, was not correct. In construing treaties, it was necessary to advert to the intentions of the parties. It was affirmed, that this would

lay the foundation for a contraband trade, which all other neutral nations would think they had a right to carry on; but this was only a specific treaty with one nation, which could not bind any other power, and had nothing to do with any treaty that might be entered into with Denmark or Sweden; and which could never hereafter give either Holland or America the right of carrying on a contraband trade. The treaty was confined to Russia alone; and we had no quarrel, nor were we at war with Russia. It contained a complete renunciation of the coasting trade: a clear, unequivocal admission of the right of search; and he would ask, on the whole, if the country had not established the right for which she contended?

His lordship could have wished to see the right of search exercised by privateers as well as by King's ships, as these vessels formed a great part of the naval power of the country. As, however, the right of search by privateers might be resisted, and could not be exercised in some instances, without a declaration of war on one side or the other, he thought it better to give it up altogether. The objection made by the noble lord, as to the right of search on the part of Great Britain, applied not to the right itself; but to an undue detention after the search was made. The captain of the belligerent power, would have the right to go on board the ship that guarded the convoy. If then he had no motive for suspicion, he might go away, without making any search; but if he had a sufficient motive, he was not bound to declare what it was; but might proceed to



to his search. If, after the search, it appeared that there had been no justifiable motive for the detention of the vessel, then he was responsible to no power for what he had done, except his own country. He contended that notwithstanding what the noble lord had said, a search might still be made; and there would be as little danger of neutral vessels, containing contraband goods now as formerly. From the nature of the thing itself, the ground of suspicion must depend upon the discretion of the officer; and he was to determine from other circumstances, besides the examination of papers, whether he had not a good cause to make a search.

These were the principal arguments used on this occasion. Lord Holland concurred in the address, although he did not think the rights contended for, so valuable as they were described to be by Lord Grenville, nor agree in the explanation given by the Lord Chancellor. Lord Mulgrave would also vote for the address; but considered the rights classed under five heads by Lord Grenville, of the utmost consequence, and feared that ministers, in the joy of making peace, had, through inadvertency, made some omissions in the treaty; and Lord Nelson highly approved of the convention, which he considered just and satisfactory.

The address was agreed to without a division.

Nov. 13. The debate in the House of Commons did not differ materially from that in the House of Lords. The address was moved by Lord Francis Osborne, and seconded by the Honourable Mr. Ryder, after the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in

answer to a question by Lord Temple, had informed the House, that ministers had received the most positive assurances of the willingness of Sweden to accede to the convention, and though not actually in possession of an official copy of her accession, they daily expected to receive it.

The treaty was attacked by Mr. Grey, who, in answer to an observation made by Mr. Ryder, said, that whatever reason the noble lord, who had moved the address, and the honourable gentleman who seconded it, might think they had to congratulate the House on this treaty, and that the House had not followed the advice he had offered, yet he could safely say, that he, at present, felt no reason to regret the advice which he had then given, from a conviction, that the conduct he pointed out, was that which the interest of the country then clearly dictated. He considered it extraordinary, that the House should be called upon to agree to an address to his majesty, at a time when they had no official notification of the accession of the Swedish and Danish courts, to the terms of the treaty, except the assertion of the noble secretary. The treaty itself, he considered merely as a judicious compromise, and compared the conduct of ministers, to that of a man who boasted, that by his will he left room for a fine law-suit. He made many observations on the uncertainty and want of precision in certain articles of the convention, but he did not extend his disapprobation so far as to refuse his vote to the address.

The objections of Lord Temple were more decisive of his conduct.

He



He maintained that the treaty inflicted a severe blow on the best interests of the country. All the grounds on which the House had pledged itself in the address to his majesty last session of parliament, were, partially or intirely, given up. In describing these grounds he divided them, like Lord Grenville, into five heads, and descanted on the treaty as applying to each in the same sense, though not so copiously as his lordship. He concluded by observing, that the merits of the framers of a treaty, did not absolutely depend upon what it gained or conceded; perhaps ministers could assign reasons which compelled them to desert the principles, which their predecessors had declared they never would abandon. This was the first act of their administration, and perhaps they might be able to shew that it augured an administration, long, firm, vigorous, dignified and successful. They might be justified by necessity; but necessity could alone justify them. They had struck that flag, which an honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had eloquently declared, ought never to disappear till the nation itself was overwhelmed.

Lord Hawkesbury answered Mr. Grey's principal objection, by stating, that the readiness of Sweden and Denmark to accede to the treaty, did not rest only on the information given that day; it had been declared by his majesty in his speech from the throne. Besides, the House was called upon now to consider merely the convention with the court of Russia, and if there should be any thing objectionable in the treaty concluded with Denmark and Sweden,

there would still be room for censure and condemnation.

He defended the treaty as just, expedient, equitable, and wise. It was not a compromise, nor had we given up what we had been contending for. We had maintained in full force our maritime rights, as far as it was our interest, and even as far as it ought to be our desire. We had gained all we were intitled to demand, and all it was our wish to procure. The honourable gentleman in complaining that we stood exactly where we were before we engaged in the struggle, did not take a just view of the question. The powers of the north had confederated to dictate a new code of maritime law to Europe. We went to war to dissolve this confederacy, and to defeat its purposes. He would not dwell on the importance of the rights for which we had contended, but observe that there was one point of view, however, in which he thought it had not been sufficiently considered. To her maritime greatness this country owed her happy issue from the late awful struggle, and to the maritime greatness of England, the continent of Europe owed whatever it retained of independence. This power had attained its present stupendous pitch, from a system of policy begun in the earliest times of our history, and brought to perfection in the time of the commonwealth, by the enactment of the navigation laws. The principle then established, was, to limit the commerce of Great Britain to her navigation, wherever the two clashed to prefer navigation, and to sacrifice commerce. The trade of Britain was thus all confined to



to British ships, and this regulation was extended even to the time of war, with one single qualification, that a larger proportion of foreign seamen was then allowed. The consequence of those salutary laws was, that, upon the principles laid down by the confederacy, we had nothing to gain, but every thing to lose. We allowed no neutral navigation, and the more it was freed from restrictions, we suffered the more. France, on the other hand, had long found her navigation too small for her commerce. In peace, she merely laid a small tonnage upon foreign shipping entering her ports, and in time of war, she gave it every possible encouragement. Her system then was, to throw her commerce into the hands of neutrals, that she might add to the strength of her military marine. Thus, the principles we contended for, were, not only abstractedly right, as between all countries, but of the most essential consequence to us, in our individual circumstances. Yet, he said, he would fairly allow that he thought we should make the exercise of these rights as little vexatious as possible. It was wise not to push them too far; by seeming to recede, we might prop them more effectually. He had read almost every thing that had been written in defence of the claims of neutrals, and he declared he had never found any reasoning to shew that they had right upon their side. However, one strong argument was drawn from convenience. It was said, that our principle, though just, was liable to abuse, and that theirs, though erroneous, might, in practice, be found less inconvenient. With a view to

the preservation of our privileges, a thing he considered of the first importance, that foundation on which this argument against them rests, should be for ever taken away.

Having enforced these introductory observations, Lord Hawkesbury supported the specific terms of the treaty by arguments similar to those of the Lord Chancellor, and having finished this part of the subject, concluded with observing:—it was said, the treaty was ambiguous; but he should like to be told, what treaty ever was framed which did not leave room for the cavilling of the discontented and quarrelsome. As to the question, whether more could have been gained, he trusted that ministers would receive credit for having used their utmost endeavours to promote the interests of their country; but in this case, if no more was gained, it was because no more was wished. The treaty did enough; it contained an ample recognition of all that is essential to us as the first maritime power on the Globe. He knew there were some who saw no policy, but in violence. For his part, if he could obtain what he considered substantial justice, he would not only let off his enemy without blows, but would help him to escape. We had gained by this treaty all that justice, all that policy required; and he did not see where would have been the dignity in pressing severely upon states, because when compared to us, they were weak and feeble. A petty concession was not to be compared to the rancour, and ill-will produced by extorting it. When the northern powers were



confederated against us, and threatened to enforce their pretensions with the sword, we shewed true magnanimity in using force to chastise their temerity; but we shewed equal magnanimity in seizing upon the first symptoms of returning moderation, to bring about an amicable arrangement. We thus proved, that we would neither recede from our rights, nor push the exercise of them beyond the bounds of reason and justice.

Dr. Laurence did not consider the preceding speaker justified in adopting so triumphant a manner in delivering his sentiments. It was argued that we had established the right of preventing free ships from making free goods; yet that right had been previously acknowledged, and he would go further, and say, he had information, as a matter of fact, that the northern powers never seriously wished to contend with us for it. They had merely contended against our right in that instance, with a view of withdrawing their pretensions, in order to induce us to make concessions of importance in other respects. As to the right of search, it had never been disputed, when the circumstances of public affairs rendered the attempts of the northern powers more likely to succeed; when our ships were doubled in number by those of the enemy, and when (he mentioned it, for it was a subject of universal notoriety) our fleet was driven up the Channel by a very superior force. Yet, placed as the country was, in that alarming and dangerous situation, no attempt had been made to deprive us of the right of search. In the article

respecting contraband trade, nothing of moment had been gained by the convention. And as to blockade the definition of that article was so variable, that no certain standard or precise rule could be found in the admiralty laws; the definition had already been changed six or seven times. After some observations on the right of convoy, Dr. Laurence censured the construction of the treaty on the basis of the armed neutrality; he would not have built this vessel on that keel.

All the remaining speakers supported the convention. Lord Glenbervie denied the matter of fact to be as stated by Dr. Laurence; and referred to the instructions under which the Swedish captain had acted, when by force he resisted the right of search.

Mr. Sturges grounded his hope, that the treaty would be permanent, on the glorious manner in which we asserted our rights, and the moderation with which our victory had been followed. The northern powers had learnt that the Sound was not impassable, and if it were rendered impassable, the passage of the Belt would be still open; a passage, the discovery of which was reserved for the consummate skill and daring spirit of the British Navy.

Mr. Erskine, in a speech of considerable length, highly applauded the treaty. In answer to those who censured it as a compromise, he quoted the words of Mr. Burke. "Almost every human benefit is founded on compromise, and it is better we should give and take, than be rigid with each other



other; for if we could be wise, we would not endeavour to be subtle disputants."

Sir William Scott expressed intire approbation of these sentiments, but made some observations on the censure which seemed to be levelled at privateers, and shewed the utility of that mode of warfare

Mr. Tierney said, the present ministers, when they came into office, pledged themselves to use their honest endeavours to obtain peace, and to use their power with justice and moderation. They had fulfilled their pledge, and he felt himself bound to discharge his, which was to give them an honest support, if, in his conscience, he thought they deserved it. He was sensible of the difficulties under which the country laboured, but he saw no cause for despair. He thought he perceived a ray of Hope, and trusted, that ministers were determined to act upon the only system by which the nation, after its struggles and sacrifices, could be restored to its former splendour and greatness. With these sentiments, he should not only give them no opposition, but contribute every exertion to aid them in the work.

The address was voted, as in the House of Lords, without a division.

The expectation of peace did not supersede the precautions necessary for the security of the nation, if, contrary to all reasonable hope, its definitive ratification

Nov. 3. should not take place. Early in the session, the Chancellor of Exchequer obtained an order, that the proper officers should lay before the House, the

estimates for ordinary and extraordinary services in the navy, army, ordnance, and other war-like services, for three months, commencing first of January, 1802.

The naval and military strength which it was judged expedient to retain, consisted of 130,000 seamen, including marines; and for Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney, 58,718 land troops, including 7,175 invalids, and for Ireland 18,660 troops including 661 invalids. The militia, till the peace, were to be 34,500, and it was proposed to offer to the consideration of Parliament, some general regulations respecting that portion of the military force. The naval part of the services was not the subject of any animadversion; but the military estimates were objected to by Mr. Robson, who made an attack on the Nov. 9. cavalry, and required that the estimate should be printed. Failing in this, he re- Nov. 13. newed his efforts in the committee, and expressed great disapprobation of the large number of cavalry.

The Secretary at war explained those parts of the estimates which he considered to require elucidation. In the present situation of public affairs, the committee could not, he conceived, consistently with their duty, object to make such provision for the public service, as would effectually secure the country against danger, if, beyond all expectation, the definitive treaty should be broken off. On the other hand, they would feel it equally incumbent on them to look forward to arrangements for reducing the army from its present high complement of numbers, when fortunately



nately the state of the country should admit of a peace establishment. This, besides being most reasonable in itself, was the mode adopted in 1783, when, in the first instance, the full war establishment was voted for four months, and subsequently, to that, mixed estimates were formed for two months, by which one part of the army was kept on the full complement, and the other reduced to the force judged to be sufficient for the purposes of the service during peace. After establishing this principle, he noticed the considerable increase in the estimates, which arose from the change which had been made in the mode of paying twelve West India regiments; the expence incurred by re-embodiment the supplementary militia, and the additional charge of the volunteer corps. But while the estimates in these points of view had increased, in other respects the public expence had experienced a very considerable decrease. In the article of clothing the militia there would be a considerable diminution of the public expenditure, and every measure had been adopted to diminish the burdens of the country. By the authority of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, orders had been issued for discontinuing the recruiting service, both for the cavalry and infantry, and no time would be lost in carrying economical regulations into every part of the service, as far as these regulations were consistent with the public safety.

If any difference of opinion could be said to prevail with respect to the amount and payment of the forces, no such difference existed

in considering their past services. On the second day of the session, Lord Hobart apologized for deferring a motion of thanks to Sir John Hely Hutchinson, and Admiral Lord Keith and the forces serving under them in Egypt, on account of the want of an official dispatch, after which Earl St. Vincent moved the thanks of the House to Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez, for his spirited conduct in the action with the United fleets of France and Spain, off Gibraltar. This gallant achievement, he declared, surpassed every thing he had met with in his reading, or service, and when the news of it arrived, the whole Board, at which he had the honour to preside, were struck with astonishment to find that Sir James Saumarez, in so very short a time after the affair off the Bay of Algeiras, had been able, with a few ships only, and some of them disabled, especially his own, to come up with the enemy, and, with unparalleled bravery, to attack them, and obtain a victory highly honourable to himself, and essentially conducive to the national glory.

Lord Nelson in seconding this motion, expressed himself in terms of warm applause on the conduct of the officer in question; but he was not surprised at the matchless intrepidity and skill of his gallant friend, when he considered the professional school in which he had been bred, viz. under the late Lord Howe, Lord Hood, Lord Bridport, and his noble friend the Earl St. Vincent.

The first Lord of the Admiralty then moved similar thanks to Captains Hood and Keates, and the

Oct. 30.



the other officers who distinguished themselves in the engagement.

This proposition was seconded by the Duke of Clarence, who said, he should have risen before, but when he saw his intimate friend about to rise, he felt that it did not become him to take the lead of the hero of the Nile. He rose now as a professional man, to express his intire concurrence with every syllable that had fallen from his two noble friends, in commendation of the gallant Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez, and to declare the satisfaction he felt in the thanks of the House having been moved to those brave officers, Captain Hood and Captain Keates, for their distinguished conduct in the two engagements. They were both as deserving officers as any in his Majesty's service, but he could speak more particularly to the merit of Captain Keates, having served under him for four years and a half, during a former war, as a midshipman in the same watch. He was persuaded, whenever the country should be engaged in another war, Captain Keates would eminently distinguish himself.

A similar apology and motion were made in the lower House on the same day by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the votes in both Houses were unanimous.

Nov. 12. The thanks to the deliverers of Egypt from the French, were moved in the House of Lords by Lord Hobart, and besides Sir John Hely Hutchinson, included by name the several officers of highest rank, and in general terms, the non-commissioned officers and privates. After noticing in appropriate terms, the exploits

of the conqueror of the Nile, and Sir Sidney Smith, Sir Ralph Abercromby, and his successor, Lord Hobart said, he could not suffer the opportunity to escape him of calling their lordships attention to the merit of the Marquis Wellesley, whose foresight and wisdom had not only been manifested in regard of the most glorious achievement of the war in India, but had led him to conceive that the most beneficial services might be rendered to his country, by his detaching five thousand of the troops who served at the siege of Seringapatam, under the command of one of their most gallant generals on that important service, and embarking them by the way of the Red Sea, to co-operate with our army in Egypt. His lordship said, sufficient praise could hardly be given to the Marquis Wellesley for this well concerted plan of sending auxiliary support to our European army in that quarter, because it must be evident, that if the French had succeeded in their project of obtaining and keeping possession of Egypt, their views would have been next directed to India, which might, to say the least, have put our territories in that part of the Globe to some hazard, inconvenience, and danger.

The motion of Lord Hobart was seconded by Lord Nelson in terms of liberal eulogium; supported by Lord Pelham and the Duke of Clarence, and carried without a dissentient voice.

A similar unanimity prevailed when the same acknowledgments were moved to Lord Keith, Rear Admiral Blankett, Sir Richard Bickerton, Sir John Borlase Warren,



ren, and the Captains and officers, seamen and marines acting under them.

On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House of Commons passed votes to the same effect on the same day, and without any diversity of opinion.

Before the period usually termed the Christmas Recess, some other business was begun, which will

require notice in subsequent chapters, but as it is now necessary to advert to some events which took place out of parliament, the account of the proceedings of that body will be for a while suspended, observing first, that on the 14th of December both Houses adjourned for a week, and on the 21st again adjourned for the like period.

### C H A P. VIII.

*Transactions on the Continent of Europe; magnificence of the Marquis Cornwallis; he sails for Calais; is joyfully received; proceeds to Paris; has an audience of the First Consul. Festival at Paris in celebration of the peace; compliments to Bonaparte; his proclamation; observations of French writers on recent transactions; Respect shewn to the Marquis Cornwallis; he departs for Amiens. State of Martinique; of Guadeloupe; insurrection there; squadron dispatched in 1801; La Crosse appointed governor; his unfitness for the office; his proclamation; his exertions to restore order; their effects doubtful; sentiments of the French government on the subject. State of Saint Domingo; the chief command in the hands of Toussaint L'Ouverture; decline of produce, trade and population; character of Toussaint; he convokes an assembly; who form a constitution; its principal articles; Toussaint accepts the government, and transmits the constitution to France; suppresses a dangerous insurrection; his narrative and proclamation. Sensation occasioned in France by these events; a fleet and army prepared in France; speculations on this subject in England; strength of the squadron; it sails from various ports of France. The subject mentioned in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville; answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; observations in the upper House by the Earl of Carlisle; answer of Lord Pelham; Mr. Elliot makes further inquiries in the House of Commons; answer of Lord Hawkebury; observations of Dr. Laurence; and other members; a British squadron sails for the West Indies; Mutiny among the sailors suppressed; the ringleaders punished.*

**B**EFORE the proceedings in the British parliament are resumed, and those events treated on which particularly affected the internal state of the nation, it becomes necessary to relate some incidents which took place on the continent, and to notice the pro-

ceedings of the French government.

Amiens was fixed on Nov. 2. as the place for negotiating the definitive treaty of peace; and the Marquis Cornwallis being deputed, as was mentioned in the last volume to represent the



British nation, on this grand occasion, he displayed in the execution of his mission, a magnificence which corresponded with the fame of his own character, and the dignity and rank of the kingdom, whose honour and interests were confided to his hands. His equipage which was sent before him to Calais, was extremely splendid, his train very numerous, and his travelling carriage was escorted by eight outriders. Had the curiosity of individuals in England, to witness the festivities in Paris on the return of peace been accommodated, the attendants on the noble Marquis would have been numerous beyond all example, but a rigid refusal of passports prevented this great evil, and his lordship was accompanied only by his son Lord Viscount Broome, his son-in-law, Mr. Singleton, Colonels Littlehales and Nightingale, and Mr. Moore of the Secretary of State's office for foreign affairs, brother of the brave general, who was with the army in Egypt.

Nov. 3. The ambassador failed for Calais in a storm of wind and a deluge of rain, which occasioned many apprehensions for his safety; and it was not till after a passage of eighteen hours that he reached the port. Notwithstanding the late time at which he landed, two hours after midnight, and the unfavourable state of the weather, he was received by the civil and military authorities with all marks of attention and honour; curiosity and joy, no less than civility occasioned these observances, for the party who escorted the Marquis to his inn, was not composed of military

and municipal officers alone, but of the greater part of the inhabitants of the town.

Against his excellency's departure for Paris, Nov. 4. which took place in about twelve hours after his arrival, an escort of twenty dragoons was prepared, and relays of horses were posted at proper intervals. At one stage from the capital, which the Marquis reached on the 7th, he was met by a detachment of honour, composed of 150 of the finest hussars of the consular guard, who attended him to the hotel prepared for his reception. On the following day, he had an audience of Talleyrand, and with the principal persons of his suite, dined at the House of that minister.

The day next but one Nov. 9. to the arrival of the Marquis in Paris, had been fixed for the celebration of the rejoicings on the return of peace. On that morning his excellency had a private audience of the First Consul, and occupied his time till dinner in viewing the repositories of literature and art. After dinner, he repaired to the residence of the third consul, where apartments were prepared, in a good situation, for him and his suite to view the exhibitions of the day. As a mark of peculiar distinction, the carriages of Lord Cornwallis were exempted from the general regulation which prohibited the passing of all vehicles, for that day, in the principal streets of the city.

The festival prepared by the French government, was a mixture of grand designs and paltry fopperies; a moment of delight was succeeded by hours of disgust, and, on the whole, the French writers them-



themselves characterized it as insupportably wearisome. Its chief effect was, to produce some vain glorious boasts, some abject flatteries to Bonaparte, and some harsh expressions respecting the British nation, which did not portend the return of mutual good-will with the renewal of peace. The day was cloudy and foggy, but at the moment when the show was to begin, the air cleared. This was converted into an occasion of flattery: "Bonaparte," said one of the French writers, "is not only the favourite, but the master of Fortune; the winds obey him; he willed it, and the clouds dispersed, and the sun broke forth to illumine his festival. One would have said, that the cannon of the republic dispersed the clouds with the same ease that they dispersed the enemy."

The pomp of the day consisted in various devices: there were, first, a federal and triumphal procession in honour of commerce, in which a flotilla of boats on the Seine was loaded with persons dressed to represent the inhabitants of all the countries in Europe; they made a short voyage, landed, and joined the populace, with whom they sang and danced. Second, a Balloon, adorned with the flags of all the nations reunited by the peace, and carrying four persons in its boat or car. Third, a concert executed by the conservatory of music. Fourth, a pantomime, displaying the horrors of war, in the bombardment and burning of cities, and the return of peace, by the opening of temples dedicated to the goddesses of concord. Fifth, a fire-work, which was promised to be very splendid, but

disappointed expectation; and last, a general illumination, and protracted dance, in which the populace were engaged during the whole night. The illumination was principally distinguished by a triumphal arch, displaying the name of the First Consul in letters of fire. This was, in course, converted into an occasion for adulation to him, and he published a proclamation, at once arrogant and insidious; boasting the greatness and happy effects of his own government, and proposing to the people, a mode of conduct to render them famous and happy in peace; to make every foreigner, whom curiosity should bring among them, remain attached by the charm of their manners, the sight of their union and their industry, and the attraction of their enjoyments; and afterward depart, more than ever a friend of the French nation, wiser and better. "If there still remain," the proclamation proceeded, "men tormented by the necessity of hating their fellow-citizens, or soured by the memory of their losses, immense countries lie open to them; there let them adventure in search of wealth, and strive to forget their misfortunes and sufferings."

This proclamation, as well as many other acts of government, shewed the active operation of two great passions, ambition and fear. It was evident that the honours of the moment did not satisfy Bonaparte, but that, by the perpetual repetition of his great deservings, the public mind was to be prepared for some fresh claims, and it was also apparent, that the emigrants, however reduced in fortune, numbers, and



hopes, were still sufficient to create uneasiness in the ruler of France, however triumphant in arms, successful in treaty, and invested with power already uncontrolled, and daily becoming more permanent and extensive.

Even among the ostentatious civilities shewn to the British ambassador, the writers in the employ of the French government, and acting by its immediate direction, indulged in reflections on recent events, little calculated to tranquillize the spirit of animosity, or cause the return of mutual esteem. In a professed review of the state of the nation, during the second year of the consulate of Bonaparte, the military and naval operations of the late campaign were described in a manner most flattering to France, and disadvantageous to England. If their fleets could not destroy, they had, at least, occupied those of England; obliged them to exhaust themselves in experiments; to scatter themselves on every coast; and kept them in pursuit on every sea. Twice the English were repulsed at Boulogne; twice had they failed in Egypt, and their success at last, fell stillborn into the public hands, through the alarms occasioned by the dread of invasion at London. England was menacing a French colony; France was marching toward the British metropolis! Peace was however concluded; and, on that occasion, France testified her satisfaction, with a calmness much more commendable than immoderate transports would have been. A tumultuous and noisy joy displays an inability to express, or an habitual disregard of a regulated decency; it is the joy of savages;

it is also in a civilized country the joy of a populace, obtaining an unexpected blessing, a deliverance from a great danger, or the termination of an extensive misery. France, indeed, had little to fear from the continuance of a war directed by the first military character in Europe, and therefore, the satisfaction at the return of peace, was rather warmly felt than clamorously expressed, and such conduct was worthy of a people beginning to feel their own dignity.

Although publications like these, in a country where nothing issues from the press without design, might be ascribed to a disposition to irritate the English nation, yet the behaviour observed toward the ambassador was full of studied respect. A guard of honour was continually stationed at his hotel, and wherever he passed in his carriage, the military saluted. He received the visits and compliments of the most distinguished generals in the French service, and was, in many respects, treated with more distinction than the envoys of other powers. His stay in Paris was however but short: before the end Nov. 29. of the month, he quitted that capital, and fixed at Amiens, where he made some progress in the execution of his mission with Joseph Bonaparte, although the plenipotentiaries from Spain and Holland had not yet arrived. The progress of the negotiation of the definitive treaty will be noticed in another page, but in this it may be fit to mention, that the constituted authorities at Amiens were profuse in their attentions and observances to the British ambassador, while his excellency, no less in compli-

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ance with the known humanity of his own disposition, than in honour of the nation he represented, distinguished himself by incessant benevolence to many miserable objects whose necessities were daily exposed to his view.

In the interval which preceded the arrangement of the definitive treaty, the projects of France and their effects in various quarters became more distinctly unfolded. The hope of effecting a general pacification was frequently shaken, but in many instances allowances were necessarily made for the exertions required from a country which had lost its commerce and colonies not less by the errors of its revolutionary governments, than by the effects of hostility successfully waged by Great Britain; and in fact, whatever alarm might be occasioned by the daily disclosure of new projects of aggrandisement on the continent, it was evidently vain for England, after so long and unsuccessful a course of experiments, to think of subverting or restraining the influence of France, unless some general sense of their true situation should inspire the powers and people of Europe with a desire to shake off a yoke which at once oppressed and degraded them. Under these considerations the English government permitted, before the signing of a definitive treaty, the sailing of a powerful French squadron to the West Indies, and saw, not without emotion, although without exertion, several transactions on the continent of a most portentous description.

If it was ever intended that France should derive advantage from her sovereignty over West India colonies, it was indeed become absolutely necessary that no consi-

derations of an inferior nature should prevent her from obtaining in them a proper ascendancy of power. The insane systems which had been promulgated during the Revolution, and which the agents of the different forms of government prevailing in France had acted upon in the colonies, had not only deluged the islands with blood, but destroyed in some, all remains of subordination and social order. In Martinique, protected by an English governor, and possessing the advantages of British commerce, no dangerous commotions had, in late years, prevailed. In 1800, a momentary alarm had been excited by a man of colour named John Kina, but his rash attempt was suppressed without injury to the colony, or any considerable peril to the persons or property of the inhabitants. In fact, as the present government of France stated, in their review of the condition of the republic, published the 21st of November, 1801, when the preliminaries of peace promised them the restitution of this colony, its tranquillity and prosperity were owing to the absence of those wild attempts at reform which had occasioned so much mischief in the other islands. Martinique, said the official statement, has preserved slavery, and there slavery shall be continued. Humanity has paid too dearly for the attempt, to aim again at effecting a new revolution in that country.

In Guadaloupe, the evils of the Revolution had been experienced in their full extent; the liberated slaves, headed by those jacobin emissaries whom the former governments of France had thought fit to employ, had made themselves



the scourge and terror of all the respectable inhabitants, and committed every excess which could disgrace human nature. Although England had long ceased to retain possession of any part of the island, the French derived from it little benefit; the coloured people, and the whites who had so long directed their operations, disdained the rule of the mother country, and it was an early object of the attention of Bonaparte to regain the benefits to be expected from this colony.

For this purpose, in April 1801, a small squadron was dispatched from L'Orient, under rear Admiral La Crosse, which fortunately reached its destination unmolested. This officer was intrusted with the charge of restoring tranquillity, of restraining the anarchical power assumed by the Jacobins, and encouraging the return of those colonists whom terror and persecution had driven from their homes, and who were described as emigrants, that their property might be the undisputed prize of their oppressors. The end of the expedition was undoubtedly wise and just, but the individual selected to command it was not qualified to gain the confidence of those who dreaded anarchy, and had suffered by persecution; for he had been one of the most violent supporters of the system he was now employed to overthrow. He had been engaged in 1792, by the desperate party who styled themselves "friends of the blacks," to excite insurrection in the islands; he had made in 1793 a circuit of the islands, with the red cap, the signal of insurrection, mounted on the mast head of his frigate, called la *Félicité*, and he, in

conjunction with the people of colour, and the lower order of whites, had planned and executed, in the same year, the horrible massacres in which neither age, sex, nor condition was spared.

In the first act of his present administration, however, no traces of his former character appeared. His proclamation on landing announced to the people that they were, in common with the parent state, to enjoy the benefits guaranteed by the last new constitution to all Frenchmen; and he declared he was intrusted by government with the authorities of captain general for no purpose but that of effecting with greater facility, the welfare of all the inhabitants of the island. To fulfil the intentions of government, it would be his duty, he said, to protect and encourage the planter and the merchant, and to rally around him those whom their talents and their virtues recommended to distinction. It was time to forget the divisions occasioned by the revolution, and the government was sufficiently strong to do justice without fear, to as great an extent as a prudent man would carry such an intention.

But the restoration of order after so long a suspension, was not to be effected by a proclamation. In a few days, he found himself obliged to arrest and send to France, for trial, fourteen individuals, many of whom held offices under government, describing them as men whom every thing suited, except good order, and dangerous to the tranquillity of the colony. In notifying this act to the inhabitants, he cautioned them against interfering with the order intended to be established by government, for, in any such case, he would



would summon around him all its friends, and he should find them, not only in the battalions, but in the citizens of every class. In his next proclamation, issued 29th June, the general was obliged to deliver over to a military commission, eight persons charged with poisoning men and cattle, and to declare, that all who should be convicted, either of poisoning any man or brute animal, or as accomplices in such crime, either by privity, or by preparing poisons, or by selling them to the negroes employed in agriculture, should be tried by a military commission, and, if found guilty, executed within four and twenty hours. Another proclamation was issued to encourage the return of those emigrants whom injustice and persecution alone had driven from their homes. They were required, by themselves, their agents or relations, to address to the captain general a petition, stating their circumstances; if allowed to return, they were to present themselves before the commissary general of police, who would take measures for their being properly watched, and it was declared, that whatever restitutions of property the government might think fit to make, they should not take effect to the prejudice of actual possessors, but relate to the rights of government alone.

To these measures were added some others, characteristic of the nation, such as decrees for the formation of a company of comedians, and the establishment of a school of painting. The success of La Crosse's endeavours was much doubted, for although at different times, he banished from Guadaloupe, upward of seventy jacobins, yet the number

which remained was considered very formidable, and the emigrants returned in inconsiderable numbers, and with fear and trembling, dreading the renewal of the scenes they had fled to escape, and alarmed lest the pretended kindness of government should only be a snare for their destruction.

The state of this island was contemplated with alarm and uncertainty by the French government. In the view of national affairs already referred to, they spoke of Guadaloupe in these terms. This island has preserved a remnant of cultivation and prosperity; but the sovereignty of the Republic has been subjected to numerous outrages. In 1799, a single agent held the government; he was transported by a faction. He was succeeded by three agents, of whom two transported the third, and elected for themselves a new colleague. Another died, and then the two who remained invested themselves with all the powers which should have been exercised by the three. Under this mutilated and illegal domination, anarchy and despotism prevailed by turns, and occasioned violent complaints, both from the colonists, and from the allies of France. Government has endeavoured to organize a new administration: a captain general, a prefect, a commissary of justice; having subordination among themselves, but successors to each other, should necessity require it, present an union of power; the parties having a sort of mutual censure, but no rivalry which can impede the acts, or paralyse the force of government. It was added, that the persons sent home as artisans of commotion, and instigators of transportation,



tation, were too dangerous to remain in France, and were therefore to choose a residence in any of the colonies, Guadaloupe excepted. They were afterwards sent to Cayenne.

But if the affairs of Guadaloupe were calculated to create uneasiness, those of Saint Domingo were of a description still more alarming. This beautiful and inestimable colony had been, from the beginning of the Revolution, a prey to all the violences engendered by the intrigues of those interested speculators who called themselves, "friends of the blacks," and of those furious fanatics in revolutionary violence who had acquired power by the overthrow of the former establishments. The vast disproportion, between the coloured and white inhabitants of the French part of this island, their numbers being sixteen to one, and the cruelty of the ancient law, which, while it allowed the Africans and their descendants to acquire property, subjected them, even to the remotest posterity, to many vexatious, unjust and degrading distinctions, would have been sufficient to prove to wise legislators, that if humanity demanded a system which should meliorate the condition of the free people of colour, and of the slaves, prudence required that the utmost caution should be used in effecting a change which might be attended with the most baleful results. Caution in making changes was not, however, a characteristic of the French revolution, and in the case of the colonies, the omnipotence of a single decree, giving liberty to all slaves, and equality to all people of whatever colour, was substituted for that gravity and wisdom which would have sought to prepare those who

were to suffer, for the gradual effect of alteration, and those who were to gain, for the duties of moderation and temper, in a situation so new. The consequence of this injudicious, and in many, interested, precipitancy, was a series of massacres, burnings, and other horrors and violences, which the jacobin reformers had anticipated, and even while they were transacting, had commended, but which, as adverse to the commercial interests of France, the government would gladly have restrained. The invasion of Saint Domingo by the English, threw into the hands of the people of colour all the power of the colony, for as they were alone by their numbers able to defend it, and were armed for that purpose, no force which France could send out during the war, could maintain with them a contest for authority. Accordingly, after the evacuation of the island by the English in 1798, the command of the military force was in the hands of a negro, named Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had rendered considerable services in defending the colony, and in restraining the excesses of his followers.

So much had this beautiful island suffered in the course of the revolution, that an officer of the French government made a statement in 1801, proving, that, according to the best facts which could be collected, and the most exact calculations that could warrantably be made, its annual produce was reduced very far indeed below the level it had attained in 1789. Of sugar it afforded about an eighth, of coffee, cocoa, and cotton, less than a third, of its ancient produce, and indigo was reduced from 8,435, to only 19 quintals. Po-

population



putation had also dreadfully diminished, not from the effect of wars and massacres alone, but from the excesses characteristic of persons newly delivered from all restraint.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, without education, or any other means of mental improvement, except those which a good understanding could glean from observation and experience, had gained an ascendancy over the people he commanded, and exercised his authority with an evident view to the general good. He had rivals in some of his subordinate officers, and was exposed to perpetual danger from the levity and caprice, as well as the ferocity of his followers. In comparison with his rivals, he was, however, generally regarded as a man of far superior character; his bravery was undoubted, his conduct on many occasions extremely judicious, and he was not supposed to be so vindictive and ferocious as they were. The striking weakness imputed to him was a too great facility in yielding to whatever measures were pressed on him with perseverance; and an inability to resist those who urged their solicitations or reasonings upon him, face to face. A consciousness of this feebleness made him anxious to avoid all encounters which could bring it into operation; but these shifts were not sufficient to supply the want of that firmness of mind which would have enabled him to overcome so great a failing.

While the war with England disabled the French government from sending forces to Saint Domingo, the negro governor reigned without controul, but it does not appear certain that he intended to establish a dominion intirely sepa-

rate from that of France, although he evidently aimed at jurisdiction in a considerable degree independent. When informed of the revolution, which displaced the government of the directory in France, and the new constitution, which established the power of the consuls, or rather the first consul, he convoked a central assembly of the deputies of departments in Saint Domingo, who held their sittings at Port Republicain, and framed a constitution for their island and its dependencies, which however they did not designate as an independent republic, but a French colony, making that description the first article of their code, declaring it part of the French empire, but governed by separate and peculiar laws.

In many of its provisions this constitution shewed that the people of colour had made a more sagacious use of the lessons of experience than many of the natives of Europe, since they protested against and renounced many of the errors which other framers of new constitutions had not the courage or the moderation publicly to disapprove.

Slavery was declared to be abolished; all persons born in the country were to be free and Frenchmen; all, of whatsoever colour, were eligible to all offices; and the law, whether punishing or protecting was to be the same to all. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion was to be the only one publicly professed; but priests were not, under any pretence, to intermeddle in affairs beyond the limits of their own parishes, and by no means to form a separate body in the colony. Marriage was declared to be a purifier of public morals,



erals, and those who practised the virtues it inculcates were intitled to peculiar distinction and protection from government. No divorce was permitted; and children born out of wedlock were to be the objects of particular laws, to be made with a view to the extension and preservation of the social virtues. In favour of liberty, it was ordained that no man should be arrested but by a public officer legally authorized; property was declared sacred and inviolable; the governor was charged, in an especial manner, to protect and favour agriculture and population; and importation of any commodities produced on the soil of the colony was prohibited.

The colony was to have laws, to be proposed by government, and adopted by an assembly of the inhabitants who should meet at regulated intervals, in the centre of the island, under the title of the central assembly of Saint Domingo, and consist of two deputies from each department, who, as a qualification, were to be thirty years of age, and to have resided five years in the colony. One half of this body was to retire every second year, and no individual could be a member six years successively. They were to take an account annually of the receipts and expences of the colony, an abstract of which was to be printed and published, and they were to impose taxes when necessary. Their sittings were not to be public.

The administration of government was confided to the governor, who was to correspond with the government of the mother country, on subjects relative to the interests of the colony. The authority of Toussaint was fixed by these ex-

pressions: "The constitution names as governor, Citizen Toussaint L'Ouverture, general in chief of the army of Saint Domingo; and in consideration of the important services rendered by him to the colony, in the most critical circumstances of the revolution, and of his having acted to the satisfaction of a grateful people, the reins of government are confided to him for the term of his glorious life." Future governors were to be established for five years, and the time prolonged, if their administration was found beneficial. Toussaint was to nominate his successor, in a sealed writing, to be broke open after his death. Formal provision was made for electing new governors on subsequent occasions, and the authority of this officer consisted in the ratification and promulgation of laws; in appointing to all employments, civil and military; in a general controul over the police; in a power to propose new laws to the assembly, even to the extent of altering the constitution, if experience should prove it to be necessary; in directing the collection and expenditure of the colonial finances; in controuling and suppressing seditious writings; and in arresting and punishing conspirators against the tranquillity of the colony. His revenue was fixed at 300,000 livres per annum, and the expence of his guard of honour was to be defrayed by the public.

This constitution further ordained the formation of tribunals; regulated the municipal administration for each parish, divided the armed force into regulars who received pay, and were to serve where required, and a militia, who were not to receive pay, nor to serve



serve beyond the limits of their own parishes. The finances were to be derived from six sources. 1st. Duties on exports; 2d. Taxes on houses, manufactories, agriculture, and salted provisions; 3d. The revenues of freight and postage; 4th. Fines and forfeitures; 5th. Salvage on wrecks; and 6th. The lands belonging to the public. A chapter, under the title of general dispositions, affirmed several useful principles; that the house of every individual was an inviolable asylum; that warrants of arrest should be precise and formal, and state the cause; that all persons should have the right of petitioning the constituted authorities, and especially the governor, that weights and measures should be uniform; that the estates of persons absent, whatever might be the cause, should not be considered as confiscated; and it contained many other just and prudent regulations.

It concluded with this equivocal acknowledgment of the authority of the mother country. The general in chief Toussaint L'Ouverture, is directed to transmit this constitution to be presented for the sanction of the French government; but, convinced of the dangers of our situation, of our need of laws, and of the necessity for a speedy re-establishment of agriculture, and yielding to the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, in the name of the public welfare, we invite the general in chief to put this constitution into immediate effect, throughout the whole extent of the colony.

This act passed the assembly, the 8th of June, 1801, but the answer of the governor was not transmitted till the 4th of July following. It

expressed his approbation of the code, and declared that in consequence of the invitation of the assembly, which he regarded as a command, he would forward it to the French government: as to its immediate execution, the wish expressed on that point should be complied with, and executed.

Soon after this acceptance of the constitution, the negro governor applied himself to the task of promulgating it, and giving effect to its regulations. He visited, in person, different parts of his government, installing the ministers of justice, according to the new code, assisting at the consecration of churches, and other public acts, and examining the state of agriculture, and the circumstances of domestic regulation. While he was thus employed, he learned that a revolt was begun in the north, and soon found that it was organized on the most daring and violent principles. The leaders, in order to invite the negroes to insurrection, affirmed that Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe, their principal leaders, had signed a contract for selling them to the whites, and that a general officer, named Moyse, had alone refused his assent to the proposition. In order to gain the more ready belief, the conspirators had provided chains; intending to exhibit them as the engines prepared by the new government for securing the persons of those whom they meant thus to transfer. The fermentation produced by this fabricated story was rather violent than extensive, but it threatened the most dreadful results, as the cry of the insurgents was, "death to the whites." The danger was not of long



long duration ; for the activity of Dessalines and Christophe, guided by the prudence, and aided by the exertions of Toussaint, soon reduced the revolvers to subjection. Moyse fell into the hands of Toussaint, who, after stating his grounds for suspecting that he was the author of the troubles, discharged him, with an order to take proper measures for restoring tranquillity, but particularly not to inflict death on any one, but send all who were apprehended under suspicious circumstances, to the governor alive. Moyse, by his conduct in the execution of this order, confirmed the suspicions which existed against him, and being finally taken in arms, was put to death with twelve others, and many more were confined in prison to await a further decision. So speedy was the suppression of this plot, that no mischief was done; no burning or plundering took place, and only one adherent of government was killed, and that by a shot from an ambuscade.

Of this event Toussaint himself Nov. 25. drew up the narrative, and he published a proclamation, justifying his own conduct, and exposing the ingratitude, obstinacy, and blindness of Moyse and his party. This paper is characteristic of the individual who issued, and the men to whom it is addressed, being replete with strong expressions of kindness to the people, who are repeatedly reminded that they are brothers, and that Toussaint is their common father; and the principles of religion and humanity are not only inculcated but detailed at great length, beginning with the duty of children toward their parents, supported by a cita-

tion of the commandment; and concluded with a recommendation of industry, enforced by the proverb, that idleness is the root of all evil. The proclamation ended with a decree, imposing on general officers the duty of protecting persons and property, and of enforcing the observance of the constitution; denouncing penalties against those, who, by acts or words, should excite insurrection or contempt of the laws; and providing many regulations of police, to prevent political incendiaries from wandering from place to place. It also ordained, that a strict inquiry should be made into the conduct of all military commanders and officers during the late troubles, in order to punish those who had promoted them by their acts, or permitted them to become dangerous through negligence. And, in consequence of the misconduct of Moyse, Toussaint declared that no more generals of divisions should be named, till fresh orders were received from the government of France; with an exception; however, in favour of Dessalines, who, in consideration of his eminent military services, was to preserve his rank.

At the time when the Marquis Cornwallis reached France, these latter transactions had not taken place, but the government was apprised of the formation of the new constitution. Such an extraordinary act of power, where they wished, if they did not expect, to find nothing but subordination, and a patient resignation to the will of the mother country, could not be otherwise than highly mortifying to the rulers of France. Still it was judged necessary to use art, and therefore when the constitution of Saint Domingo



Domingo was announced to the world, the French government asserted, that they had no official notice of it, but their only information was derived from an American newspaper, and the copy of the constitution which they published in their official paper was, in fact, a bad re-translation from the English translation which had been published in America.

The affairs of Saint Domingo and Guadaloupe were, however, viewed with alarm, and in the state of the republic already quoted, the following expressions respecting those colonies were inserted. At St. Domingo some irregular proceedings have alarmed submission. Under equivocal appearances, government would only perceive ignorance which confounds names and things, which usurps, when it intends only to obey: but a fleet and an army which are preparing in the ports of Europe will soon dispel all clouds, and the whole island of St. Domingo will return under the laws of the Republic. At Saint Domingo and Guadaloupe, it was added, slavery exists no longer; every one is free, and all shall remain so. Prudence and time will reintroduce order, and re-establish agriculture and industry.

In the former part of this extract, the studied and almost nonsensical ambiguity is striking; nor is the distinction between the future destiny of the people of colour in the islands there mentioned, and Martinique, less remarkable. Those in Saint Domingo and Guadaloupe were to be free, because they had by their struggles emancipated themselves; while those in Martinique, in whose favour repeated laws spoke with equal strength, were to

be retained in slavery, because the liberation of them would be a dangerous experiment.

The allusion to a fleet and army which were preparing was of great interest to Great Britain. While peace was yet uncertain, it was doubted whether England should relax the exercise of those powers which the sovereignty of the sea gave her, so far as to permit a large French squadron, conveying a strong French army, to proceed unmolested to the West Indies. On one side it was urged, that the contest the French were going to maintain, was no less for the interest of England than that of France; for that the establishment of a powerful negro republic with a constitution and military force, would be attended with infinite danger to our possessions. To this it was answered, that the intention of Toussaint to establish himself in a state of separation and independence, was no where distinctly avowed; but that the French force now preparing might be intended merely to join the armed negroes in Saint Domingo, and having the aid of a fleet, irresistible by any force which England could command in that quarter, to fall suddenly on our settlements, and conquer, or revolutionize all the islands. Such suppositions were treated as absurd and chimerical, and even granting that Bonaparte might entertain some insidious design, it was, in reply, stated, with well-founded confidence, that a French squadron could, in present circumstances, only be formidable, when its destination was unknown, but that any enterprise which fraud or treachery might meditate, would be severely punished, and even prevented, before it



it could have proceeded to any alarming extremity.

Meanwhile, the French expeditions continued to be pressed forward at the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and L'Orient. They formed together twenty-two ships of the line, mostly French, and some Spanish, seventeen frigates, and eight corvettes, under the command of Admirals Villaret-Joyeuse and Latouche-Treville who was to be accompanied by Bonaparte's younger brother Jerome; the Spanish division was under the controul of Admiral Gravina. On board these ships were 25,000 chosen troops, confided to General Le Clerc, who had married Bonaparte's sister Paulina, and took her with him on this great enterprize. The fleet sailed on the 15th of December, in five squadrons; 47 ships of war conveying so large a land force, together with officers and individuals so nearly allied to the First Consul could not be surveyed without great anxiety, and some alarm.

Dec. 28. A subject of such importance did not escape the attention of parliament; and accordingly on a motion for an adjournment, Mr. Thomas Grenville mentioned the report of the sailing of the armament, as one which overcame his intention to have said no more on the peace, till the definitive treaty should come under consideration; but if such fleets could sail from the French harbours where they had been so long blockaded, he begged the House to consider the situation in which the country was placed by the negotiations for a definitive treaty. The interval between the signing of a preliminary and definitive treaty, he considered as a term of honourable truce, in

which it was a condition implied, though not positively expressed, that no military step should be taken, that might be calculated to place one of the powers in a new situation of alarm with regard to the other. But it appeared that by this proceeding of France, we were placed in a situation of increased alarm and danger, and that the French republic would be placed in a more advantageous position by the force sent to the West Indies, supposing the negotiations for the definitive treaty should not be brought to a conclusion, than she would have been, had that armament remained in port. He did not know that any danger existed; he would not say that the construction he put on the conduct of France was certainly right, but the circumstances were such as demanded inquiry. France would derive from the armament additional means of alarm, for if it was of force sufficient to endanger our West India possessions, the consideration must have material influence in the negotiation for peace. It would, in many possible cases, give the French great advantages, whether the treaty proceeded or was broken off. Had there been an article in the preliminary treaty allowing France to send such an armament, he did not believe that the approbation of it by the House would have been so general. He should not make any motion, but should be glad to be informed that the rumour he had been stating was untrue, or to be convinced by observations from ministers that his fears were unfounded.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after some remarks on the irregularity of so long a dissertation



tion on a rumour, answered, that, of the failing of the Squadron, government had received no regular information, but of the fact there was no doubt. Whether there had been any communication between the two governments, this was not a time for him to state, nor whether proper measures had been taken to ward off any dangers which might assail us, but he could assure the house there was no reason to believe that the circumstance would create any difficulty in the negotiation at Amiens.

Jan. 19, 1802. As the adjournments of parliament were continued from time to time for a considerable period; questions to ministers on this subject were repeated. In the upper House, the Earl of Carlisle, noticed the failing of the armament, while no official paper had passed between the courts of Madrid and London, so that no one could say we were not at war with Spain, or deny that one object of the expedition might be the conquest of Trinidad. If its sole intent was the regulation of the French islands and dominions, it might not be considered as injurious to our possessions in that quarter of the globe; but ministers ought to be convinced that the design was legitimate, and he hoped they had taken the necessary precautions to guard against the possibility of surprize or danger.

Lord Pelham, although he did not think answers to such questions productive of much satisfaction, inasmuch as they were always loosely and incorrectly reported to the public; yet, as silence might be attended with great inconvenience, he would answer, that it was in

consequence of a previous understanding between Great Britain and France, that the fleet lately sailed from Brest; that that fleet had a peculiar destination, and a specific object in view, and it could not be contrary to the interest of Great Britain if it succeeded in that object. With respect to precautions, he would only say, that those ministers must be the most culpable and criminal imaginable, who could suffer such an armament to fail, and not make such preparations as must effectually prevent the power it belonged to from having any superiority over us in that part of the world to which it was destined.

In the House of Commons, on the same day, Mr. Elliot observed that the blacks could not, surely, have acquired such a degree of maritime strength, as would require so large a fleet to subdue them. If ministers had had a communication with the French government, they should have expressly stipulated for the amount of shipping which should appear to be indispensably necessary to escort the military force, and then, had more been dispatched, the French government would have acted with duplicity, and their hostile purpose would be manifest; then ministers would stand acquitted of a want of proper vigilance, a charge to which they were now liable; and not less in that point of view, than in their neglect of prompt exertions to counteract the prejudicial effects to be apprehended from this armament.

To these observations, which were enforced by many others, Lord Hawkesbury answered, that far from agreeing in the remark that during the interval between a preli-



preliminary and definitive treaty no alteration could take place in the relative force of the negotiating countries, he knew that such alterations were always made, unless the contrary was previously stipulated. As to the sailing of the French fleet to the West Indies, it was rather too delicate a subject to enter into in the present state of the negotiation. But thus much he had no difficulty in saying, that that fleet did not sail without a proper previous communication between this country and the government of France. What the nature of that communication was, he trusted the House would not call upon him to explain. However, he could go so far as to state, that nothing appeared in the sailing of that fleet to manifest any hostile intention on the part of France: yet he hoped the House would give ministers credit for having adopted such precautionary measures, as were calculated to avert all danger.

These explanations were not satisfactory to Dr. Laurence, who insisted on the probability of danger from the employment of such a force while a treaty was pending. It was, he contended, disproportioned to its supposed object, which appeared to have little reality. In his communications with the mother country, Toussaint did not pretend to deny the dependency of the colony; his aid-de-camps addressed the agents of the French Republic in America, in such a manner as evinced their dependence, which dependence had been acknowledged in cases that were decided in the Admiralty courts of this country. In this view of the subject, it was impossible to believe that such a force

was necessary for the purpose of insuring the obedience of the blacks in St. Domingo to the authority of the mother country. He was much more inclined to apprehend danger to Jamaica from the position of the French and Spanish troops in St. Domingo and Cuba, and recommended that as a test of the sincerity of France, Malta or the Cape might be retained in our possession till their fleet was reduced to that number which would render it consistent with our security.

This conversation was continued some time longer; the Attorney General reprobating the language of Dr. Laurence, as inconsistent with propriety and decency, inasmuch as it accused the government with which we were treating for peace of sinister views, and fraudulent practices. Mr. Jones said, he should cease to be an admirer of peace and plenty, if we were to have peace while hemmed round with an armed force, and plenty without bread. Mr. Markham denied that from Saint Domingo or Cuba an attack could be made on Jamaica, as that island was considerably to windward, and an English fleet could easily prevent their design; and Mr. Tyrwhitt closed the debate by a general censure of the opinions which had been advanced respecting the designs of France, and expressions of firm confidence in the prudence and caution of ministers, and the bravery of British seamen.

The necessity of guarding against any danger which might arise from the sailing of the French squadron was attended with some diffi-

Dec.

When



When orders arrived for ships to sail for the West Indies, the crews of some men of war in Bantry Bay shewed a disposition to mutiny; and for some days set their officers at defiance. They alleged that the war being ended, they could not be obliged to quit England, and shewed their determination to resist, by pointing the ships' guns against the quarter deck. By the spirit and judgment of the officers, aided by the marines, this dangerous spirit was happily quelled, and the ringleaders being tried by a court martial, eleven of them suffered death, pursuant to sentence, and one was punished with 200 lashes.

Jan. 15.

On the day in which justice thus asserted her rights, the ships destined to reinforce the British Squadron in the West Indies, sailed for its place of destination; the crews having received a salutary lesson against insubordination from the awful and impressive spectacle of the execution of their comrades. The marines on board two ships of the line, shewed their sense of the transaction, by addressing to their commanding officers, letters expressing their horror at the conduct of those who were engaged in the late mutiny, and their determination to resist such unlawful combinations, and to obey their commanders.

## C H A P. IX.

*Proceedings of the Cisalpine republic; decree for holding a Consulta at Lyons; formation of that body; Talleyrand goes to Lyons; preparation for the reception of Bonaparte; great homage paid him; deputations attend from various departments; proceedings of the Consulta; mode of forming a constitution for the Cisalpine republic; a committee appointed to prepare lists of public officers; their report; the presidency offered to Bonaparte; a deputation attends him; he accepts the situation; public sitting; his speech; the name Cisalpine, changed for that of Italian republic; outline of the new constitution; observations on it; it is received with general satisfaction; code for regulating ecclesiastical affairs; which is also approved; the Christian Calendar restored in Italy; appointment of Vice-president and Grand Judge; Bonaparte returns to Paris; medal struck at Lyons. Importance of these transactions to Bonaparte; he is received in Paris with great joy; circumstances which before his departure, had given him offence; publication of a civil code; discussion of its contents before they are submitted to the legislative; several parts are rejected both by the tribunate and legislative body; the code withdrawn; anger expressed by Bonaparte; on his return to Paris the opposition members are excluded from the Legislature; several of their adherents banished or otherwise punished. The proceedings at Lyons alarming to Europe; proclamation in vindication of them; observations; Prussia and Austria satisfied. Secret treaty between France and Spain published; changes effected by it; Parma, the Isle of*



*Elba, and Louisiana ceded to France; the infant Duke of Parma created King of Etruria; his visit to Paris; General views of France.*

WHILE the British government thus displayed its frankness and generosity in allowing that of France, to take measures for tranquillizing and recovering the distracted colonies in the West Indies, an extensive scheme of aggrandizement was executing in Europe, calculated to render France more formidable than ever. In the official statement of the French government alluded to in the first chapter, it was observed, that the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, had paused in the formation of their establishments, and appeared desirous to refer their circumstances to the First Consul. The decree of the Cisalpine Legislature which placed that country in the hands of Bonaparte, was passed on the 13th of November, in consequence of an urgent message from the committee of government. It directed that an extraordinary consulta should be formed, the members of which should meet at Lyons. The object of their convocation was declared to be, to fix the bases of all organic laws, to prevent the dissensions which might hinder or interrupt the operation of the constitution, and to afford the first consul such instructions as he might require, in order to nominate, according to a law passed about a month before, the members who were to form the three electoral colleges. This body was to be composed of the present members of the consulta, those of the committee of government, of an ecclesiastical deputation of bishops and rectors, of a depu-

tation from the courts of justice; one from the academic bodies; and one from the departmental administrations of the principal cities; the national guards, the regular troops, the notables of each department, and the chambers of commerce. The manner of electing these deputies was expressly marked; one hundred and forty eight of the notables were to be appointed by government, and they were to repair to Lyons by the 12th of December following. They were joined, soon after they reached the city, by similar deputations from the Milanese, the three legations, the detached states of Venice, the *ci devant* states of Modena, the Novarese and the Valteline.

To meet this extraordinary assembly, and Dec. 27. probably for the purpose of giving the desired impulse to their proceedings, Talleyrand repaired to Lyons before the First Consul; he was received with great distinction; but the day of his arrival was marked by an accident, which, at some periods of the world, would have been considered peculiarly ominous. The French minister invited to dinner the principal persons of the Consulta; the archbishop of Milan aged 82 years, but apparently in good health and spirits, sat on his right hand; he had come to Lyons for the express purpose of seeing Bonaparte, but, as he turned to speak to Talleyrand, he fell back in his chair and expired.

This event, however surprising, did not damp the eagerness of



of the people to pay homage to the First Consul. A corps of honour was formed of 150 young men, cloathed at their own expence, in a smart uniform, having a standard inscribed "the Lyonese to Bonaparte." A large hall of most majestic appearance was prepared for the sitting of the Consulta, and every thing indicated a general desire to receive with distinction, the ruler of the republic, and to render the result of his visit satisfactory.

Jan. 10. When every thing was thus prepared, Bonaparte, accompanied by his wife, and a considerable train of attendants, left Paris at an hour after midnight, and travelling with great speed, reached Lyons in forty-three hours. The corps of honour, uncertain of the time of his arrival, had remained two whole days and nights on the road to Paris; the constituted authorities of Lyons, informed by Talleyrand of his approach, set out in procession to meet him, and although he did not reach the town till eight o'clock

at night, long after it was dark, the people, in every direction, burst from their dwellings with shouts of joy; his carriage was preceded by a large body of individuals on horseback, and followed by a great train of carriages, lighted with flambeaux. The city was illuminated with great taste and magnificence, and a triumphal arch decorated with lamps, was made for him to pass under. The palace of the government was prepared for his reception, superbly adorned, and splendidly illuminated; the exterior making a most brilliant appearance. On alighting, Madame Bonaparte obtained her share both of personal congratulation, and popular acclamation; a band of musicians composed of young gentlemen, amateurs, received them with the tune so celebrated in France, "*ou peut-on être mieux qu' au sein de sa famille;*" and on ascending the stair-case, the eyes of the First Consul were saluted with a most flattering and pompous inscription\*.

Amid the festivals and fights

\* It was in these terms.

The 21st Nivose year 10†  
BONAPARTE

the conqueror and pacificator,  
arrived in this city, and resided in this palace.

Five hundred Cisalpine deputies, assembled around him,  
fixed, under his auspices,  
the laws and destinies of their country.

At his appearance,  
the arts were awakened in this city;  
commerce resumed her ancient splendour;  
and the grateful Lyonnese, forming for him  
the same wishes their ancestors did for Antoninus,  
said:

*may his happiness equal his glory!*

This was not the only inscription in which the people endeavoured to display their feeling, their taste and their genius. Every public place, and many private mansions exhibited specimens. Some were borrowed; some original; some aspired only to a pun, and others were audaciously profane, but all were in the highest degree flattering.

† Or according to Christian Almanacks, 11th January 1802.

[I] 2

which



which were prepared to celebrate his visit, the audiences of ceremony and civility, which he gave to the municipal and military bodies, and the daily care which engaged him of viewing the several establishments of manufactures, commerce, and the arts, the First Consul did not neglect to promote the main object of his journey; the arrangement of the

Jan. 12. Cisalpine constitution.

At the first introduction of the Consulta, he received the members by divisions of departments, and the ceremony lasted from noon till seven o'clock in the evening; afterward the ministers, or leading members, transacted business with him or Talleyrand, and he applied actively to public business from day-break till noon. The persons who attended, on these occasions, did not belong to Lyons, or the department in which it is situated, or to the Cisalpine republic alone; the people of Bordeaux solicited the honour of a visit, and received for answer that it was the intention of Bonaparte, at a convenient opportunity, to inspect the various parts of the republic, and particularly the city which addressed him. Deputations also arrived from various other neighbouring departments, introduced by their prefects, and some, notwithstanding the severity of the season, came from a great distance to offer their congratulations.

Meanwhile, the consulta, in separate divisions, held daily sittings, to which no strangers were admitted; deputations were formed to represent the ecclesiastics and the notables, who had frequent audiences of Bonaparte, and the

members of the consulta in general were gratified by invitations to dine at his table. Where confidential communication was necessary, Marescalchi, the envoy from the Cisalpine republic to France, was the intermediate agent. Under these circumstances of influence and secrecy, the great body proceeded to business, having before Bonaparte's arrival, formed themselves into five bodies, each of which comprizing the deputies of one of the states or territories interested in the discussion, held its separate meetings, and each was led by two presidents. These persons were; for the Milanese, Melzi and Strigelli; for the ecclesiastical legations, Aldini and Belmonte; for the Venetian provinces Bargnani and Carissimi; for the Modenese, Paradisi and Candrini; and for the Novarrese, and the Valteline, Bernardi and Guicciardi Guido. Before these sections, were laid the outlines of a constitution already adopted by the legislative consulta of Milan. Each of the other divisions formed committees to examine into its principles, and all the articles which were approved, were collected, and presented to the minister for foreign affairs. Each assembly also prepared copious lists of persons fit for public situations, and a general list was formed by a scrutiny, every member giving in, out of the whole number, sixty names of persons whom he preferred, and these lists were sent to Talleyrand to be presented to Bonaparte. The First Consul also required from each section, a list, containing double the number of persons qualified to form the electoral colleges, and then, having con-



convoked the presidents of the several sections, made such observations on, and alterations in the constitution they had prepared, as he judged expedient.

When this task was completed, and nothing remained but to fix on persons fit to fill the highest places in the government, the Consulta held, for the first time, a general meeting, and formed a committee of thirty, whom they directed to prepare lists of double the numbers required to fill the great offices, and to present them to the First Consul.

This committee confined their attention to the choice of a chief magistrate; and by their report, it appeared, that six sittings were spent in discussing this important subject, but the members, whatever course of reasoning they pursued, always arrived at the same conclusion. If in all countries, they observed, men capable of distinguishing themselves in eminent situations were rarely found, it must be owned, that the situation of the Cisalpine republic was calculated to render such men still more scarce. Their recent establishment, their composition, formed as they were of different nations, the impossibility of knowing all the distinguished characters among them, and the fear which the committee, must feel of the effects of contradictory laws, customs, manners, and opinions, would shew the difficulty of finding in their own states, a man capable of abstracting himself from particular systems, so as to conduct the great body of the people out of the sphere of their ancient habits, and give birth to their national spirit, which is the most

solid foundation of republics. After some more observations on this difficulty, the report proceeded in these terms. "The Cisalpine republic cannot yet be intirely evacuated by French troops. Many political reasons, and our own interest, destitute as we are yet of national troops, do not permit it at this moment. Besides, the Cisalpine republic, although its existence is secured by the treaties of Tolentino and Luneville, cannot hope by itself, and at its outset, to obtain from the old governments of Europe, that consideration which is necessary to its consolidation, within and without. It requires a support to cause it to be acknowledged by several powers who, as yet, have had no communication with it. She has, therefore, need of a man who, by the ascendancy of his name and his power, may place her in that rank which becomes her grandeur. That name and that power we should in vain seek for amongst ourselves. To secure the dignity of the government against the approach of foreign troops, to spread a brilliancy and grandeur over the cradle of the Cisalpine republic, the committee is agreed, that it would be essential to the happiness of the republic, that it should be sustained in its first moments, by a support possessing more strength and dignity than any other. In conformity with those powerful reasons, the committee have concluded, that if, on the one side, the extraordinary consulta should form a wish that the constitution should be proclaimed, and that the colleges, legislators, and other authorities, should be chosen from among the

men,



men, who have appeared to be the most worthy of their esteem, in order to terminate the provisional government; on the other side, it must ardently wish, that General Bonaparte should honour the Cisalpine republic, by continuing to govern it, and by associating with the direction of affairs in France, the care of conducting us, so long as he shall think necessary, for the purpose of reducing the different parts of our territory to an uniformity of principle, and of causing the Cisalpine republic to be acknowledged by all the powers of Europe.

Jan. 25. The opinion of the committee, expressed in this report, was unanimously adopted by the Consulta in a general assembly; and they voted by acclamation, amid the loudest applause, that the report should be presented to the First Consul, as the faithful expression of the sentiments of the extraordinary Consulta.

By this determination, Bonaparte was gratified with all that his ambition could aspire to in respect to Italy. When the deputation attended him, he acknowledged the necessity of a speedy organization of their government, and although the management of the interior might be safely confided to the individuals, who had been named, yet the reasons contained in the report were sufficient to prove the necessity of the measure recommended.

Jan. 26. The next day, he repaired to the Hall of the Consulta to announce his acceptance of the situation offered him; to proclaim the constitution, and declare the members chosen for

the first list to be formed of public officers. He was preceded by a numerous deputation of the Consulta, and accompanied by the ministers of foreign affairs, and the interior, by four counsellors of State, twenty prefects, several general officers, and the chief municipal officers of the commune of Lyons. He was received with unbounded acclamations, and, being seated in a magnificent alcove, pronounced a speech, which was interrupted at every period, by the applauses of the audience.

“The Cisalpine republic,” he began, “which has existed since the treaty of Campo Formio, has already experienced many vicissitudes. The first efforts made to establish it, proved unsuccessful. Having since been invaded by hostile armies, its existence did not appear probable, when the French people, for the second time, expelled by force of arms, your enemies from your territory. Since that period, every thing has been attempted to effect your dismemberment. This has been prevented by the protection of France. You have been recognized at Luneville. Being increased by one fifth, you now exist more powerful, more consolidated, and with greater hopes! Composed of six different nations, you will be united under a constitution better adapted than any other to your manners and circumstances. I have assembled you around me at Lyons, as the principal citizens of the Cisalpine republic. You have given me the necessary information, to enable me to fulfil the august task which my duty imposes on me, as first magistrate of the French people, and as the man who has most contributed



tributed to your creation. The selections which I have made of persons to fill the situations of your first magistrates, have been made independently of all idea of party spirit or of locality. With respect to the office of president, I have found no person among you who has sufficient claims on public opinion; who is sufficiently divested of the spirit of locality, and who has rendered important services to his country, calculated to intitle him to so high a trust. The procès-verbal which you have transmitted to me through your committee of thirty, in which are analysed, with as much precision as truth, the internal and external state of your country, has interested me extremely.—I adhere to your wish.—I shall preserve as long as circumstances may require, the great care of superintending your affairs. Amidst the continual meditations which are required by the post I hold, all that may relate to you, and may tend to consolidate your existence and prosperity, will ever have a place amongst the deepest affections of my soul. You have now only local laws; you will require laws of a general nature. You have only local customs; it is necessary you should adopt national manners. Lastly, you have no army; the powers who may become your enemies have strong ones; but you possess what will produce them; an abundant population, fertile lands, and the example which has been given to you, on every important occasion, by the first people in Europe.

This oration having been received with unbounded plaudits, the reading of the constitution was

begun, but as soon as the first paragraph was pronounced, the assembly, by a general impulse, expressed a wish, that for the Cisalpine, the name Italian republic, should be substituted; the First Consul yielding to this desire, the name was thenceforth altered.

The constitution was divided into fifteen chapters, containing one-hundred and twenty-eight articles. It declared the Catholic apostolic and Roman religion to be that of the State; and that the sovereignty resided in the universality of Citizens.

The right of citizenship was vested in every person born of an Italian father, residing within the limits of the republic, and of full age. It was also extended to foreigners who possessed a permanent property in the republic, or a manufacturing or commercial establishment, if, after seven years residence, they should declare their desire to become citizens. Independently of the qualification of residence, naturalization might be granted to those who could shew a title to it, either by the possession of large property in the republic, or an uncommon ability in any science or art, the mechanic arts not excepted; or who had rendered important services to the republic. All naturalizations previously granted, unless within the limits of these conditions, to be null and void.

The electoral colleges were to be formed, under the titles of *Possidenti*, *Dotti*, and *Commercianti*, and they were to be the primitive organs of the national sovereignty. At the requisition of government, they were to assemble once, at least, in every two years, to fill



vacancies in their own assemblies, and to nominate members for the Consulta of State, the legislative body, the tribunals of revifal and reversal, and the auditors of the public accounts. Their fefions were not to exceed fifteen days; they were to enter into no difcuffions, and vote by fecret ballot; and government were to prefent lifts of vacant places, with inftructions refpecting the nominations to be made. The members of each were to be of the age of thirty years, and appointed for life.

The *Peffidenti* were to be three-hundred citizens elected from among members of the republic, and holding lands of the annual value of 6000 livres, and each department was to fend a proportion of one for every thirty thoufand inhabitants; and from its members, it was to elect nine who were to form, what was called the *Cenfura*; its fittings for ten years were to be at Milan.

The *Dotti* were to be two-hundred citizens chosen from among the moft celebrated profefors of the fciences, or of the liberal or mechanic arts, or perfons diftinguifhed for their learning in ecclefiaftical matters, their knowledge in ethics, legiflation, politics or adminiftration. This afsembly was to fupply fix members to the *Cenfura*, and to fit for the next ten years at Bologna.

The *Commercianti* were to be two-hundred of the moft refpectable merchants or manufacturers; their powers were fimilar to thofe of the *Dotti*, and they were to fit, for the next ten years at Brefcia.

The *Cenfura*, compofed of twenty-one members, was to meet

in five days after the fefion of the colleges, and out of lifts to be prefented by them, to fill up certain offices, and nominate to vacancies in the college of *Dotti*. This body was to be renewed every fefion of the colleges, and to fit, for the firft ten years, at Cremona.

The government was intrufted to a prefident, a vice-prefident, a Consulta of State, minifters, and a legiflative council.

The prefident was to remain in office ten years, and to be re-eligible indefinitely; to be the initiator of all laws, and diplomatic negotiations. He was excluſively charged with the executive power, to be exercifed through the medium of his minifters; he was to have the nomination of thofe minifters, the chiefs of the army, and the generals. His ſalary was half a million of Milanefe livres.

The vice-prefident was to be appointed by the prefident, and in his abſence to take his place in the Consulta of State, and to represent him in all the departments which he ſhould intruſt to him. He was not to be removed during the prefidency of him who appointed him, and in caſe of vacancy in the ſtation of prefident, to fulfil all the duties of that poſt, till the election of a ſucceſſor. His ſalary was 100,000 livres.

The ſecretary of ſtate was to be nominated by the prefident, to have the rank of counſellor, to prefent laws paſſed by the legiſlative body, to the prefident, that the great ſeal might be affixed, and ſome other minor duties.

The consulta of ſtate was to conſiſt of eight citizens, aged at leaſt forty years, elected for life



by the colleges, distinguished for signal services to the republic. The president of the republic was to be president of the consulta, and the minister for foreign affairs was to be chosen from its members. It was to examine and give instructions relative to diplomatic transactions; to authorize the detention of state criminals, remove dangerous persons from the capital; take such measures for the public good, as are not authorized by any existing law; and to put out of the constitution any department or mutinous corps of the army. In all these cases, the measure to be adopted must originate in the proposal of the president, and in case of his death, this body was to elect a successor. Each member was to have a salary of 30,000 livres.

All ministers were to be nominated by the president, and dismissed at his pleasure, except the great national judge, who was, by right, minister of justice, and only to be removed on resignation or condemnation. This grand judge had power to suspend other judges, for negligence, or for such conduct as might be considered degrading to their station; the government might appoint a secretary of state for affairs of justice; in which case, the grand judge should preserve his title, but be suspended in his functions.

The legislative council was to consist of at least ten citizens aged thirty years or upward; to be nominated by the president, and not removed by him till the end of three years; they were to deliberate on the heads of laws which he might propose to them, and to have a consultative voice in all matters

about which he might think fit to consult them. The ministers might also, by direction of the president, assist at the sittings of this body. Each member was to have 20,000 livres a year.

The legislative body was to be composed of seventy-five members, aged at least thirty, to be chosen from each department, according to its ratio of population; and one half, at the least, taken from the colleges. One third was to be renewed every two years. Fifteen were to be elected as orators, who were to form a committee, to which all projects of laws formed by government were to be transmitted for examination; they were then to confer in private with the counsellors of government, and communicate to the whole legislative body their vote of approbation or rejection. Afterward, the law was to be discussed in presence of the legislative body, by two of these orators and two counsellors of government, and there, without further debate, to be decided on by ballot. The new law was then to be promulgated in three days, unless, in the interval, it was denounced as unconstitutional, and in that case its operation was to be suspended. The orators were to have 9000, the other members 6000 livres per annum.

Tribunals were to be appointed for deciding in cases of property; in criminal cases, a system was proposed similar to that of a grand and petty jury; the formation of juries, and the time of their beginning to act, were to be regulated by future laws, but not postponed longer than ten years. Judges were to be nominated for life, removable only for



for misconduct, or such causes as would deprive them of the rights of citizenship.

This constitution also provided some means of punishing those public officers who were guilty of mal-administration; and under the title of general dispositions, declared some general principles, such as, the liberty of worshipping in any form; freedom from arrest without warrant to be made out either before or after the party should be in custody; the essential obedience of the army, and its incapacity to deliberate; the protection of the purchasers of national domains from all disturbance; the allotment, out of the national domains unfold, of a suitable income to the bishops and their chapters, to seminaries, to rectors, and to the support of cathedrals. Finally, it was provided, that, at any time, after three years, the consulta might submit to the judgment of the colleges, any alteration they might think necessary in the constitutional code.

Considering the experience which so many years of continual practice had afforded in the framing of constitutions, and that, by the examination of so many systems, the minds of men might be supposed to be prepared for the investigation of principles of government, it would seem astonishing that such a farrago as this should be offered to men who were complimented as the most enlightened of the nation from which they were selected, and that such men should receive it, as they actually did, with shouts of approbation. Amid the complexity of its forms, and the variety of its provisions, two principles alone seem to have been steadily and invariably kept in view; that all power should

be vested in the president; and that if any principle of liberty, or spirit of independence should be exhibited in any department of the state, or by any body of the people, adequate means for suppressing them might be instantly furnished, without extending a search beyond the letter of the constitutional code. But whether from conviction, fear, or secret persuasion, no individual present offered the least objection to any article proposed, and all seemed satisfied with a speech made by a deputy named Mariani, who undertook to explain the spirit of the constitution, to shew how conformable it was to the wishes and interests of every division of the Italian republic, and how much it would conduce to the abolition of local prejudices, and the introduction of a national spirit.

In the same sitting, the first class of organic laws for giving effect to this constitution was presented, under the title of a code for regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. The bishops were to be nominated by government, and instituted by the pope, and rectors were to be elected and instituted by the bishops with the consent of government. The bishops might also send coadjutors into parishes, and appoint additional ecclesiastics, in proportion to the wants of the people. Provision was made for the expence of catholic and other churches, seminaries for education of the clergy, conservatories, hospitals, and other pious foundations; they were to be made under the care of an administrative council, of which the bishop should necessarily be the head; and no future alienation or sequestration of ecclesiastical property was to be allowed. Under the title of  
esta-



establishments of discipline, some more exceptionable regulations were made. The bishops were invested with power to silence or suspend preachers, or enjoin penances for preaching doctrines of which they should not approve, and occasionally to deliver them over to the secular arm; but in ordinary criminal cases, the sentence against an ecclesiastic could not be put in execution without notification to the bishop, who might do whatever was authorized by the canon law in similar cases. An equivocal regulation was made in favour of marriage in these terms. A clergyman cannot be forced by any authority to administer the sacrament of marriage, to any person bound by a canonical impediment.

This code was recommended in a speech by the archbishop of Ravenna, who, declaring that it was fully approved by the clergy, invited all members of that body to use their influence with the people to impress on their minds the respect due to property, and attach them to the new social compact which had just been proclaimed. The First Consul expressed great approbation of these sentiments, and made a speech to prove how necessary it was that the people should be attached to the principles of their religion, and the clergy to those adopted by the republic. \*

The list of members of the colleges, and other bodies created by the new constitution was then read and sanctioned by general applause. Bonaparte was declared president, Melzi vice president, Guicciardi secretary of state, and Spanocchi

grand judge. The president embraced the vice president and seated him at his side, and the assembly broke up after a speech from Prina, imploring that the hand which had created and defended, would continue to guide the Italian republic.

This great affair being thus satisfactorily concluded, Bonaparte returned to Paris, where he arrived on the 30th of January. Besides other monuments in commemoration of this visit, the people of Lyons, in celebration of it, struck a medal with the following inscription; *Auspice Bonaparte, inter gallos, gallorum nepotes, Cisalpini, antiquum fœdus renovantes, gentem suam legibus condiderunt. Lugduni, Anno x, reip. gal.*

The flattering circumstances which attended the formation of the new constitution for the Italian Republic, were not less gratifying to the ambition of Bonaparte, than useful to him in confirming and extending his power. Before his departure from Paris, his authority had received some shocks which his impatient temper could ill brook, and therefore, it was not a little satisfactory to him to be enabled to shew the people of the capital, that the second city in France knew how to receive him with due homage and acclamation, and that other cities could solicit his presence as an honour, while the representatives of a whole nation prostrated before him, tendered to his hand an authority as great as the most despotic sovereign could require. The term for which it was granted, with a possibility of indefinite extension, and the recogni-

\* It may be mentioned as one effect of the new ecclesiastical establishment, that in a few days (17th Feb.) the Italians abolished the French atheistical calendar, and restored the Christian era.



tion of Bonaparte as the sole governor of the Italian republic, were examples which were not intended to remain unserviceable, but certainly, at a fit moment, to be brought forward for imitation in France. The return of the First Consul to Paris was hailed with every demonstration of joy and pride; the people, ever alive to impressions which convey notions of glory, participated in the honours conferred on their chief, thoughtless of the subjection into which they and their posterity were like to be plunged; while Bonaparte, from the time of his return, assumed a greater appearance of sovereignty, exacted on all hands more punctilious observances, and, environing himself with more solemnity of state, repressed all approach which appeared like familiarity.

The subject which before his departure from Paris, had given offence to Bonaparte, was the stubborn opposition made in the legislative body, to a civil code, prepared under the auspices of government, by the most celebrated jurists in France, and submitted to the consideration of the public with a very long introductory discourse, avowedly composed by Portalis, and Tronchet. This code being the fifth or sixth which had been presented since the year 1792, was immediately attacked with great vigour, and its opponents proved that it was neither consistent with the hopes and wants of man in a state of nature, nor with the rational and limited desires which should be consulted in a state of society. Its systems, provisions, regulations, and even its style were unsparingly censured, and it had remained six months exposed to this severe criti-

cal trial, before it was discussed in the legislative body. The first Nov. 23. 1801. division of the code treated on the publication, and the effects of the application of laws, and its intent was to declare that the operation of each enactment should begin within a certain number of days after its promulgation by the First Consul, and to make the judges responsible for their conduct to him. It was submitted to the discussion of the tribunate, where each article was examined and criticized with great severity; the members who opposed them insisting that the system proposed was more fit for a monarchical than a republican government; their arguments prevailed, and the law was rejected by 65 to 13. According to the forms of the constitution, the tribunate deputed three of their members, Andrieux, Favard and Thieffé to contend against the law in the legislative body; they were opposed by three others on behalf of government; Portalis who made a long and subtle speech, and was supported by Boulay de la Meurthe and Berlier; their arguments could not, however, procure a decision in favour of the code; which was rejected by a very small majority; 142 to 139.

Another chapter of this code contained regulations calculated to revive the oppressive and unjust claim in use under the old government, called *droit d'Aubaine*, and some rights which were in use with respect to persons civilly dead; this too, was rejected in the tribunate by 61 to 31; and Thieffé, Boissy d'Anglas and Faure were appointed to argue against it before the legislative body. The part of the code which related to birth, marriage, death



death, and circumstances connected with them, was carried in the tribunate by 64 to 26, and Duchesne, Simeon and Duveyrier were employed to recommend it to the other branch of the legislature.

Before the discussion could be entered into, the code was withdrawn, by an angry message from the First Consul. It is with regret, it said, that the government finds itself obliged to postpone the laws so anxiously expected by the nation; but it is evident that the time is not yet arrived, when discussions on such important subjects can be conducted with proper temper and unity of intention. The want of dignity apparent in this captious message was the more surprising as it indicated fear and resentment, when no individual who had entered into the discussions was of sufficient importance to justify the display of either. Sieyes and François de Neufchâteau, Chazal, Daunou, Garat, Andrieux, Chenier, Ginguené, Benjamin Constant, and the other individuals already mentioned, were the chief favoured opponents, and devoid as they were of character, unsupported by any considerable portion of the people, or any eminent military leader, their influence was in no respect formidable. Against them, however, Bonaparte let loose the government journals in an angry invective published by Ræderer; and personally insulted several members of the opposition party who appeared at his levee. As these men had also been understood to utter sentiments hostile to the projected journey to Lyons, the splendour of that progress, and its prosperity were useful to the First Consul, not only in dazzling the eyes of the people, and preparing

them to bestow on him honours and authorities equal to those he enjoyed as president of the Italian Republic, but in enabling him to get rid of the opposition party in the two councils. Soon after his return to Paris, the time fixed by the constitution for the change of one fifth of both the legislative bodies arrived. Means were easily found to procure the removal of the members most obnoxious to Bonaparte, and he followed the measure by silencing, or imposing restrictions on the journals which had espoused their cause, and banishing several literary and other persons from the capital to distant places, where they were to be carefully watched.

It might, however, be apprehended that the rest of Europe would not regard with indifference the mighty accession of power which France acquired by the Consulta at Lyons. Her influence was not indeed extended, for over the Cisalpine republic she already held an uncontrouled sway; but the difference between influence and avowed, legalized power, might have created some alarms, and would, at some periods, have given rise to inimical discussions. It was observed too, and with considerable justice, that the new name Italian Republic, seemed to point to future aggrandizements, and that no part of the region of Italy would, in process of time, be excluded from a participation in the laws of the republic, or exempt from the predominance of France.

Not unconscious of the Feb. 6. foundation of such suspicions, the leaders of the Italian Republic, on forming their new constitution, issued a proclamation, the chief paragraphs of which were



were afterward given as official in the French government paper, justifying the change which had taken place, and defending the ruler of France from the presumed imputation of over-weening ambition. The new form of government was alleged to be best calculated for the security and prosperity of the Italian Republic, and alarm against the ambition of France was combated by very curious reasoning. A comparison was instituted between the influence which that power possessed in 1788, and that which she had at the conclusion of the treaty of Luneville. In 1788 she had considerable influence over Venice, because she was by her geographical position, the enemy of Austria; over the king of Naples, on account of the family compact; over the king of Sardinia—for he was bound to France by his inability to defend Savoy and Nice, by double alliances, and still more, by the pretensions of Austria to Montserrat. At the present period, Venice belonged to the emperor: with regard to Naples, the family compact no longer existed. The Italian republic must, therefore, compensate both of these losses; but France had made no addition to her influence. In the system of Germany, France had lost the advantages which she had formerly derived from her alliance with Poland, Turkey, and Sweden. Poland had been partitioned, so that not only a power friendly to France was struck out of the system of Europe, but her territories had gone to aggrandize those whose augmented influence it would have been politic to watch with jealousy, and even by all means to prevent. Turkey, a prey to civil war, was just able to retain the con-

sistence necessary to continue her existence; she could no longer have any weight in the affairs of Germany; nor could the descendants of Charles XII. be said, since Russia had made such vast acquisitions in Poland, to possess any power beyond that of maintaining the equilibrium of the Baltic. The advantage gained by France in the four departments of the Rhine, did not compensate for the accessions which her neighbours had acquired in Poland. She had rather lost than gained in the equilibrium of Germany, and if she had assented to the partition of Poland, without obtaining Belgium, or the four departments of the Rhine, she would have ceased to be, what she always had been, a power of the first rank. England too had gained the territories of Tippoo Saib. “No nation,” it was said, “ever shewed so much moderation as France. All that she conquered in war, she has restored at peace. But it is proper she should restrict herself by certain limits, beyond which the government must fall into weakness. Equilibrium in the affairs of Germany, equilibrium in the affairs of Italy—such is the system of France: she does not desire to give the law, but she does not choose to receive it. On considering the political situation of Europe in every point of view, we see that France has gained no new accession of influence: she has only maintained her former rank.”

The sense of this paper is reducible to one general proposition. In every treaty which France had entered into, the circumstances here alluded to had been made the motive of some demand on the part of the republic, and of some concession on the



the other side, and those demands were considered final, and the concessions satisfactory; but now, after so many treaties of peace, a new accession of power is coveted; it is made without appearing to consult the potentates most interested in its effect, and these circumstances are to be again brought forward in justification; they might be made to serve the same purpose as long as Europe had any thing to lose or France any thing to desire.

March 6. The governments who might have been expected to feel injured or affronted on the occasion, were far from testifying any such sentiments. The king of Prussia addressed to Bonaparte

March 9. his congratulations; and Count Cobentzel, on the part of the emperor of Germany, declared that embassadors would be received from, and appointed to, the new republic by the cabinet of Vienna, and that his imperial majesty took great interest in the organization of the Italian republic. Thus sanctioned, and having nothing to apprehend from any other power, Bonaparte might deem the success of his present measure complete.

The extent of the ambition of France was further disclosed at the time when the constitution of the Italian republic was in a train of being formed, by the publication of a secret treaty which had been concluded the 21st March, 1801, between France and Spain. In this compact it was stipulated that the reigning Duke of Parma should renounce for ever, for himself and his heirs, the Duchy of Parma, with all its dependencies, in favour of the French republic, and his Catholic Majesty should guarantee this

renunciation. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which the Grand Duke in the same manner renounced equally, and the cession of which was guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany, to be given to the son of the Duke of Parma, as an indemnification for the countries ceded by the infant his father, and in consequence of another treaty concluded formerly between his Catholic Majesty and the French republic. The Prince of Parma was to go to Florence, where he should be acknowledged sovereign of all the possessions belonging to the Grand Duchy, and the First Consul was to exert his authority, in order that these acts might be peaceably executed.

The Prince of Parma should be acknowledged king, with all the honour due to his rank. The First Consul was to acknowledge him, and cause him to be so considered by the other powers of Europe.

The part of the isle of Elba, belonging to Tuscany, and dependent upon that state, was to remain to the French republic; the First Consul giving as an indemnity to the King of Tuscany, the country of Piombino, which belonged to the King of Naples.

This treaty was acknowledged to originate from one concluded between the First Consul and his Catholic Majesty, by which the king ceded to France the possession of Louisiana; and the contracting parties agreed to put in execution the articles of the former treaty, and to use their respective rights till the settlement of differences mentioned in it.

As the new sovereign to be established in Tuscany was of the family of Spain, those estates were to remain for



forever united to Spain, and an infant of that family was to be called to that throne, in case that the present king or his children should have no posterity : in this case, the sons of the reigning family of Spain should succeed to these estates ; and the First Consul and his Catholic Majesty agreed to procure for the reigning Duke of Parma, in consideration of this renunciation in favour of his son, proportionable indemnities, either in possessions or revenues.

While the terms of this treaty were yet undisclosed, the infant Duke of Parma, by virtue of the fifth article of the peace of Luneville, had in July 1801, taken possession of his allotted dominions in Tuscany, and assumed the title of King of Etruria. In this act, he was protected by a body of French troops under General Murat, and his authority was speedily recognized by the King of Prussia. A king of the race of Bourbon, created by the authority of the republic which had murdered so many of that family, and the rulers of which had so often sworn to hate and exterminate royalty, was contemplated by many with surprize, as a portentous prodigy. Before he took posses-

sion, the young king, who was only twenty-one years of age, and a very fine person, made a journey to Paris, where he was received by the First Consul with great distinction, and regarded by the people with uncommon interest. His stay was celebrated by brilliant fêtes and exhibitions of every kind, and as his departure was somewhat sudden, it was surmised that ill consequences were apprehended from the ardour with which the people displayed their attachment to an individual of the family of their ancient rulers.

The treaty now brought to light, proved that Bonaparte had not allowed the creation of this new sovereign, without exacting an ample recompence. Parma, Elba, and Louisiana were to be obtained in immediate possession ; these connected with the new arrangements in Italy, with the cessions demanded from Portugal, and with other circumstances which time rapidly brought to view, shewed that the ambition of France was not only insatiable but ever active, and gave room to apprehend, that, by a pacific campaign she would gain more territory and influence, than years of war had been able to produce.

## C H A P. X.

*Frequent adjournments of Parliament ; conversation on the subject in the House of Commons ; and in the House of Lords. Sir John Mitford, the Speaker, created a peer, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland ; Eulogy on him by the Master of the Rolls ; who proposes as his successor Mr. Charles Abbott ; seconded by Mr. Baker ; Mr. Sheridan proposes Mr. Charles Dundas ; who is supported by Lord George Cavendish and Mr. Courtenay, but declines the nomination ; Mr. Abbott chosen. General anxiety respecting the definitive treaty ; observations of Mr. Elliott on the subject in a discussion on the army estimates ; answer of Lord Hawkesbury ; observations of Mr. Cornwallis, Mr. Windham, Mr. Baker, Lord Castlereagh, Dr. Laurence and the Attorney-*



*torney General. Observations of the Earl of Carlisle on the same subject; answer of Lord Pelham. Progress of the definitive treaty; delays at Amiens; propositions respecting Malta; propositions on other subjects introduced and withdrawn by France; on salutes at sea; on sequestered property; on Indian possessions; on fisheries; on indemnities to the Prince of Orange; on the Ottoman Porte; lofty tone assumed by France; naval preparations in England; the treaty concluded; principal points in which it differed from the preliminaries; prisoners; Portugal, and Malta; the peace proclaimed in the British metropolis with great demonstrations of satisfaction.*

**D**URING a great portion of the time employed in these transactions, the proceedings in parliament were suspended by frequent adjournments, which generally took place every week from the 14th of December to the 2d of February.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not make these interruptions in the course of business without apology, although he declined entering into any explanations of the cause. He regretted the inconveniencies to which members were exposed, and lamented that a sense of the public duty prevented him from disclosing the reasons on which these frequent motions were founded; but trusted the House would, under the present circumstances of the country, continue to act with their accustomed wisdom and discretion. He had expected by this time, to have made a communication to parliament, but circumstances which he could not explain had interfered with his expectation.

Mr. T. Jones asserted that these adjournments excited great alarm in the public mind, and whatever the motives might be, they ought not longer to be withheld. Whatever they might be, they were made worse by rumour, and a full communication was necessary, to prevent the circulation of exaggerated or false reports, which kept

the public feeling in a state of the greatest uneasiness and agitation. It was a singular circumstance, that during the time of these short adjournments in this country, the legislative body in France in like manner was adjourned; the chief consul, indeed, had informed them, by a message, that they did not discover sufficient unity of intention, but, thank God, here was no such cause of adjournment.

To these remarks no answer was made, but the motion was acceded to without division. In the following week, however, 19th Jan. the Earl of Carlisle, noticing the various rumours which were circulated by those who attempted to account for these suspensions, said, such extraordinary and unusual conduct in ministers, called for explanation, not to him and the House merely, but to satisfy the public mind, which must be rendered uneasy and full of anxious sufferance. Similar observations were made, but with somewhat greater force on the same day in the lower House, but the adjournment was agreed to.

Soon after the re-assembly of Parliament, it 9th Feb. became necessary for the House of Commons to elect a new Speaker; Sir John Mitford, who had filled the chair, being raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Redesdale, and called to the dignity



of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, vacant by the death of John Earl of Clare.

10th. The resignation of the speaker being notified to the House by a letter, the Master of the Rolls, on the following day, rose to nominate a successor; but, before he proceeded to enumerate the talents and the qualities which characterized the person whom it was his intention to propose for the choice of the House, he could not pass over in silence those super-eminent endowments which so peculiarly distinguished the learned gentleman who was now retiring from that high station. To pay due and adequate praise to such endowments was no light attempt: for during the short period which his learned friend had filled the chair, was it possible to evince a knowledge more various, and at the same time so profound; an information more extensive, and, at the same time, so accurate; a more ardent and enlightened love of the constitution, and, at the same time, so punctilious a regard to all the forms of the House, and all the rules of its proceedings? Acknowledging the difficulty of finding a fit successor, the Master of the Rolls yet hoped the House would not long fluctuate in indecision, if their attention was drawn to a gentleman who not only possessed an enlarged knowledge of law and of the constitution, but also a most minute and intimate acquaintance with parliamentary history, and those records which treasure up the rules by which their proceedings were daily guided; a gentleman, who to all those useful talents added persevering fortitude, unblemished integrity, a high sense of honour, and every other qualifi-

cation that could eminently fit him for the important and dignified station then vacant. Such a person, he said, was the Right Honourable Charles Abbott. All had witnessed the extent and variety of his knowledge, and most were, no doubt, ready to acknowledge his deserts; his parliamentary life having been one unremitted series of useful exertions, always employed in establishing beneficial arrangements, and laying the foundation of others, from which the country might reap new and equal advantages.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Baker, who, after praising the great attention Mr. Abbott had bestowed on subjects the most intricate and laborious, added, that he was at a time of life, which permitted the House to hope for his long continuance in office, a circumstance which should not be overlooked, as frequent changes were not only unsuitable to the dignity of the House, but also obstructed the progress of public business.

Mr. Sheridan, while he allowed the justice of the praise bestowed on the gentleman proposed, differed from those who considered the profession of the law, the best source from which a Speaker of the House of Commons could be derived. It was not a practice warranted by ancient custom, or proper to be pursued as a rule. He considered the gentlemen of the law less independent than the country gentlemen, because they held places under the crown from which they were removable at pleasure. The House should be peculiarly jealous in the choice of the person who should regulate their proceedings, and keep that



that choice as clear as possible from the nomination of ministers. Mr. Abbott's time of life might be a strong recommendation, if it was certain he should be continued in office; but experience had shewn that it was not death alone that removed gentlemen from this station: the very profession of the law, which was now deemed so essential a quality for the office, was often the reason of the frequency of change. On the age of the person no great stress could therefore be laid, more especially as ministers seemed as jealous of permitting a Speaker to remain long in the chair, as parish officers were anxious to remove vagrants, lest they should endeavour to acquire a settlement. After some further observations, Mr. Sheridan nominated Mr. Charles Dundas.

Lord George Cavendish having seconded this proposition, Mr. Courteney, in his usual facetious vein, while he concurred in the applause of the late Speaker, said he had no doubt but that the learned gentleman who was proposed to succeed him, would exert very great, or perhaps similar and equal abilities, when once placed in office. His occult qualities might then burst forth in all their lustre, though no person before had suspected their existence. Yet with all these qualities to recommend him, he could not help thinking that there was another gentleman in the House, (Mr. Addington) who possessed still more appropriate talents for the office, and whom the House would no doubt rejoice to see again in the chair. But it might be objected, that that gentleman already filled a very high political situation, from which he could not be removed

without imminent danger to the public service. This objection was however easily to be got over, for the gentleman now proposed for the chair would, with perhaps equal ability, fill that high ministerial office; for great offices have a wonderful power in bringing out latent talents, which even the possessors did not dream that they themselves possessed, till thus placed in an eminent station. There was a certain friction connected with a great place, that elicited a blaze of abilities equal, if not superior, to the office itself.

Mr. Abbott having, in a modest speech, proffered his humble services to the House, should their choice fall on him, Mr. Charles Dundas requested his friends to withdraw their motion in his favour, and, after some observations from some of the Irish and some English members, Mr. Abbott was conducted to the chair without a division.

While the general attention of the House was engaged by the ordinary business, of which some account will be given in a subsequent page, frequent anxiety was expressed respecting the slow progress of the negotiation of the definitive treaty with France. Public conversation and the public prints daily presented various reports and speculations on a delay which seemed most extraordinary and suspicious, and in both Houses of Parliament, it was frequently adverted to in terms of indignation and reproach.

In a debate on the March 3d army estimates, which the Secretary at War proposed to continue for two months longer on the footing already referred to the Committee of Supply, Mr. Eliott observed,



observed, that the vote ought to be to a much larger extent ; the country had been in an actual state of war, ever since the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace. It had been the invariable and wise policy of the British government, in the regulation of its military and maritime establishments, to adapt them to the situation of affairs on the continent ; to extend or limit them according to the degree of danger with which our own country, or its foreign possessions, were threatened by the hostile views of the other powers of Europe. His opinion of the impolicy of the treaty of peace not only remained unaltered, but was strengthened and confirmed by every day's experience. He still thought, that when the Noble Lord put his signature to the preliminary treaty, he affixed it to an instrument of great national calamity ; to a document which would go down to posterity as the commencement of the decline of the fortunes, power, and independence of the kingdom. Many gentlemen acquiesced in the treaty, supposing the Cisalpine Republic would have remained a separate and independent state. Had the French Government refrained from ambitiously and unjustly violating the independence of the Cisalpine Republic, that country, from its position, would have formed a secure barrier between France and Austria, and the states of the Emperor of Germany on the one hand, and France and the sovereign powers of Italy on the other. But we had the mortification of experiencing, during the negotiation, a sort of contumelious neglect, and disregard on the part of France, as to the interests of other powers, which Eng-

land had never till now, been in the habit of submitting to. We had seen the First Consul of France, in the interval between a preliminary and definitive treaty, proceeding to Lyons, and after passing a few days in exhibiting a scene of farcical pageantry, in conjunction with the constituted authorities assembled to meet him, at length conclude his pompous mockery of the rights of nations, by discovering that there was no person in the whole habitable globe who was capable of managing the affairs of the Cisalpine Republic, and he therefore was induced to take upon himself the important trust. He confessed he was not a little alarmed at the mode of reasoning adopted by the First Consul ; he feared, if we persevered in our submission to such encroachments, it might occur to him that the same mode of argument would apply to this country ; and he might endeavour to place Great Britain under his protection. He had returned to Paris, leaving to the Cisalpine Republic the name of an independent state, but he had as completely annexed it to France as it was possible : he had made it a cantonment for French soldiers, and thus extended the frontiers of France along the greater part of Germany. He had also, by a most dextrous diplomatic manœuvre, possessed himself of the isle of Elba, which had been expressly guaranteed to the grand Duke of Tuscany. Mr. Eliott said, he must now call the attention of the committee to a treaty concluded in a tone and style to which independent powers were strangers ; he alluded to the treaty with Portugal, by which France had acquired interests hostile to this country. She had,



had, by the acquisition of a large line of territory on the southern coast of America, obtained the means of supplying her West India islands, and of endangering the safety of our own. He wished to ask the noble lord what was the actual situation of the country? Whether we were negotiating a peace? Whether we were at war, or whether representations had been made by government against the acts of fraud and ambition committed by France? Although he would not appeal to the noble lord to answer him, it was his duty to call upon him to answer to the committee, and to the public, how it happened that, when we thought we were contracting to give Porto Ferrajo to Tuscany, we were only placing it in the hands of the Grand Duke, that he might transfer it to France? How, when we were giving up the West India islands, France was in possession of such a part of the continent of America as gave her a preponderancy of power in the West Indies. He next referred to the large portion of the French navy, which had sailed to the West Indies, accompanied by the Spanish and Dutch squadrons. He was aware it might be necessary to send a great military force, but he had doubts as to the policy of the measure; at least he thought it right that France should be called upon to explain the object of the destination of such a fleet. She had an undoubted right to distribute her forces as she thought proper; but England also had a right to remonstrate against, and resist any expedition she might undertake. He recollected in the year 1774, during the war between the Turks and the Russians, when the latter obtained

some advantages in the Mediterranean, France purposed to employ a squadron of observation; England then said, if France persisted in that intent, she must send a fleet to watch its motions, and would bend sail for sail with her. Ministers should have made a similar representation. It might be said the French had no transports, and therefore were obliged to send troops out in ships of the line; but they might have been procured from Spain or Holland, or if not, it would have been better policy in this government to have provided vessels for them, rather than have suffered such a fleet to go to the West Indies. By so doing, independent of other advantages, we should have saved the lives and constitutions of our seamen, from being exposed to the ravages of that climate.

Lord Hawkesbury said, however proper it might be, on some future occasion, to reply to these observations, he certainly should abstain at the present moment. The only ground of justifiable interference, in the present case, would be the certain knowledge that the negotiation had been delayed, and that the consequences were such that parliament had a right to call on government for an explanation. He was ready to admit that serious inconvenience did arise from a negotiation being protracted to the period this had been carried, but if gentlemen would consider the important interests, and the variety of points to be discussed, and likewise refer to, what was the best criterion, the time which the negotiation of former treaties had occupied, they would not feel themselves justified in requiring parliamentary explanation. At the peace in 1783, when



there were as few points as possible to discuss, the preliminaries were signed the 20th of January, and the definitive treaty on the 3d of December. His majesty's ministers might well be supposed to be as anxious to bring this negotiation to an issue as every subject in the kingdom; no means had been or would be omitted that were calculated to bring it to a successful termination as speedily as possible. When gentlemen talked of the consequences of peace, they would do well to consider likewise the consequences of war. It was fit to balance nicely between the conveniences and inconveniences of both, and surely the experiment of peace, if it was only an experiment, was as wise as the continuance of hostilities.

Mr. Cornwallis considered it most probable that the French expedition to the West Indies might have in contemplation fair and legitimate objects; but supposing them hostile, and the negotiations to terminate unfavourably, this country had nothing to apprehend. We had a force in that quarter more than sufficient for the protection of our islands; we should have the opportunity of fighting and taking the French ships at sea, instead of counting them in their harbours. It was therefore our duty, not to encourage suspicion, proclaim jealousies, and sound alarm throughout the country.

Mr. Windham insisted that the questions of Mr. Eliott were perfectly constitutional, and not sufficiently answered by the allegation of the responsibility of ministers. It would prove little consolation for the country to learn the motives by which ministers had been actuated,

when it should, at the same time, have felt the dangerous effects resulting from these motives. Nor did the propositions of Mr. Eliott interfere with the pending negotiation. Explanations were to have been expected from ministers without being demanded; and he felt, in common with others, the great evils resulting from suspense. Yet although these motives justified the call for explanations, reasons of a more powerful nature were not wanting. Had nothing happened since the signing of the preliminaries to sanction enquiry? Every thing had happened which must be accounted sufficient to set aside the force and operation of the engagement entered into, and to invalidate the preliminaries. Every thing had happened which, politically and truly speaking, should destroy the contract. Every thing had so happened, that none who voted for the preliminaries in that House were bound to support them. The foundation on which they then gave their suffrages was actually destroyed, and the credit which they gave to the enemy for good faith and sincerity, was no longer to be found. The noble Secretary, in defending the preliminaries, had stated three points which ought to be taken into consideration; the time, the terms, and the tone or the temper in which they were concluded. As to the time and the terms, they were gone by; the tone was a matter of the highest moment, for as the spirit, at all times, is better than the letter, particularly in political transactions, the temper of the enemy became a question of the greatest importance. But if he unexpectedly assumed new power, and acquired new dominion, beyond



beyond all reason and probability, it must be evident that no confidence could be placed in his professions. But we were told, the more reliance we had upon his tone, the safer and the more secure we should be; and taking this as a rule of argument, we might go on to witness the aggrandisement and consolidation of his empire completely undisturbed, because there were no proofs of the want of sincerity. When we saw instances every day of his redoubled vigour, of his overstraining and grasping ambition, should we be content with subscribing to this doctrine and giving our assent to his moderation of temper? If ministers would raise their heads from their dispatches, and read the great dispatch of the enemy, plain and legible as it was in every part of the globe, they would see undoubted proofs of his rooted determination to turn all events to his advantage against the interests of this country. In ascertaining the tone or temper of the opposite party, two things were to be considered; events that had subsequently happened, and events that had subsequently become known. The distinction was clear, and with those of the latter description ministers should have been acquainted. If intended by the enemy to be actually carried into effect, and they were not communicated to his majesty's ministers, the party who concealed them was guilty of fraud. Some of these events were so plain, that it was impossible to mistake them. They might be found in an island, in a sum of money, in a district. Such was the violation of the integrity of Portugal, secured as it appeared to be by the preliminaries; but the treaty which destroyed that integrity was kept

secret, and this constituted that fraud of which he complained. What appeared to him, above all other things, the most dreadful consideration, was the unaccountable apathy of the moment. He knew not exactly by what name to call it; but should be inclined to term it, in the language of divines, a blindness, a prejudicial blindness. To trace it to its cause would be a task too difficult for any man. What was the present state of Europe? What were the powers still left which were exempt from servitude or dependence? Take them all, after ourselves, and we should find Austria and Russia only which could be said to exist. But when we saw the increasing power, the self-acknowledged ambition, and the constantly increasing aggrandisement of France, what security had we for our own power, our own independence? The head of the government of France plainly told us he had got augmented influence, augmented territory, augmented dominion, and that he meant to employ them to the destruction of our commerce, and our naval pre-eminence. The subject was so dreadful, the prospect so dreary, that it appalled him with its magnitude; it was pregnant with apprehension and terror.

Mr. Baker, although not prepared to say that a parliamentary inquiry into the state of the nation should be immediately instituted, partook very deeply in the impressions announced, and upon a serious survey of the present state of Europe, he could not help considering the country rather in a state of war, or at least in such a state as called upon the wisdom of the House to employ all means in their power, to



keep the country in an attitude to watch and guard against any hostile measure that might endanger the honour or the interests of the nation. The time that had elapsed since the signing of the preliminaries was nothing in its effect, even if it was to be protracted to a period three times longer, when compared with the events which had taken place in Europe since that important epoch. The country, he feared, was in a state of apathy: he could at least say with truth, that a tenth part of the great changes which Europe had lately witnessed, would at other times have been thought a sufficient cause of war, and of a war with the cry of the country in favour of the minister who should undertake it.

Lord Castlereagh offered his sentiments as one wholly unconnected with ministers, and he thought the country should not be induced, on the one hand, to entertain too sanguine a hope from the pending negotiation, or, on the other hand, to sink into a pusillanimous despondency, from apprehensions of its failure; but to maintain the same calm firmness it had already displayed amidst all the difficulties it had to struggle with, and to meet the war, if it was necessary, with the same manly spirit which had distinguished the exertions of the nation throughout its most trying vicissitudes. He could not think the dangers so imminent as described by Mr. Elliott; France was sensible of the critical situation of her colonies. However disposed, Toussaint, or any other of the chiefs might be to favour the mother country, yet it was known that the government in the two great French colonies, St. Domingo and Guada-

loupe, was actually in the hands of the blacks. In St. Domingo, there were no less than 250,000 blacks, and but a small proportion of whites; in Guadaloupe, there were at least 80,000 blacks, and an equally small proportion of whites; it was therefore necessary that the force sent out should be large; and our own experience should tell us how difficult it was to keep up an efficient force in these islands, both from the obstacles which the climate presented, and from the other hardships to which European troops are likely to be exposed. If, therefore, the French had sent to this quarter a force of thirty ships of the line, and troops to the amount of 30,000, the expedition was not of greater magnitude than the obvious necessity of the case seemed to require. As to the reasons which induced ministers to permit it to fail, it were improper now to inquire. No opinion could yet be correctly formed respecting the propriety of their conduct in that respect. It was, no doubt, also expedient that England should have an adequate force in that part of the world, ready to counteract any hostile operation, if such should turn out to be the object of the expedition. In another point of view, was it not better that France should immediately endeavour to accomplish her objects with respect to her colonies, than to defer it till after the ratification of the definitive treaty? We should then be obliged, out of precaution, to keep up a large force to watch her operations; whereas, if the French colonies were again restored to order, and due subjection to the mother country, we might say to France, "You have accomplished your wishes with regard to your



your colonies; you may now reduce your force in that quarter, and permit us to reduce ours." The delay which had occurred in bringing the definitive treaty to a close, was a subject of most delicate discussion; it was impossible now to come at the real causes. Indeed the delay did not surprise him at all, and he perfectly agreed with Lord Hawkesbury, that it afforded no just ground of alarm. Of equal delicacy was any premature discussion respecting the present state of Europe, or the cession of Louisiana; nor would he entertain any abstract question, whether parliament was bound, in point of morality, or not, to comply with the preliminaries, after having witnessed these changes. For even if peace was finally concluded, yet if these changes were supposed to shake our security, would not the common principle of political preservation prompt us to renew hostilities?—but such subjects at such a moment it was imprudent and indiscreet to agitate. Neither was he disposed to think that, in consequence of these changes, the safety of this country was embarked to the same extent as that of the other European states. It was therefore imprudent to hold a language respecting them which might tend only to compromise them in the eyes of France. He felt it also of extreme delicacy to say how far the establishment of the Italian Republic trenched on the treaty of Luneville, and wished to guard the committee, and the public, against forming too sanguine expectations, or sinking into despondency.

Dr. Laurence considered that those who had followed Mr. Windham had mistaken the drift of his

argument; it did not tend to criminate ministers, but to raise a spirit in the country equal to the dangers and difficulties to which it was again likely to be exposed. The estimates of the army had before been voted for a period at which ministers expected the definitive treaty might arrive, and now again they were proposed for another short period, in a similar expectation. Thus, it might be feared, that, in order to accomplish the work of peace, the proposed period of two months would be further employed by them in treaty, in submission, importunity and prostration. For his part, he rather rejoiced in, than regretted, the delay that retarded the conclusion of the definitive treaty; it might afford time to shew that all was not to be abandoned and surrendered; it might give room to hope that better security might be obtained, or a clearer test of the sincerity of France. He exhibited several instances in which he considered the preliminary treaty as defective. He hoped the country would shew the vigilance and spirit which his right honourable friend had endeavoured to excite. Lord Castlereagh, he observed, seemed anxious to deal in political optimism. He endeavoured to derive consolation from every aspect of things. That noble lord felt the necessity France was under of sending out a great military force to the West Indies. Without it, the negroes could not be kept in subjection; but whether that force was to act with fairness and generosity, or with duplicity and intrigue, the noble lord did not so anxiously examine. He seemed to forget that the country by which it was employed was the rival of this in every



every object of pursuit ; and would not this spirit of rivalry influence the use to which such means might be exerted ? Dr. Laurence next proceeded to shew how futile were the grounds of such consolation, and how inconsistent it was for some gentlemen to employ them. Those who boasted of our blocking up the enemy's ships in all their ports, now expressed no dissatisfaction at their having got out. Those who loudly approved of refusing permission to the French government, when they solicited an armed truce, to send out a small armament to the West Indies, were now nearly as eager to support the propriety of letting a large armament proceed for the same professed object—the reducing the colonies to order and subjection. He then alluded to the cession of Louisiana, which he could not but regard as a fraudulent transaction, and as introducing a fraud into the preliminaries. He must also ask, in what light was the Italian Republic to be viewed by England ? Was that country included in the preliminaries, or are we now at peace or war with it ? The man who ruled over France, now also guided the destinies of the new republic, which by taking the name of the Italian, instead of the Cisalpine republic, betrayed the extent of its ambitious views. According to a proclamation of the vice-president, it should now be the pride of the inhabitants to rival the glory of their ancestors, and, like them, no doubt, to extend their dominion. Those were points which the delay in the negotiation might afford time to examine and ascertain. We had a colossal power now to contend with, that placed one foot on the mouth of the river

Amazons, and the other on the mouth of the Mississippi. What might not such a gigantic grasp of ambition aim at ? Indeed, the country now stood in a crisis such as it never before experienced ; and to extricate it from so perilous a situation required the exertion of super-human wisdom, of super-human abilities, of super-human energies of all kinds.

The Attorney General censured Dr. Laurence's declaration, that ministers would employ the two months to come in importunity, submission, and degradation. That learned gentleman had declared, that ministers had earned his esteem by delaying the negotiation ; he believed they would earn it still more if the negotiation proved ultimately abortive. He trusted, however, that ministers would not endeavour to deserve such esteem on such terms ; if they did, they might, for him at least, enjoy the boon undivided. As far as the debate had gone, he could not but say, that to him it did not appear to lead to any useful public or parliamentary end. If the learned gentleman, and those who concurred in sentiment with him, had found out that ministers had persisted to negotiate after proofs of detected fraud on the part of France, why did they not act a manly and consistent part ? Why did they not move an address to his majesty, praying that he might be graciously pleased to recal his minister from Amiens ? Why thus idly beat the air and indulge in venting such futile inconclusive observations ? Why not conclude their chain of convincing arguments, by offering some proposition to the House, on which it might express its sense ? Without such a proposition,



proposition, what were they doing but wandering in abortive discussion, the mischief of which might be incalculable, the good precarious? The Attorney General commended the propriety of blocking up the enemy's fleets during the war, and of now permitting one of them to sail. The country might look with confidence to the noble admiral who so ably presided over the naval department: that noble lord would take care to provide an adequate force to watch that of France in the West Indies; and he for one would rejoice that if mischief was intended by the expedition, the end would prove, that they were only permitted to put themselves in a tangible position, and that on an element which had so often proved the theatre of British triumphs. The firmness and decision manifested by ministers in the case of the northern confederacy were sufficient to vindicate them from every charge of irresolution or pusillanimity.

In the House of 15th March. Lords the subject was noticed by the Earl of Carlisle, who requested that ministers would relieve him from the great embarrassment, which he felt. From the altered situation of France since the preliminaries of peace had been signed, it would be necessary for them to prepare themselves to answer and satisfy the House in several essential points, when the definitive treaty should come under discussion. It would be impossible for their lordships to form a correct judgment, and pass a solemn sentence on that important subject, without receiving some information from ministers as to the variations that had taken place in the

relative situation of both countries, occasioned by the aggrandisement of France. It was not in his power to speak with precision, or from personal knowledge, on the matters to which he alluded, but it was generally observed that a greater degree of spirit had been lately infused into his majesty's councils, than had been their character under the long suspense in which the country had been held. He was far from meaning to insinuate any thing disrespectful to the conduct of ministers on this account. So far from it, no man could more highly approve the change, and their late spirited efforts to prepare for preserving the honour and dignity of the country. He hoped they had adapted the negotiation of the definitive treaty to the circumstances which had occurred in respect to the situation and extent of dominion of France in the interim since the preliminaries were signed; for the shape and form of the definitive treaty would alone evince whether we were to have peace or not. When the preliminary treaty was adjusted, France was an object which the eye could measure, and the understanding could comprehend, but the accession since had raised her to a giant's height, whose head touched the skies. Much depended on the nature and extent of the secret articles that had been agreed on between the contracting parties of the treaty with Spain. Report said France had obtained possession of a port in the Mediterranean, Louisiana, the two Floridas, and a complete command of the Leeward islands, with a right to enter the river of Amazons in South America, which put the Brazils in her power. All these were matters



matters that deserved, and he doubted not had challenged the attention of ministers; and that they would be prepared to explain them when the day for discussing the definitive treaty should arrive.

To these observations, Lord Pelham declined making any answer, referring the defence of the definitive treaty to the day which would be set apart for its discussion.

The state of the negotiation of the definitive treaty was certainly a subject of extreme anxiety to government, as well as much astonishment to the nation. In his eager desire to promote the object of his mission, the Marquis Cornwallis had shortened his stay in Paris, and repaired to Amiens, having been given to understand that the regulations respecting Malta would be the principal points in the negotiation. On his arrival he found no representatives either of Spain or Holland, nor did they arrive till a considerable time afterward. Joseph Bonaparte, who negotiated on behalf of France had frequent conferences with the British ambassador, but, during six weeks, they had made no great advance toward a definitive arrangement. In this interval, the government of France was fully apprized of the sentiments entertained in England of the preliminaries, and had obtained permission to send her squadrons to the West Indies. The conferences had made little progress at the time of Bonaparte's journey to Lyons. A proposition had been offered, that if a French language was established in Malta, there should also be an English language; but this arrangement did not suit the views of France, and as her power and influence were just acquiring a new and decisive

extension, it was agreed that there should be neither a French nor an English language. Lord Cornwallis required, that a guarantee should be fixed for Malta, and a foreign garrison introduced for its defence against intrigue as well as force; the French minister evaded this demand, and at first proposed that the order of Malta should be modified with respect to its composition; that, instead of an order of knighthood, it should become, simply, an order of hospitality, conformably to its primitive institution; and, that the fortifications of the island being demolished, it should be converted into a great lazaretto, appropriated to the equal accommodation of all the different nations which trade in the Mediterranean and the Levant. To this proposal the English government refused assent, as contrary to the fourth and fourteenth articles of the preliminary treaty, and the answer being entered on the Protocol of the conferences, it was, after long discussions, determined that the French minister should present a plan of arrangement for the whole article relative to Malta. From this time the conferences respecting this island became frequent, and the contentions intricate; various propositions were made, withdrawn, rejected, or modified.

While these debates were proceeding, it was observed by both plenipotentiaries, that each nation must expect, with equal impatience, the signing of the definitive treaty; and that the only mode of obtaining that object was, doubtless, to inform each other, mutually, and without delay, of the points which each of the governments was disposed no longer to contest



contest. In pursuance of this intimation, several points of form were immediately arranged, and a discussion commenced on some new claims advanced by the French minister. He had required:—1. The exchange of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon for a part of the island of Newfoundland.—2. The cession of an establishment for the fishery in the Malouine isles.—3. The neutrality of fishers in the time of war; to these Lord Cornwallis answered, that they having been presented and rejected before the signing of the preliminaries, could not be re-produced with greater success; and Joseph Bonaparte withdrew them.

Lord Cornwallis also declared, that the English government could not consent to the abolition of salutes at sea, because that was unprecedented, and had no connexion with the present war; and made some objection to a formal detail of restitutions to be made at the peace. Joseph Bonaparte answered, that salutes at sea being a source of pretensions and disputes, it appeared proper to stipulate their abolition; and gave a reason for the other clause, but was notwithstanding inclined to renounce both.

On the subject of property sequestered in the two countries, Lord Cornwallis demanded, that the article relative to the sequestrations should be inserted literally in the definitive treaty as it stood in the preliminaries, and in the project presented by his government. He observed, that the additional clause of the counter project which says, that “English creditors in France cannot be more favoured than the French them-

selves,” would be prejudicial to the English nation, inasmuch as the English government had not touched the property, effects, or funds of any Frenchman; that of France, on the contrary, had seized all that the English had in France, and had made only imaginary reimbursements. Whatever right the French government had to proceed in this manner towards French citizens, according to the law of circumstances, it could not so dispose of what belonged to the English. Joseph Bonaparte took this article *ad referendum*; but the proposal of Lord Cornwallis was finally adopted.

Another proposition brought forward by Joseph Bonaparte related to the augmentation of the French commerce and territory in India. On this subject, Lord Cornwallis shewed, that the conditions proposed by France would produce endless discussions, and that the English government persisted in the return to the same state in which both nations were before the war. Joseph Bonaparte observed, that the pure and simple restitution of the French possessions in India, being rather to be considered as a charge than a benefit, it would be natural enough that France should insist upon her demands relative to important ameliorations; but that his government, wishing to accelerate the epoch of a peace so desirable for the whole world, insisted only on the following dispositions:—1. That England should give up, or cause to be given up to France, the seven Jukans, or tolls of Villehour; inasmuch as the district of Villehour forming part of the territory of Pondicherry, was granted



granted without any reserve or restriction, by the Soubah of Dekan and the Nabob of Arcot, to the French East India Company. That the treaty of 1783 confirmed this property, (and that too without any restriction,) and yet France had the dissatisfaction still to see, that duties, to her burdensome, and extremely inconvenient, were levied in her own territory, in the name of a foreign power. A remonstrance was presented upon this subject in 1785, by Messrs. de Buffy and Coutanceau to Lord Macartney, who answered, that the Jukans in question formed part of the ancient district of Valdahour, and belonged to the Nabob of Arcot. It was replied, that the district of Villehour had, itself, formed part of the district of Valdahour; and yet that, since the grant and confirmation above mentioned, it had formed a district completely separate; that, consequently, each proprietary nation should enjoy the accessories of its portion. Nothing was decided with respect to this demand, by the explanatory convention of 1787; and it was hoped that it would at length be done justice to. 2. That England should consent to exchange the district of Valdahour for that of Bahour, which belonged to France; inasmuch as this arrangement, which, it was said, was to have been made at the time of the treaty of 1783, would secure to the inhabitants of Pondicherry the articles of the first necessity; and that, without requiring an important sacrifice, it would terminate continually reviving difficulties.—3. That at the period of the restitution of Yanaon, France should also

be put in possession of the track which always belonged to her, on the left bank of the Coringny, where the merchandize intended for Yanaon is embarked; and as the river had successively encroached upon the greater part of the track where the workshops are situated, there should be granted an equivalent track on the opposite bank; so that the weavers driven out by the inundation, might still find an asylum. And that, in execution of the treaties of 1783 and 1787, the French might have, for the trade carried on by them on the coast of Coromandel, and particularly for the execution of their contracts in the interior of the country, the same means of security and protection as in Bengal.—4. That on the Malabar coast, France, in entering into possession of Mahé and its dependencies, should equally recover the petty territory of Courchy, which had always belonged to her since the cession made by the King of Colastrie, to M. Mahé de Labourdonnaye, and of which Tippoo Sultaun never had a right to dispose in favour of the English, as he was not the proprietor of it; and, lastly, that France should have permission to establish a factory at Alepe, should she think proper, in order to have a share of the pepper trade in the country of the King of Travancore.

So long a series of unexpected requisitions could not be immediately answered, and therefore, the British plenipotentiary deferred stating his opinions till another conference; upon which, the French minister added, in pursuance of the very language of the preliminaries which pronounced,



nounced, that “in the definitive treaty, just or reciprocally advantageous arrangements should be taken, to place the fishery of the two nations in the state best adapted for maintaining peace,” he was charged to require.—1. That the French fishermen of the island of Newfoundland, should be protected in the same manner as the English themselves.—2. That France, should she deem it proper, should have a commercial agent at St. John.—3. That, in virtue of several treaties, France should have the right of fishing, exclusively, and at all seasons, on the coasts which had been assigned to her, inasmuch as when she ceded the property of the island of Newfoundland, under the reserve of fishing within a determined extent, she did not impose upon herself the condition of not fishing but a certain kind of fish, and during a particular season of the year, but only that of not being at liberty to fortify any place, nor to erect any building, except the scaffolds and huts necessary for drying the fish. That hence necessarily resulted several tacit rights, viz. the right of cutting wood, erecting Hospitals on shore, and providing for the first necessities of life; in fine, the right of leaving persons to protect the boats and utensils of the fishery. The greater part of these rights had been frequently contested, and frequently recognized, since the court of London had, on different occasions, granted indemnities to the French proprietors of Boats, which had been burnt or destroyed by the English; and it was to be apprehended, that the same subjects of dispute might recur, unless a

remedy was provided by precise dispositions. The French government observed, that the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were about to be restored to her, intirely ravaged by the consequences of the war; it, consequently hoped to obtain, that the permission formerly given to the French, of cutting wood in the Bay of St. George, which is at a distance from all their establishments, should be applicable to the Bays of Fortune or Despair. On this subject also, Lord Cornwallis reserved himself to consult his government.

On a subsequent day, Feb. 11. the British ambassador returned an answer to these propositions, stating in substance; that every thing relative to the fishery of the island of Newfoundland, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the French possessions in India, might remain intirely on the same footing as before the war. However, to prevent any disputes which might arise on account of the fishery, Lord Cornwallis was authorized to renew the declaration made after the treaty of 1783, which was conceived in the following terms.—“In order that fishers of both nations may not be involved in daily quarrels, his Britannic Majesty shall take the most effective measures to prevent his subjects from troubling in any manner, by their competition, the fishing of the French during the temporary exercise of the privilege granted to them on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and will for that purpose, cause the settled establishments formed there to be withdrawn. His Britannic Majesty



Majesty will also give orders to prevent any interruption to the French fishers in the cutting of the wood necessary for repairing their scaffolds, cabins, and fishing vessels. The mode of fishing which has always been recognized, shall be the model on which the fishery shall be carried on. The French fishers shall build nothing but their scaffolds, shall confine themselves to repairing their vessels, and shall not winter on the island. The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, on their part, shall in no manner molest the French fishers during their fishery, nor damage their scaffolds during their absence."

Joseph Bonaparte said, he would make no observation at present on this declaration, the insufficiency of which was acknowledged in the preliminaries, which stated the necessity of making some just and reciprocal arrangements, which might be useful toward the preservation of peace; but that he would transmit the answers which had been made to his government. The arrangement here proposed was definitively adopted.

The Dutch plenipotentiary, M. Schimmelpenninck being arrived, the Marquis Cornwallis had a conference with him relative to the indemnities due to the Prince of Orange, as well on account of his dignities and charges, as on account of his property. The Batavian plenipotentiary replied, on the express authority of his government, that France had taken upon herself to obtain the said indemnities, without laying any part of the burthen on the Batavian republic. On this subject, Feb. 11. the Marquis requested Joseph Bonaparte to explain to

him the precise intentions of the French government, with respect to this matter. The French plenipotentiary replied, that France would employ her good offices, in order that the Prince of Orange might receive the indemnity which was due to him. On this subject, nothing further appears to have been undertaken; but in the definitive treaty was the following article:—"The branch of the House of Nassau, which was established in the *ci-devant* Republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian republic, having experienced some losses, as well with respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in those countries, an equivalent compensation shall be procured for the losses which shall be proved to have been sustained."

Respecting the Otto- Feb. 18.  
man Porte, Lord Cornwallis represented, that that power having formerly acceded to the preliminaries of peace between his Britannic Majesty, and the French republic, and their respective allies; and notified to the English government, the refusal of the Turkish government to ratify the treaty concluded by Ali Effendi, the Turkish ambassador extraordinary at Paris; had in consequence thereof, nominated Ali Effendi plenipotentiary to the congress of Amiens, to confer on the definitive treaty of peace. The British government therefore demanded, that the Sublime Porte, should be admitted, either as a contracting party, or an acceding party to the treaty. To this demand, Feb. 21. on a subsequent day, the French plenipotentiary replied, that preliminaries of peace had been



been signed between France and the Porte: they had been ratified by the Porte with this simple restriction. "Provided they are not contrary to the treaty of London:" as they were not contrary, the French government considered them duly and explicitly ratified. The Grand seignior, in a letter to the first consul, expressed a desire to treat directly with France, and to convert into a definitive treaty the preliminary articles. In consequence, the ambassador of the Porte at Paris received full powers, and all necessary instructions. This ambassador had been presented to the first consul, and had appeared convinced, that France was necessary to Turkey, that he was ready to sign a definitive peace; but that he was bound, out of respect and deference, to acquaint the British minister with it. The first consul consented, that he should immediately write to the British minister to inform him of this step, and a definitive peace would be concluded. Every peace which was not concluded directly between two such great powers as the Porte and France, might be a truce, but it would be a chimerical peace. There were in the diplomatic system, two sorts of alliances, natural and accidental. That between England and the Porte being only accidental, it was the part of France, in the preliminaries, to stipulate the cessation of hostilities; but particular arrangements must be treated by direct negotiation: to act otherwise, would be to place those powers in the second rank of states, while both belonged to the first rank. All the assurances then,

which the French plenipotentiaries could give, were. 1st. That there should be no secret article in this treaty. 2d. That it should be intirely founded on the preliminaries. Any claim further than this, it said, would be unreasonable.

In the same note which contained this very lofty sentence, was given an answer equally lofty to another difficulty advanced by the English ambassador. His Britannic majesty, Lord Cornwallis had observed, could not recognize the King of Tuscany, unless the district of Olivenza was restored by Spain to Portugal, and the *presidi* to the King of Naples; and, finally, until the King of Naples was re-established in Piedmont. On this point, the following expressions were Feb. 21. used. In answer to the declaration of the English minister, with respect to the King of Etruria, contained in the same *protocol*, and to the verbal declarations which have been formerly made with respect to the republics of Italy, Citizen Joseph Bonaparte has announced to his government, the repugnance which his Britannic Majesty would have to acknowledge the King of Etruria, the Italian republic, and the republic of Genoa. The acknowledgments of these powers by his Britannic Majesty, being of no advantage to France, the French plenipotentiary will no longer insist upon them. He desires, however, that the observations he now offers, should be taken into the most serious consideration by the British cabinet. The political system of Europe is founded on the existence and acknowledgment of all those powers



powers which share its vast and fine territories. If his Britannic Majesty shall refuse to acknowledge those powers, which hold so distinguished a place in Europe, he renounces then all interest about the people which form these states. Nevertheless, how can the supposition be admitted, that the commercial interests of England should be indifferent to the trade of Genoa, of Leghorn, the mouths of the Po, and the Italian republic? If its commerce should suffer any restraints in those countries, to whom could his Britannic Majesty complain, the reciprocity on his side being nothing, inasmuch as Genoa, Tuscany, and the Italian republic, transact no commercial business in England, but are useful and necessary markets for British commerce? If those three powers, displeased at finding themselves not acknowledged by the great power, should make changes in their organization, and seek a refuge by an incorporation with a great continental power, his Britannic Majesty would debar himself from the right of complaining, and yet it is a subject he could not consider with indifference. There are sometimes complaints of the increase of the French republic on the continent; and how can it be otherwise, when the great powers place the small states of Italy under an absolute necessity of seeking refuge and protection in France alone? The Cisalpine republic, although acknowledged by the Emperor at the treaty of Campo Formio, never could succeed to get its ambassador received at Vienna. It continued to be treated by that prince, as if the treaty of Campo Formio had

never existed at that time. Doubtless, as the general peace was not concluded, the court of Vienna looked upon its treaty as a truce: but, now that a general peace is made, if those powers were to remain uncertain of seeing their independence acknowledged, they would fear being again treated in that flighting manner which they have already experienced, and would feel the necessity of connecting themselves more closely with the French people. The same principle which induced France to abandon three fourths of the conquests she had made, has dictated to the first consul, the part of not intermeddling in the affairs of those small powers, more than is necessary to re-establish order, and to found some stable organization. Must his moderation then have to conflict (we speak frankly) with the false and badly combined measures of other powers; or is the peace to be only considered as a truce? Afflicting prospect! Discouraging to all good men, but which must infallibly be productive of consequences which cannot be calculated.

The documents from which these extracts are derived, were published by the French government, and are evidently defective in many particulars, but from the terms used in this conference, it is evident that much displeasure had prevailed between the negotiating parties. France felt the additional importance derived from the recent transactions at Lyons, and her ruler probably wished to try the effect of a decisive tone in swaying the British government to his own will. Perhaps he believed that which was asserted in some speeches

in



in parliament, and in many writings, that the ministry, incapable of retaining their seats, or of acquiring popularity by other means, were reduced to the necessity of submitting to any terms in negotiating, and that the language to be used, need no longer be restricted by the forms of respect. For this belief, however, the conduct of government afforded no foundation. The language of ministers in parliament, though free from boasting, was firm, and full of manly confidence. The military and naval appointments, had been kept up to the war establishment, and while the negotiation was protracted by a very long and minute discussion, partly on the points already noticed, but chiefly with regard to Malta, the ministry shewed their resolution to embrace with resolution the alternative of war, rather than submit to degradation in concluding a peace, by detaching part of the grand fleet on a cruize, equipping squadrons for the West Indies and the Mediterranean, and making the most active preparations throughout the naval department, for asserting and enforcing the just claims of the country.

These preparations were rendered useless by the progress of the treaty. The future state of Malta had, from the beginning been the source of the greatest difficulty. It would be tedious to repeat all the proposals which were made for securing its independence, for placing it under the guarantee of different disinterested powers, for altering the constitution of the order, and for intrusting the fortifications to the care of Foreign

troops. On each of these points much ingenuity was displayed, the discussions were so long protracted, that many persons doubted whether the peace would take place. At length, however, all the articles were satisfactorily adjusted, and the compact received the signature of all parties. In the course of the negotiation, the ministers of Holland and Spain do not seem to have taken a prominent part, but the Marquis Cornwallis acknowledged their good temper and moderation on the occasions in which they were consulted.

The chief particulars in which the definitive treaty varied or explained the articles in the preliminary treaty, were as follow.

I. Concerning prisoners, it was, after much discussion, agreed, that all prisoners made on one side and the other, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried off or delivered up during the war, should be restored without ransom, in six weeks, at the latest, from the day when the ratifications of the treaty should be exchanged, and, on paying the debts which they should have contracted during their captivity. Each of the contracting parties respectively to discharge the advances made by any of the contracting parties, for the support and maintenance of prisoners, in the countries where they had been detained. There was to be appointed, by mutual consent, for this purpose, a commission, especially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensation.

II. The integrity of Portugal, as before the war, was expressly conceded, except that France



should retain all possessions on the northern bank of the river. Arowary from its mouth to its source; the navigation in all parts, being declared common to both nations.

III. The stipulations with regard to Malta were in these terms. The islands of Malta, Gezo, and Comino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The Knights of the Order, whose *Langues* shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the Ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a Grand Master, chosen from among the natives of those nations which are to preserve their *Langues*, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries.

It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch, shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French republic, and of Great Britain, desiring to place the order and island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to themselves, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or an English *Langue*; and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of these powers shall be admitted into the order.

3. There shall be established a Maltese *Langue*, which shall be

supported by the territorial revenues, and commercial duties of the island. This *Langue* shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment and a mansion house. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of this *Langue*; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the knights of the other *Langues*. At least *half* of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gezo, and Comino.

4. The forces of His Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island, and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the Ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the order in its present state, provided the Grand Master, or Commissaries, fully authorized according to the statutes of the order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by His Sicilian Majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garrison, at least, shall be always composed of native Maltese; for the remainder, the order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the *Langues*. The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The commandership in chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall pertain to the Grand Master, and this right he cannot resign even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

6. The



6. The independence of the isles of Malta, of Gezo and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great-Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is hereby proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be opened to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties: these duties shall be applied to the maintenance of the Maltese *Langue*, as specified in paragraph three, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general Lazaret, open to all colours.

9. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities, which subsists between the states of Barbary, and the order of St. John, or the powers possessing the *Langues*, or concurring in the composition of the order shall have ceased.

10. The order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes, which were in force, when the knights left the isle, as far as the present treaty does not abrogate them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the order, in the customary manner; and the Grand Master, or, if he shall not

be in the island at the time of its restoration to the order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his states, to serve as a garrison in the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers to garrison the island and its dependencies, as is specified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13. The different powers designated in the 6th paragraph, to wit, France, Great-Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

The doubts which had prevailed respecting the final accomplishment of the treaty, occasioned the news of its completion to be received with the greater demonstrations of Joy. It was proclaimed with due solemnity in the cities of London and Westminster, and on the occasion, a splendid illumination took place in all parts of the British metropolis; the house of M. Otto, the French minister, making a most conspicuous figure. There was a solemn thanksgiving in all the churches; the city of London and other corporate bodies presented addresses of congratulation, and the general joy was not less than on the arrival of the preliminaries.



## C H A P. XI.

*Systematic attack on the definitive treaty, by motions previous to the general discussion. Lord Grenville's demand of papers respecting logwood and mahogany. Question by Mr. Eliott respecting former treaties, and the claims of France in India. The definitive treaty laid on the table in both Houses; notice of motion respecting it by Lord Grenville; observations of Lord Auckland on the renewal of former treaties; day fixed for a motion. Mr. Windham gives notice of a motion similar to that of Lord Grenville. He moves to postpone the general consideration of the definitive treaty; his speech; answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who moves an amendment; is supported by Mr. Pitt; the amendment carried. Similar motion by Lord Grenville; Lord Pelham moves an amendment; observations of Lord Thurlow, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Lord Chancellor; the amendment carried. Motion of the Earl of Carlisle respecting the Prince of Orange; observations of the Marquis Cornwallis; Lord Pelham; Lord Auckland. The motion withdrawn. Mr. Elliott's motion for papers; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Dr. Laurence; papers granted. Earl Temple moves for some papers relative to Malta; asks for a copy of the treaty of Luneville; observations of Mr. Pitt; the statutes of the order of Malta also demanded and refused. Motion by Earl Spencer respecting Malta; observations of Lord Hobart; motion agreed to. Motion of Lord Holland respecting Portugal; papers refused. Motion of Lord Minto respecting the Italian republic and the isle of Elba; answer of Lord Pelham; motion rejected. Motion of General Gascoyne on British property in the restored settlements; rejected, with several others. Motion of Dr. Laurence on India; answer of Mr. Dundas; motion rejected.*

**I**F the preliminaries of peace were investigated in parliament with great severity, the definitive treaty was subjected to a scrutiny not less strict, and in which the parties hostile to government displayed the union, form, and consistency of a regular opposition. Their operations against the ministry were skilfully conceived, and unremittingly pursued; the motions in both houses being frequently correspondent, and the appeal to the nation by the publication of the speeches constant and energetic.

The first attack was made by Lord Grenville, who inquired when the treaty would be laid on the table: hoped ministers would not press for a speedy decision on it, as it involved considerations of the first magnitude, and numerous details of the utmost importance: as not only the interests of the British empire in Europe were deeply affected, but her colonial, and particularly her Indian possessions. He hoped also, that the necessary documents would be laid before the house; and proposed, at some future day, to move for a paper

8th  
April.



paper setting forth the quantity of logwood and mahogany imported from the bay of Honduras into Great Britain and her colonies, from 1786 to the present period.

Lord Pelham, in answer, pointed out the time when the treaty would probably be before the house; and observed, that as all proper documents would undoubtedly be produced, there would probably be no objection to affording that which had been specified.

In a week afterwards, 15th April. Mr. Eliott, in the house of commons, required to know when the definitive treaty would be presented to the consideration of parliament, mixing his interrogation with various remarks on the necessity of renewing former compacts, and the claims of France in India, which were often interrupted by cries of order. The chancellor of the exchequer, in answer, promised as early a communication as possible, but disapproved the irregular introduction of topics which were involved in the consideration of the treaty.

The treaty, when ratified, was laid on the 29th April. table in both houses the same day. Lord Grenville gave notice, that, on the 4th of the following month, he should move a day for taking it into consideration.

Lord Auckland was anxious that a point connected with the treaty, namely, how far ancient treaties which this country had engaged in with different foreign powers, would, or would not, be affected by their non-renewal in the present or any treaty of pacification, should be fully discussed. He had particularly in contemplation the con-

vention of 1787. What had already passed in that House, on the subject of the non-renewal of ancient treaties in the preliminary articles, made the discussion to which he had endeavoured to call the attention of their lordships absolutely necessary. Every word which dropped from Lord Grenville was sure to make a deep impression, not only in that house, and throughout the kingdom, but throughout Europe. In proof of this, he cited a late publication of a supposed speech of Lord Grenville in the French official paper, which, although a vile misrepresentation of his lordship's argument, would shew in what manner his sentiments on such subjects were treated, the eager attention to his opinions, and the use made of them.

Lord Grenville, although he admitted the importance of the subject, and did not doubt that his lordship would give the house much valuable information, would not consent to postpone his own motion, as he could not do it without much inconvenience to himself and friends. As to the French official paper, it had been his fate for the last ten years never to have looked into a Paris paper, without finding that every report of his sentiments delivered in that house was a misrepresentation. He had not seen the Paris paper in question, nor should he think worth while to refer to it.

Lord Auckland then fixed his motion two days later than that mentioned by Lord Grenville; and Lord Hobart observed he had no objection to a full discussion of the definitive treaty, but would assert that if the French should advance any undue pretensions, they would



be founded on the arguments of Lord Grenville.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Windham gave notice that on the day preceding that which was appointed by Lord Grenville, he should shortly state the reasons on which he would feel it his duty to move, that the definitive treaty be taken into consideration on a future day.

3d May. In pursuance of his notice, Mr. Windham addressed the House; and, in vindication of the regularity of his proceeding, denied that the opinion expressed by parliament on the merits of the preliminaries, could at all operate to preclude them from pronouncing a contrary judgment on the definitive treaty: the question was still fairly open, and, on different grounds, a different judgment might yet be formed. Nor did he think it fit that the whole subject should be taken up in its full extent, and brought before the House in a comprehensive and connected view. It was of too much magnitude and complexity to be thus crowded into a single debate, and precipitately dispatched in a sweeping way, without a full investigation, on which to ground a mature and sound judgment. What he had now to offer he should consider as the opening speech of a counsel, reserving to himself the right of observing afterwards on such points of evidence as might be adduced.

The topics on which he now intended to touch might be reduced to four heads; First, those objects which, though they assisted at the time of the preliminary treaty, were not known by the House. Secondly, what had happened since

the conclusion of the preliminaries. Thirdly, whether the principles of the preliminaries had been departed from;—and fourthly, what were the points in the definitive treaty which did not exist in the preliminaries?

Under the first might be ranged the cession of Elba, the boundaries of French Guiana, and the cession of Louisiana. The possession of Elba by France he should now only consider under two points of view; its importance, and the circumstances which produced it. When the House duly considered the nature of its situation, the opportunities of its harbour, and the impregnable strength of its fortrefs, they might form some opinion of its importance; with which, if they were not struck before, it was only because the immensity of surrounding objects destroyed its effect. As to the manner in which it was given, the whole transaction was so involved in folds and doubles, and chicanery, that it was with much difficulty it could be understood. By the treaty of Luneville, it was expressly stipulated that Porto Ferrajo should remain to the Duchy of Tuscany, but the French had recourse to the art in which they had lately shewn themselves so expert, the art of transforming governments. A prince of the house of Spain then ruled over the Duchy; but in this, as in the game of chess, what was a knight or a pawn might be now a king. That Porto Ferrajo should remain attached to the Duchy, was the idea entertained by England at the time of signing the preliminaries; but after that period it comes into the hands of the French, and what advantage might it not prove to



them against England in a future war, or to favour their designs upon Naples?

Their conduct respecting the boundaries of French Guiana was equally marked with ill faith. These boundaries were an object of great anxiety with the Portuguese ever since the treaty of Utrecht. Ministers had taken great credit to themselves for inducing the French to recede from some of their pretensions; but it was not easy to discover in what did the boundaries they had last fixed differ from the former, unless it were in surrendering a few leagues of a wilderness, while the French took care to keep such a position as secured them the command of the river Amazon. Good faith required that they should go back to their first boundaries, and in refusing to do so, they were guilty of a direct fraud; changing one boundary for another was only substituting one fraud for another.

The cession of Louisiana, he observed, opened to his imagination a dreadful scene, when he endeavoured to conjecture the consequences that might ensue. It gave France an establishment on the new continent. What a prospect for North America! and what a present had we made them! They must now see their destruction at hand, nor would their rage be so much pointed against the French, as against those who contributed to bring such foes amongst them. South America too had similar evils to apprehend. From a consideration of this head, it must appear that many points which existed at the time of the preliminary treaty were not known to the House when they passed an opinion upon it; and that they loudly called for a revision.

Under the second head, he should first consider the creation of the Italian republic; and next, the armament sent out to the French West Indies.

With regard to the former, he was not afraid to say that it was introducing a change in the political system of Europe, which would have furnished a just ground of war, even in times of perfect tranquillity. Was the house prepared to see such a change effected, and that by one of the contracting parties interested in it, at the very period between the conclusion of the preliminaries and the signing of the definitive treaty, without even requiring any explanation; if so, our spirit must be broken and subdued indeed! How must Austria view it? Where now was her protecting barrier? Was it not converted into the means of annoying her? As to the other point, it did not bear so closely on the treaty, but it was a measure of infinite importance, and must hereafter be a subject of serious inquiry. He should now consider it only as establishing the French power in that quarter at an earlier period than it otherwise could be, if indeed it was to be established at all. The position of that armament in the West Indies had given us cause to fear for the security of our power and property, and changed our relative situation from what it was at the signing of the preliminaries.

The next head he had to consider was, the material points of difference between the two treaties. The first, less important as to its objects than in its consequences, was that which related to prisoners: a large debt was due for their



their maintenance in this country. Was that debt to be paid? Yes. But how? Why it was said that an island was mortgaged for it. Where was the faith to bind this engagement? Might not the performance be put off *ad Græcus Calendas*? He could view the transaction only as a plausible mode of getting rid of the debt. But we were not only to pay for French prisoners, but for the foreign troops in the service of the contracting parties. Were we not to pay for clothing and arming the Russians? They were armed and clothed by France, to hold out a lure and a bait to bias the mind of the Emperor of Russia! which, from the weakness under which it then laboured, was likely to be caught by the semblance of kindness; and was it not the object of that kindness not only to seduce that sovereign from our alliance, but to turn against us those very troops for whose clothing and arming we might be now doomed to pay? Could any nation be put in a more ridiculous situation? Could any thing more effectually tend to degrade us in the eyes of those by whom we were once respected? It was not the sum of money we should be anxious about, but the effect which such a manner of being duped out of it must produce.

The next point was the situation of Malta. The stipulation stated that it should not belong either to France or England; but be restored to the order, and that order made independent under the guarantee of a third power. At the signing of the preliminaries, it was understood that Prussia would be that power; if that condition was to be changed, why not have insisted

upon something correspondent with the object it had in view? but no, all was hocus pocus; a confusion of tongues; the result of which was, that we had been ousted, and France put really in possession of Malta. If Malta was invested in an independent order, he should ask, were the revenues of that order equal to their expenditure? The amount of its commercial and territorial revenue did not exceed £30,000, out of that sum were to be found a provision for the grand master, supplies for some charitable establishments, and the means of providing the island with grain; but for a garrison, works, &c. &c. there was no provision at all. The means of that provision were not possessed by the order; they existed in different countries—what was placed in France had been confiscated, some existed in Spain, and some in the new Italian republic; some also in Bavaria; but all had already undergone, or must shortly undergo the same fate as in France. Here then was an independent order, with no more ample revenues than £30,000. Four-fifths of their property were confiscated; could what remained support even the disgraceful constitution that had been raised after the worst models, and out of the principles of the French democratical order? Though the knights were not Frenchmen, would they not be subjects of the French government, or under its immediate influence? Who would protect them against France? Was not their garrison, though Neapolitan, virtually French? Why then was the island permitted to remain in such hands, or why had no provision been made to prevent its falling into hands on whom no reliance could be placed? The plain



construction of the article was, that we must evacuate Malta at the end of three months, and this article was peremptory. To these remarks Mr. Windham added some on the neutrality of Malta, proving it would be beneficial to France and her allies, and injurious to England alone.

In wording the article respecting the Cape of Good Hope, the French, he observed, had, as usual, shewn themselves great masters of phraseology. In the preliminaries it was stated, that all ships belonging to the contracting parties should be admitted, and that the Cape should be given over to Holland in full sovereignty. Would this sovereignty prevent Holland from giving up the Cape to France? When we saw the same word used with regard to Tuscany, when it was governed by the infant duke of Parma, it should not be considered as an idle word.

Under the fourth head, he had to consider points that made no part of the definitive treaty. He should first advert to what he conceived to be most alarming, namely, that the conclusion of this treaty offered the first instance of not taking in the renewal of former treaties. It opened a wide field for conjecture. It might be said of it, that we might gain as much as we could lose by it; but how it could happen that we could gain more he was not able to see. Were we to renounce all continental connexions, or were we not to consider whether the disadvantages attending them outweighed the advantages? Could we forget that the object and spirit of all these treaties was to keep down the ambition of France, and to hold out protection to other powers? The

treaties of 1783 and 1787, the two great epochs of our rights in India, were given up. By the treaty of 1783 we put a guard upon our right; yet such was the force with which the French preferred their claims, that a ship was sunk in the Ganges, and we were on the point of hostilities when the convention of 1787 took place. "We are now" Mr. Windham observed, "in that situation in which an attorney might say to his client, you have a good right of action, go to law; but if I had a security in my hands, confirming my right and removing my adversary's, I should not be well advised were I to break off the seal and throw it in the fire, that I might afterwards go to trial, where the arbitrator is the sword, and the court a field of battle. We are now left to our right of action, and, perhaps, the first news from India will be the notice for going to trial."

To these Mr. Windham added some reflections on the uncertainty in which the privilege of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras was left by the treaty, and, in sentiments similar to those he uttered in treating on the preliminaries, reprobated our desertion of our allies, particularly the Prince of Orange and the King of Sardinia. "When we talk," he said, "of all the territories and acquisitions which we have surrendered, we are told of those wonder-working things, credit and capital. I wish we could transfer the word credit from the Exchange to credit of another kind, to a high sense of honour, to national spirit, and immunity from insult; but of all these qualities that made us great, we are now divesting ourselves, as if they were *functi officio*, and their sole



sole object was to procure us money. France may have ill-treated other powers under her protection, but she has shewn that she will not suffer another to abuse them. The dog, though beaten by his master, will fly forward in his defence; and we know that powers, though crouching under France, will be bold and vigorous in her cause, that they will fight like Janissaries in the pay of their master. That power which never spares an enemy, and always gives protection to those under it, will make all powers range upon its side."

On the subject of Malta he related, from a French paper, an extract, which, if translated, he would have read as part of his speech. There was this difference between himself and the writer; the one was exulting in France for precisely the same reasons for which the other was lamenting in England. In it, the writer talked of Malta as of a place that, by the terms of treaty, "must eventually belong to France," and reasoned upon several other points in terms equally disadvantageous to England. The necessary information upon all these points was only to be had from papers, of which there were none on the table: without such documents, the real case could not be known. The country was beginning to suspect that the cordial draught of peace contained something very deleterious, and that some antidote should be discovered to counteract it; if the stomach could not get rid of it, it would at least be right to analyze what remained in the cup, and endeavour to discover from the analysis some indication of a cure. He moved that the House would,

on the 8th of May, take into consideration the definitive treaty concluded at Amiens.

Mr. Elliot having seconded the motion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer assured the House that he felt great satisfaction at the motion now made, because it afforded ministers an opportunity of entering into an explanation, which otherwise they could not have claimed, and which, he trusted, would be accompanied by a complete justification of their conduct during the late negotiation at Amiens. It was not his intention to enter into all the points proposed by his right honourable friend; he should only touch some of them slightly, reserving the more ample discussion for a future day.

The cession of Porto Ferrajo was not an act done by his majesty's ministers—it was a surrender by the King of Etruria; a concession made by a sovereign power, fully competent. His right honourable friend had laid some stress on the French territory in Guiana. On this subject he should refer to a conversation which took place in the House respecting the treaty of Badajos and that of Madrid; it was then stated that the French territory in this part of the globe was to be limited by the treaty of Madrid, and not by that of Badajos. Many members had insisted that the treaty of Badajos was much more favourable to Portugal than the other, and the Portuguese government most explicitly declared they should think themselves too fortunate, if we could be instrumental in procuring for them the terms specified, and having the boundaries fixed as there stipulated. The French had not insisted



insisted on the treaty of Madrid for the mere purpose of making a merit of giving it up; but ministers had made an express stipulation that the limits of the French possessions in Guiana should be as agreed upon by the treaty of Badajos, but the European boundary be fixed by the treaty of Madrid. As to America, both North and South, he contended, that if the French had not their present extent of territory there, yet, if St. Domingo were tranquil, and affairs at rest with them in that quarter, they could, by a large military force, become formidable to either, provided the subjects of these states were disposed to offer no resistance, and provided Great Britain and the rest of the European powers were to be indifferent spectators of the scene. Certainly the acquisition of Louisiana was very important to France, and would be viewed with regret by those who wished her dominion limited, but it afforded no conclusive argument that the possession would give to France the power Mr. Windham had stated over that part of the globe.

On the affairs of the Italian republic, and the armament to St. Domingo, Mr. Addington observed that the first could not be otherwise than regarded with anxiety by those who thought the power of France too great, or who felt, as men must feel, for the independence of the rest of Europe; but was it meant to say that a renewal of the war would have been proper on account of these objects: Perhaps some of the occurrences between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty would, at any other time, have roused all Europe; but, on

the present occasion, all Europe sat still. The different states did not appear to be alarmed, but sanctioned those very proceedings, and by so doing, justified his majesty's ministers for not making these points a plea for the rupture of the negotiation. As to the armament for St. Domingo; considering the whole matter with all the circumstances that belonged to it, he would ask every intelligent unbiassed man in this country, if it was really matter of regret to us? Looking at the state of the West India islands, whether in a national view, or on the narrower field of individual interest, it would be manifest that the usurpation of the black government was most formidable to the safety of those possessions, and ministers could not have been justified had they prevented the sailing of the armament.

He vindicated the payment of the expences of the Russian prisoners; affirming it to be perfectly proper that those troops which were in the pay and service, and under the direction, controul, and management of the British government, should, in this case, be considered in all respects as our own.

As to Malta, he doubted whether the arrangement respecting it was not in the contemplation of the late administration; but he had the satisfaction to know that the Maltese themselves expressed sentiments of satisfaction and gratitude to Great Britain for the terms procured them.

After some explanations of the term sovereignty, as applied in the article respecting the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Addington proceeded to notice what was considered an omission



omission in the treaty, the not renewing of former compacts. If this principle was erroneous, it was so without any plea or excuse on the part of government; for it was not accidentally but advisedly so settled. It had been industriously but untruly circulated, that a proposition was made by government on this subject, but rejected by France, and that we submitted our wish to their determination: no such proposition was brought forward by either party. On the treaties of 1783 and 1787, he requested the House to abstain from forming a final opinion, until they should have a clear view of the matter, and ministers be enabled to justify themselves. In the Bay of Honduras, we had for a long series of years, by an established practice, intitled ourselves to valuable privileges, which we had exercised uninterrupted and undisputed even by France, during war, as well as enjoyed during peace; a proof that no claim ever could be made against us.

The Prince of Orange was not named in the treaty by that title, because it had not been allowed him by any government in France since the Revolution, by which the head of that illustrious house had been placed on the throne of Great Britain. The terms obtained for him were certainly not so favourable as could have been wished; but the treaty stipulated an adequate compensation; for it said, that for losses suffered as well in private property, as by the change of constitution, a fair compensation should be procured for the House of Nassau.

Having made some general remarks on the sense in which the terms credit and confidence were to

be understood, Mr. Addington objected to Mr. Windham's motion, merely on account of the distance of the day, and moved, that the 12th should be substituted for the 18th.

The debate which ensued was chiefly confined to the question which of the two days proposed was preferable; Mr. Thomas Grenville insisting that the longer term was necessary to afford opportunity for a fair discussion and comparing ministers to school boys, who were anxious to swallow any thing disagreeable at one draught, while Lord Hawkesbury contended that all the facts alluded to in the speech of Mr. Windham had been so long known that no member could be at a loss what papers to demand or what motions to offer. Mr. Pitt, on the same grounds, appeared to consider the earliest day sufficiently distant. Of the treaties which had been alluded to, some could not, in point of form, be laid on the table; and it could not be supposed that it would be proper to produce to the House, the treaties of Westphalia, Ryswick, Utrecht, &c. If gentlemen had not looked at and considered all those treaties already, certainly neither a week nor a fortnight would be sufficient to prepare them for the discussion of this question. But in order to ascertain the state of Europe immediately previous to, during, and since the war, the only information that could be given, must be in the discussion of the treaty. With respect to India, when that grand question should come under consideration, it would be found that there was not only no ground for solid, but no pretence even for contentious argument, or plausible cavil; and, therefore, after what he had heard stated, he could

not



not but count the moments till the subject could be investigated; an impartial discussion would remove all the uneasiness from the public mind, and prove that there existed a determination in peace to maintain those rights, which we secured and strengthened by war.

The amendment was carried.

On the following day, May 4. Lord Grenville delivered a long and argumentative speech against the peace; concluding with a motion, that the definitive treaty should be taken into consideration on the 14th.

His lordship first vindicated the propriety of discussing a definitive treaty, even after the preliminaries had been approved by parliament, and then, in the same sense as in his speech on the preliminary treaty, arraigned the conduct of government toward Portugal and the Prince of Orange. We had compelled Portugal to abrogate the Methuen treaty, so very valuable to us in a commercial view, and for which we once thought no risk, no sacrifice, could be too great. The only notice taken of the Prince of Orange was, as a branch of the house of Nassau established in the *ci-devant* republic of the united provinces! “Good God! a branch of the house of Nassau established in the *ci-devant* republic of the united provinces!—when we know that the republic of the united provinces was established by them, by their exertions, their valour, their patriotism, and their perseverance. Yet even so, let us consider the compensations they are to receive on that footing. The house of Orange possessed landed property to the amount of 100,000*l.* annually, and their personal pro-

perty, composed of a variety of descriptions, was immense. The whole had been seized and confiscated by the Batavian Republic; and, for what?—For serving us—for attaching themselves to our interests—for seriously entering into the views of this country, and identifying themselves with its cause! for admitting British troops into their colonies, which were to be held in trust for the lawful government! Under considerations so irresistible, in regard to good faith, and national honour, we should have done more than demand compensations and indemnities for that house. We should have insisted upon complete restitution of all that had been forfeited in support of our own cause.

The Cape of Good Hope, his Lordship observed, was, in the preliminary articles to be established as a free port, open to the trade of all nations. The full sovereignty given to the Batavian republic over the Cape, completely destroyed this regulation; and if the neutrality to be maintained there were urged, he might ask, what provision had been made for this neutrality? Should six ships only be stationed there in time of war, so very important was the situation of the Cape, they would put this country to the expence of twenty-four more ships for the protection of our India trade.

“When I consider the alteration,” he proceeded, “which has taken place in the definitive treaty respecting Malta, I find the objections I had to urge, anticipated by political statements in a French paper, which appears to rest upon the authority of government. The writer of these political reflections  
does



does not scruple to argue, and to argue truly, that “the definitive treaty is more advantageous, more glorious to France than the preliminaries.” So says Bonaparte, and so say I, though a very humble follower of Bonaparte. The article is not, I admit, absolutely official, but it is in fact the same, and should be so considered. It has certainly been submitted to the inspection and sanction of government, for I am confident that no one in France would dare to employ his newly acquired liberty in publishing reflections of a political nature without the express and avowed consent of government. Upon the subject of Malta, as settled by the definitive treaty, the reasoning of the writer is no less remarkable than it is convincing. He says,—“In the conditions relative to Malta, that important fortress, which the friends of England had so often assigned to her, every thing is favourable to France both in the provisional regulations, and the definitive arrangements. As long as the island is Neapolitan, it will be French; and to make it cease to be so, will require the concurrence of all the great powers. If at one day the Maltese Language should become dominant, the position, the wants, the temper, the nature of that language, would bring it under the influence of the French government.”

“From this strain of reasoning,” said Lord Grenville, “few men will, I think, venture to differ. Every point which France could desire has been secured to her, and Malta is without even a British guarantee. With respect to its being garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, the precaution is too con-

temptible to be treated seriously. In the course of forty-eight hours, the French troops may march and take possession of Naples, and what advantage can his Neapolitan Majesty derive from sending his troops to Malta, but incurring an idle expence, and weakening his own power at home: The independence of Malta is, under every point of view, a chimera; and the order, as it is at present revived, is at once a combination of aristocracy and democracy, of ancient opinions and new ideas; of chivalry and philosophy.”

Lord Grenville then noticed some points of minor importance; some deficiencies with respect to British subjects in the islands restored to France; the payment for the maintenance of the Russian prisoners; and the omission to renew former treaties. On this latter point too, he quoted to the disadvantage of the British ministers, the exultation of the French journalist. The new system of public law thus introduced into Europe, his lordship contended, was portentous of infinite injury to Great Britain, not only in her commercial concerns and in Europe, but particularly in India, and this opinion, which he argued at great length, and with great profoundness, he enforced by the following extract from the French essay already alluded to. “The treaty of Amiens removes all irregularity, all oppression, all restraint. The old law is destroyed; a new public law commences. The French and their allies have gained their naval independence: they will have the sense to make use of it; they will not fall into the snare of a new treaty of commerce; and they may one day



day have their act of navigation!" —Did noble lords consider the last words of this extract? "and they may one day have their act of navigation!" —Did not the intelligent language of these sentiments strike their lordships most forcibly? What was the inference?—The downfall of our naval superiority; strike the British flag, lower its dignity, debase its pre-eminence, and the greatness of the British name and nation were gone for ever.

Having then noticed some points of a subordinate, but not unimportant nature, in which the omission of renewing our ancient treaties would materially affect us, his lordship concluded his harangue, which occupied two hours and a half, with a quotation from the last speech delivered by that patriotic prince William III. to parliament, on the 30th of December, 1701. That monarch treated the owning and setting up of the Pretender by Louis XIV. not only as a high indignity to himself and the whole nation, but as nearly concerning every man, who had a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of the country. The British sovereign also resented the placing the grandson of Louis on the throne of Spain, which must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to her trade, which would soon become precarious in all its valuable branches. "In order to obviate the general calamity," his Majesty said, "with which the rest of christendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given me by

both houses of parliament." And, he added, "if you do, in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your right improving the present opportunity."

To this speech no detailed answer was given, but some points were occasionally noticed and explained. With regard to the non-renewal of the several treaties existing with foreign countries before the commencement of the war, Lord Pelham said, he was ready to admit that the definitive treaty would have given him more pleasure, if it had contained a stipulation to that effect: but ministers had made as good conditions as they were able to obtain, under the situation and circumstances of the contracting powers; and, inadequate as the terms might, in some instances, be held to be, he flattered himself, if it were possible collectively to take the sense of the people upon the peace, such as it was, they would rather have it than continue the war. He had been somewhat disappointed, in not having heard from the noble lord one single argument to convince the House of the necessity for taking the definitive treaty into consideration. He vindicated the conduct pursued by government with respect to Portugal; on the subject of the House of Orange, he was also disappointed respecting the arrangement finally concluded; most undoubtedly it had been stated when the preliminaries were under consideration, that there were hopes of obtaining for the Prince of Orange such a compensation as would be intirely satisfactory to



that unfortunate and illustrious personage, but although they had not been able to succeed in that, they had prevailed so far as to induce the French to make a public acknowledgement that the House of Orange had suffered losses in what was now termed the Batavian republic, and to declare that an adequate compensation should be procured. Lord Pelham also made some observations in answer to those of Lord Grenville on the Cape, the new public law of Europe, the Russian prisoners, and the guaranty of Malta, and in conclusion moved, that, instead of the day already proposed, the 12th, the day fixed by the House of Commons, should be assigned for the discussion.

This amendment was agreed to, after a debate in the course of which Lord Thurlow censured the proceeding of Lord Grenville as irregular. His notice imported that he should move to fix a future day for taking the definitive treaty into consideration, and he ought to have confined himself to that alone, without entering so largely into the subject in detail. He would observe that all subsisting treaties were at an end as soon as a war was commenced with those who are parties to them. It behoved those, therefore, who plunged the country into the war, not to have set the treaties loose; it by no means followed that ancient treaties were necessarily to be revived and renewed in every treaty of peace; that must depend on the will of the contracting parties; but this only, so far as the treaties did not affect the laws of nations, those laws remained as they did before.

The Earl of Carlisle enforced the arguments of Lord Grenville, and

said, if ministers had looked France in the face at the time of the negotiation, and said they would not come to terms, unless these necessary points were settled; the House would not at that time have been debating on the merits of the definitive treaty.

The Lord Chancellor said, that if by omitting the mention of former treaties, they were all to be considered as abrogated, and the public law of Europe thus altered, he had no difficulty in stating that an address should be voted to his majesty, praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his presence and councils for ever. But he trusted the fact was far otherwise, and the conduct of ministers deserved no such censure. He should not at present answer Lord Grenville, doubting whether his speech had been in order.

On a subsequent day, May 5. the Earl of Carlisle, having caused the House to be summoned, introduced a motion respecting the Prince of Orange, by declaring, that in his present proceeding, he had no other motive than a sense of public duty. This apology he felt it necessary to make, as he had been the first of their lordships who, almost singly, stated his objections to the formation of the present administration. For many individuals in office he entertained the highest respect and esteem; for some, he felt a sincere regard and affection. He knew that several possessed great and useful talents; but he had always feared, and was now convinced, that the experiment of a negotiation was too great to be essayed by inexperienced and untried men. His lordship then repeated many



of the statements of the preceding day respecting the amount of the property possessed by the Prince of Orange, and the cause of its confiscation, and affirmed, that under such circumstances, it was incumbent on this country not to lose a moment in endeavouring to set on foot some means of enforcing the due execution of the 18th article of the definitive treaty, that an adequate compensation should be procured for the losses suffered by, what is there contemptuously denominated a branch of the House of Nassau; as if the prince was not considered as the head of that House. The wording of the article was extremely defective, and what security could this country imagine it held out for a compensation to the Prince of Orange, when it was coupled with the alarming and extraordinary, though well-known fact, that two of the contracting parties, Holland and France, the very moment after the English ambassador had affixed his name to the definitive treaty, retired to a corner under the same roof, and signed a convention, containing a declaration on the part of Holland, that she was not to be called upon for any compensation, and a guarantee of that declaration on the part of France, both parties at the time solemnly executing that convention, as their explanation of the meaning of the 18th article of the definitive treaty? From what quarter was the proposed compensation to proceed? it could not be expected, either from the German States or from Spain; and he contended that the unhappy prince was reduced to the situation of a pensioner. This country, he said, had taken several places in trust for

him, and yet, in his mind, to use a coarse expression, we had been guilty of little short of swindling, for ministers went to market with these very places in order to obtain peace. He therefore moved an address, praying that there might be laid before the House, copies of a separate convention concluded at Amiens between any parties, in explanation of the 18th article of the definitive treaty of peace.

The Marquis Cornwallis said, he could not conceive there was any ground to suspect that the 18th article of the definitive treaty would not be solemnly fulfilled. Neither could he conceive that a separate agreement, entered into by two of the contracting parties to the definitive treaty by themselves, as it were in their closet, without the concurrence or consent of the others, could be considered as affecting the due execution of a treaty, for which the good faith of all the four was pledged. He disdained the imputation of having deserted, or suffered the interests of the Prince of Orange and his adherents to be deserted; and he had not the smallest doubt, that a full and ample compensation would be procured for them.

Lord Pelham assured the Earl of Carlisle that the proposed address could answer no purpose, as no such communication as that referred to had ever been made to his Majesty's ministers, nor was he apprized from any official authority, that such a convention had been entered into.

The Earl of Carlisle, after some further observations, requested leave to withdraw his motion; on which a long desul-



tory conversation ensued, in which the principal speakers were the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, Marquis Cornwallis, Lords Pelham, Hobart, and Holland.

Lord Auckland, in the course of the debate, made some observations worthy of peculiar notice. From experience in treating with nations having adverse views and contradictory interests, he said, he well knew that such discussions were subject to great difficulties. A negotiator cannot in all cases obtain either the conditions or the expressions that his employers may wish. There must be complaisance and concession in some particulars, in order to obtain a similar complaisance in others. On this account, it was unfair to affix censure to detached and separate provisions, more especially in a treaty embracing such various and complicated interests. Subject to this distinction, he felt himself personally engaged in honour, and indeed, in honesty, to declare, that the article in question was not consonant to his sentiments either in substance or in diction. He was sorry the House of Orange was not described by its proper title; he also disliked the new phrase of *la ci-devant Republique*. Besides, there ought to have been some prescribed mode for ascertaining the losses to be compensated; some special fund should have been assigned for the purpose; and the immediate adherents of the House of Orange, who had been deprived of their property by their faithful support of our cause, had strong claims to our protection. Still however the article, even if it should be thought open to those criticisms, was of great importance, as establishing

in precise and definite terms that an adequate compensation should be made. And certainly the joint and solemn undertaking of four parties could not be weakened by the separate and clandestine transaction which had afterwards taken place between two of those parties. A defeasance so indecorous in its mode, and so unprincipled in its meaning, could not be considered as of any avail. His lordship then stated in an animated detail, the fidelity and sufferings of the House of Orange, adding that the compensation for lost property ought to be made by the Dutch, who had seized that property. It was under various descriptions of ancient estates in the Dutch provinces and in Brabant, salaries and appointments, marriage settlements by different powers and provinces, and also a large personal property. He had heard with pleasure the opinion of the Marquis Cornwallis, that the compensation would undoubtedly be given according to the stipulation. It was not an object of generosity, but of justice. The neglect of such an object would draw upon us the contempt of mankind, and the wrath of heaven.

The Earl of Carlisle's motion was withdrawn.

On the same day, Mr. May 5. William Elliott moving for papers relative to the treaty, made a speech of considerable length against the peace. The first paper he should require was the treaty of Badajos, by which the important town of Olivenza was ceded to Spain, and the integrity of Portugal most materially violated. His second motion should be for copies of any conventions or armistices concluded between Portugal



tugal and Spain during the year 1801, and communicated to the British government. It was to be feared that these contained many commercial stipulations highly detrimental to this country, and one of them was the basis of the treaty, by which a great part of Portuguese America was ceded. On this subject, he made many observations, applying to the merits of the treaty of Amiens, and recapitulated many of the arguments already used respecting the extension of the French territory in Guiana, contending that, sooner or later, France would seize Brazil and Peru. The words of the definitive treaty inflicted upon this country a needless indignity. It asserted the integrity of Portugal, and guaranteed its dismemberment. We held out our protection only to display our weakness. He should thirdly move for copies of any treaties entered into between Spain and France during the late negotiations for peace. This part of his subject also led the mover into a series of reflections on the ambition and bad faith of France, which extended to all parts of the globe. America was endangered by the cession of Louisiana, and could never be safe when France had conquered all Europe. On these subjects he imputed great blame to ministers. He had great respect for them as individuals, and would by no means say that they wished to impose upon the House. He believed they were ignorant themselves, but ignorance would not excuse them. Did they take the proper means to procure information? Did they peremptorily put the question? If France returned no answer, this was the greatest in-

dignity to the government and to the country. If France returned a false answer, this was a fraud, and in either case the negotiations ought to have been broken off. At any rate they were acquainted with the fact before the signature of the definitive treaty; and before they proceeded farther they were bound in honour to come again and ask for the opinion of the House.

Lord Hawkesbury affirmed, that the honourable gentleman had pursued a most unusual course, and desired him to state an instance in which any faction had pursued a more extraordinary line of conduct. The regular method had been for gentlemen to state an intention of bringing forward their motions on a certain day, and move, in the mean time, for such information as they might deem necessary, but to confine themselves to the necessity of the information required. In answer to the reflections thrown on the conduct of this country toward Portugal, his lordship made the following statement. Portugal asked assistance of this country at a period when it was not possible to afford it. Government thought it better to employ our forces in the recovery of Egypt than in the defence of Portugal, which country, under these circumstances, proposed an alternative, whether we would release her from her engagements, and allow her to conclude a separate treaty of peace, even to the exclusion of British vessels from her ports; or afford her pecuniary assistance. Government, unable to assist, released her from her engagements, and allowed her to conclude a separate peace; they went further; they allowed her to enter into stipulations so adverse to this country as



to exclude British shipping from her ports, and they proposed to Parliament a vote of subsidy to enable Portugal to make the best conditions she could. Under these circumstances, could any one state, that if Portugal had made her peace, this country was now called upon to endeavour to recover any of the possessions which Portugal might have ceded by that treaty? The papers required would be granted, except those which were not officially in the hands of government. Alluding to an observation made on the other side of the House, that British honour was tarnished, and the spirit of the people broken down: his lordship said, he was so far from assenting to the assertion, that there was no period in the history, not only of this country, but of the world, in which the honour of the British flag was higher, and the spirit of the people greater. In point of real commercial strength, there never was an hour in which the relative situation of Great Britain had a greater advantage over France. He need not say how far our naval glory, in this war, transcended every thing that ever went before it. He was ready to maintain, that we had extricated ourselves out of the contest in which we had been engaged, in a manner that manifested an adherence to perfect good faith, and proved that those who said our faith was deserted, the lustre of our flag tarnished, our character degraded, our spirit sunk, used a language completely unfounded, and the reverse of truth.

Dr. Laurence censured the speech of Lord Hawkesbury as unprecedented in the House. He and his honourable friends were denomi-

nated a faction, and the most unworthy motives were imputed to them. A custom had prevailed, for some years, of commencing offensive war from the treasury bench, the moment that any measure of government was questioned. A discussion on some points of order followed, in which Lord Hawkesbury, in explanation, denied that he had imputed factious motives to his honourable friends on the other side; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared, if he had, he should not have been able to concur with him.

All the papers which could properly be produced having been granted, Lord Hawkesbury, in answer to a question from Lord Temple, stated that no official information had yet reached him of the accession of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to guarantee the independence of Malta, but ministers had reason to believe that there was a disposition on the part of some of those powers to accede to the article in question.

The next day Earl May 6.  
Temple, after many observations on the state of Malta, moved for annual accounts of all territorial revenues and commercial duties received or collected in that island from the date of the surrender to his Majesty's arms. This request being acceded to, he demanded a copy of the treaty of Luneville. Against this proposition, not the ministers alone, but also Mr. Pitt, loudly protested. The treaty of Luneville, he observed, if it could be officially laid before the House, would not enable any person to form a more accurate judgment with regard to the definitive treaty. It was a compact not made



made in conjunction with this country, and therefore not officially communicated to our government. It was in no respect a British transaction. The ground upon which it was called for was not consistent with a fair, candid, and comprehensive discussion of the definitive treaty. If there ever was an occasion in which a contrary mode to that pursued by the noble lord and his friends, ought to be adopted, it was the present. Their object was to endeavour to hunt down, one by one, the separate stipulations of the treaty, and to take the opportunity of doing so, when the subject was not fully and regularly before the House. One day, on a mere motion for a preliminary information, it was said that one part of the treaty was disgraceful, and the next, that another part was inadmissible, although ministers had repeatedly said that the whole question would be considered together, not with reference to the treaty of Luneville only, but to the general situation of Italy. It would be more consistent with propriety to avoid making a motion for papers a vehicle for introducing a debate which was unparliamentary.

This motion being negatived, Earl Temple required a copy of the laws and statutes of the order of Malta; being answered by Lord Hawkesbury that government was not officially in possession of any such papers, Earl Temple replied, it was strange that ministers should be ignorant of that constitution which in common with other powers, they, in the definitive treaty, had expressly guaranteed. Lord Hawkesbury rejoined, denying that he said they were ignorant of the Maltese constitution,

but they had no official document on the subject. There were some changes to be made in that constitution, which would be the subject of future discussion. This motion was also negatived.

The pointed observations made by Mr. Pitt, May 7. did not prevent Earl Spencer on the following day from moving for an account of the amount of the territorial revenues and duties upon the commerce of Malta, since its surrender to his Majesty's arms. In support of this motion, he referred to the articles of the preliminary and definitive treaties, contending that the provision in the latter, respecting the languages, was calculated really, though not nominally, to give all power and authority to France. The treaty required that the knights of the order should form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand master from among the natives, and those nations which preserved languages. By a subsequent stipulation there should henceforth be no English nor French language. The English language had long ceased to exist, and nominally by this stipulation the French language was to be abolished; but would it in fact and effect be abolished? The remaining languages would be the three; of Provence, Auxerre, and another district in Lombardy. From the state of dependence on France in which those places stood, they were, to all intents and purposes, French. Spain had two languages, and who would say that the French could not influence and even dictate to Spain, in this as in every other respect? The Italian states had another language; could it be denied that the relationship which the Italian



lian Republic and the chief consul, as president of that Republic, stood in to each other, placed it beyond a doubt that the Italian Republic would be under the dominion of France. The remaining langue was the German one, and he did not mean to say that the German langue might not act independently, but what chance was there of securing the island of Malta in a state of independence, under such circumstances. It was, in fact, neither more nor less than leaving the island of Malta in the power of France. On the other articles applying to Malta, his lordship made observations equally forcible. The establishment of a Maltese langue, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island, with dignities, appointments, and an appropriate Auberge, and from whom no proofs of nobility should be necessary, he highly disapproved of as a revolutionary organization. The stipulation for evacuating the island and its dependencies by his Britannic Majesty, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, would make it fall immediately into the hands of the French, and it was not at all probable that the King of Naples should furnish two thousand men to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses on the island, when no resources were provided for their pay, clothing and subsistence; but even supposing the two thousand Neapolitans did garrison the fortresses, what sort of resistance could such a small number of Italian troops make to the force of the French Republic, or to the armed hordes that France might pour into the island? His lordship made many observations

on the importance of obtaining this island for Great Britain, and on the facility with which that object might have been effected. The guarantee of the six powers mentioned in the treaty was a complete illusion. If Russia refused to take the island under her immediate protection, it was difficult to see what interest she could have in acting as a guarantee. Austria might have some little interest, but, in her present situation, an efficient interposition on her part, was not to be expected; and Prussia could have no interest at all in the arrangement. Thus it appeared, that the only remaining guarantees, to whom it was of any importance, were France and Spain, whose interest was in direct opposition to that of this country; who would find various pretences, under the treaty, to throw troops into it; and who had every thing in their favour from local position to take advantage of such pretence.

Lord Hobart observed, with respect to Malta, that, as the noble lord had admitted it to be impregnable by blockade, we should not have succeeded if the Maltese had not themselves paved the way for the possession of the island, and therefore, it could not be impolitic to pay a marked attention to the native inhabitants, by creating a Maltese langue. As we won the island by force of arms, we had an indisputable right to arrange its government, and the noble Earl was mistaken with respect to the King of Naples, that monarch would both send and pay the two thousand men to garrison the fortresses. As to the additional expence which would be necessary to carry the article and its stipulations



tions into effect, Malta was hereafter to be encouraged to pursue commerce, it was most advantageously situated for such purposes, and then the revenue would increase beyond the power of correct calculation. He did not oppose the motion of Earl Spencer, but objected to the mode adopted as fallacious. No noble lord, who had hitherto offered a motion respecting any part of the treaty had required the House to decide on that particular point, they had merely asked for papers and information necessary to enable them to discuss the subject more completely, when it came to be considered altogether.

The motion was agreed to, but the papers were not produced, as Lord Hawkesbury, on a subsequent day declared in the House of Commons that there was no such account in any public office: he substituted, however, an account previous to the year 1798.

May 10. The next motion was made by Lord Holland, who avowed and defended the principle of assailing the various parts of the treaty before the day fixed for a general discussion. As that was fixed so early, he said, the interim could not be more usefully employed. Under this impression, he introduced to the attention of the House the case of the Queen of Portugal, repeating the observations so often made in both Houses, and moving for copies of all notes, or other official documents, which passed between government and the court of Portugal, relative to the treaty between France and Portugal in the year 1797, and also those which related to the treaty of Badajos.

Lord Pelham insisted that the

demand of such papers was improper, and Lord Grenville commended ministers for refusing them. His lordship also defended the ministry of which he had been a member against many imputations thrown on them by Lord Holland, and particularly with respect to the rupture of the treaty of El Arish. The motion was negatived.

Lord Minto then called the attention of the House to the two important points; the extraordinary circumstance of the First Consul of France having made himself sovereign of the greater part of Italy, during a negotiation for a general peace; and his obtaining the possession of the island of Elba from the Duke of Tuscany. His lordship said, as he had no opportunity of speaking to the preliminaries of peace, because he was then absent at Vienna, he was glad to seize the present occasion of delivering his sentiments. It was impossible for him to describe the astonishment which he felt on receiving the first account of that preliminary treaty. There was not a single friend to this country in Vienna who was not also astonished, grieved, and disappointed. At the conclusion of every former war, this country had maintained her high character, and preserved her independence: it was not until the present disastrous period that she suffered the enemy to dictate the most humiliating terms. It could not be called a treaty of peace, it was more like a capitulation to a victorious enemy on the field of battle; and all this was done, not on a sudden, not in consequence of a panic occasioned by any unforeseen disasters, but after a negotiation that had been carried



on nearly a whole year; and, after a series of the most brilliant and important successes obtained by British valour on the ocean, and on the land in several parts of the world. On the acquisition of Italy by France, it might, perhaps, be said, that such nominal sovereignty added nothing to the real power Bonaparte previously possessed; but there was a material difference between the influence he could exercise in the one case, and the power in the other. Bonaparte never did any thing without some strong and secret motive, and trifling as it might appear at first sight, the circumstance of his changing the name from the Cisalpine to the Italian republic, was something more than the mere adoption of one word in preference to another, to tickle the ear; it was a stroke of policy; and served to develop his plans. While that part of Italy retained the name of Cisalpine republic, its title would be geographically inconsistent in any new extension of territory; but, by the change of name, it was put into a growing state, and might by degrees comprehend all Italy. Like a child it was to be considered as possessing the faculty of increasing in magnitude every day, and the new name might be compared to a child's garment, which some frugal parents have so contrived, that it could be made wider and wider as the child should grow up. He saw nothing now to prevent Genoa and the neighbouring states from becoming a part of this republic; he saw nothing to prevent it from running along the whole peninsula of Italy, and then the name of the Italian republic would be more

applicable than it was at present. No friend to Great Britain could entertain any other feeling on the occasion, than the warmest indignation at the contemptuous manner in which the country had been treated. His lordship reprobated the whole of this transaction in strong and pointed terms, declaring that if it had been private altogether, it might be considered fraudulent, deceitful, and disgraceful; if it was to be regarded as public, it was a mixture of the foulest injury to this country, accompanied with the grossest insult, that ever was practised toward a great and powerful nation. It so happened that it was partly private and partly public. The motive of the first consul's visit to Lyons had been a profound secret, a mystery was over it, nor was its true object ascertained, till it became indispensably necessary for the first consul to avow, in a public manner, his having assumed the sovereignty of what had before been termed the Cisalpine republic. It had therefore all the fraud and delusion of a private contrivance, and all the injury and insult of a public act of treachery.

Treating next on the manner in which the island of Elba had been obtained by France, the moment it was evacuated by his majesty's troops; he discussed the great importance of this island from its situation. During a war with Great Britain, France would derive eminent advantages from having it, and also they would find Genoa, scarcely twenty-four hours sail from Toulon, another Marseilles. After dwelling on the relative position of the island of Elba,



Elba, its proximity to Leghorn, to the mouth of the Tiber, and all the adjacent seas, and to a great variety of other points of considerable interest, he said, it did not appear that any remonstrances had been made by our minister at Amiens, in consequence of these two alarming events. If no negotiations had been carrying on; if all the parties had been in a state of profound tranquillity, the very circumstance of the greatest part of Italy, being added to France, must have been a sufficient ground for going to war; and *a fortiori*, it ought to have been ground for breaking off the treaty. There never was, before, an instance of one of the contracting parties having committed such a violation of the laws of nations, and the negotiation having still gone on, and come to a conclusion, as if nothing of the kind had happened. He therefore moved, for copies of all official communications relative to the proceedings of the congress at Lyons, and the appointment of the first consul to the presidency of the Italian republic; as well as those relating to the occupation of the isle of Elba by the French.

Lord Pelham informed the noble mover, that the address, if carried, would be of no use, as ministers had received no such communications. He did not differ much, he added, from his noble friend in respect to many of the points he had touched upon. He admitted, that such an aggrandisement and extension of territory as France gained by the Cisalpine republic and the island of Elba was alarming, and one of the many instances of the improper

conduct of France during the negotiation, which, in other times, and under other circumstances, would have been thought a sufficient and justifiable ground for a renewal of war. The situation of the powers on the continent, however, made any such proceeding on our part inexpedient; the negotiations therefore were not suspended, and he, in concert with others of his majesty's ministers, had ordered the treaty to be concluded, and advised his majesty to sign it.

Earl Fitzwilliam asked, if ministers had made any representation against the transaction as soon as they heard of it, and what that representation was? This question, however, was objected to, as it was not regular for individual peers to interrogate ministers in such a manner; and in their refusal so to answer, the ministers were supported by Lord Auckland, though reprobated by Lord Grenville. The motion was not carried.

In consequence of these motions, and of the notices given, that others would be made, the debate on the definitive treaty was postponed to the 13th of May.

In the interval, General Gascoyne moved for May 11. information relative to the right of British subjects, to cut wood, &c. in the bay of Honduras. This was one object of his inquiry; but the point upon which he principally dwelt, was the omission in the definitive treaty of any stipulation to secure to our settlers in the islands to be ceded, the right of removing their property, notwithstanding the number of memorials, which in the course of the



the negotiation, had been presented to the noble secretary of state. The amount of British capital vested in these establishments was not less, he was well assured, than ten millions. Having despatched on the consequence of allowing so much British property to fall into the hands of our great commercial rivals, and on the severe treatment of the merchants, who would now be obliged to consign their produce to the French, instead of their own countrymen, if they could prevail on themselves to remain in establishments from which they would not be suffered to remove their effects; for their negroes particularly, must, by the laws of France, remain attached to the soil; he said it was his intention, on a future occasion, to bring forward a proposition for the relief of these merchants, and concluded with moving for an account of any explanations that might have taken place between our government, and those of France and Batavia, respecting the removal or transfer of British property in the islands, colonies, and settlements, which his majesty has engaged by the treaty of peace to restore.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion, as unusual. It called for explanations of what had occurred in the progress of a negotiation, which was now brought to an issue—an explanation, which it would be improper to grant, if not impossible satisfactorily to state, unless other parts of the representations of our ambassador, upon which great stress might have been laid, were coupled with it; and it was to be considered, that many of those communications were made

under an implied obligation of secrecy, to violate which might be dangerous to the consequences of peace. After a long conversation, the motion was negatived without a division; and the same fate attended another for copies of memorials and petitions presented to government; and one for the statement of accounts, ministers might have received of prohibitions affecting the trade or navigation of this country, with those powers with whom we had just concluded a treaty, imposed since the signing of the preliminary articles. An account of the quantity and value of certain imports from Honduras was granted.

The last effort previous to the general discussion, was made by Dr. Laurence, who, in moving for certain papers relative to the East Indies, began his speech with observations on the importance of those territories, and an account of the progress of our influence and possessions in that quarter. At first we appeared there as unambitious merchants, anxious only to extend our commerce, content with the liberty of traffic, and never extending our views to territorial dominion. At a late period, even in the memory of some present, our possessions in the East Indies were reckoned a matter of little moment; and a barren rock in Newfoundland, seemed a greater object of importance to the public, than the restoration of Madras to us by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By degrees, however, the advantages to be derived from possessions in that quarter began to be perceived, and we soon after, obtained immense territorial dominions.



inons. These acquisitions, it was our duty to defend against the French and Dutch, and in order to shew how far, in his judgment, this had been done, Dr. Laurence stated the rise and progress of the pretensions of France; the grant to her of the five provinces, called the northern circars, by the native princes, while to us they were conceded by the Great Mogul, the supreme sovereign of the country; the disputes which had ensued, with respect to these and other matters, till final arrangements were effected by the convention of 1787, which was universally approved of, as the means of preventing all future disputes.

Dr. Laurence next stated the circumstances of our commercial connexion with the Dutch. The treaty of 1784 did generally, though not specifically, renew all former treaties; its two principal stipulations were, the preservation of the honours of our flag, and the perpetual freedom of navigation in the eastern seas. The importance of these stipulations he clearly and ably displayed; the Dutch had formerly, though not so much while we were their allies, pretended a right to exclude us from the trade of that peninsula altogether; but they had long ago manifested, how ill disposed they were to our eastern commerce, and was it now to be expected, that, when under French influence, they would refrain from advancing claims which were left completely undecided? Some objections might be made to producing the papers he should require, but many of these he anticipated and answered. One of the instruments he meant to demand, the

treaty of 1795, admitted the Dutch republic to treat as the ally of France, and was, in fact, equivalent to an alliance offensive and defensive. By this treaty, Holland might be at peace with Prussia, Germany, or any other power of Europe, Great Britain excepted, though France were at war with them. When we considered the treaty of 1795, and the present treaty of Amiens in respect to allies, we could not but bear witness to the triumph of France, and our own degradation. After some remarks on the value of the Cape of Good Hope, and some further notice of the effect of the treaties in question, he moved, that there be laid before the House, an account of the acquisitions made or pretended to be made by his most christian majesty on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, between the years 1748 and 1763.

Mr. Dundas in opposing this motion, also reviewed historically the state of India, as it regarded the Great Mogul, the native princes, the French, and ourselves, drawing from the whole this conclusion, that, although we might feel it just and expedient to make such allowances to the prejudices of the inhabitants, and to make such regulations in our territories as we might think adviseable, yet, with regard to European powers, to them we could say freely and distinctly, we had gained this country by our arms, and by our arms we would keep it. From the days of Lord Clive to the present, the French never had, directly or indirectly, from the treaty of 1763, any right whatever to interfere with the provinces of



of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c.; but they were by right of conquest subject to the sovereignty of the king of Great Britain, exercised through the medium of the India Company, and through the different organs established for the preservation of our provinces. What we had gained thus by conquest, was to be considered with reference to any other European power, as totally subject to our sovereignty, without any interference of theirs; we were actually the sovereigns of India, and no European state had any right to dispute our title to this power, which we possessed *de facto*. If it was thought expedient in the present moment, to avoid references to antient treaties in the present definitive treaty, it was a sufficient answer to any inquiry on the subject, to say, it occasioned no diminution in our power in India, and formed no foundation for any other to dispute our sovereignty there, or to contest with us the rights upon which that sovereignty was founded; nor was that all; he mistook greatly if the sovereignty of Great Britain in India, did not, at that moment, stand upon a better footing than if the former treaties had been renewed. The treaty of 1783 was, with regard to India, the worst ever made; that of 1787 rectified its errors; but, on the present occasion, the latter could not have been referred to without also renewing the contests which were brought forward in 1783. But it was asked, could the House really think we could be secure against the ambitious claims of France, as they had appeared in 1783, and were done away in

1787, without having renewed, the provisions of the convention in 1787? This he would answer, by another question. Did the learned gentleman really think, that, if the French should be disposed to renew the pretensions of 1783, or any other pretensions, they would be prevented by a few scraps of paper being laid on the table of that House, a species of artillery that would not be equal to the operation of a single field piece for half a minute? That the French would on all occasions, endeavour to diminish the greatness of this country, and advance their own, there could be no doubt; what course they would take to enlarge their commercial interests in India, was not for us to anticipate. If they were trying to erect commercial factories, or to do any thing that interfered with our sovereignty in India, we should be fully warranted, and what was better, we were in possession of means, to resist such an attempt. But a few papers laid before the House, would not help us to any arguments which we had not already, for the propriety of resisting such attempts; thank God we had never wanted arguments or strength to resist the encroachments of the French on our sovereign power in India. From all this it was perfectly clear, that before the French could exercise any trade in India, they must come to us in the character of suppliants; for nothing they had yet obtained would enable them to carry it on without our leave. Whatever matter of complaint was to be urged, or, rather, of lamentation, upon the subject of treaties, it could only be, that his majesty's govern-



government did not settle the whole of the provisions of all former treaties, by taking notice of them all, and finally adjusting them all. This, however in the abstract, it might appear desirable, ought not to have been attempted in the present case, because it would have been impossible to accomplish it, without protracting the negotiation to a length that would have been inconsistent with the interests of the states of Europe. If the French, or any other power, should claim the right of carrying their goods up the Ganges, or to do any other act, was it not sufficient that we had the power to prevent them? The French, and Dutch trade, and the trade of other powers in India, might go hand in hand, so it was not detrimental to us; but if it were, we had the power to stop it, and that was enough for our present purpose at least.

But it was said, that France was hostile in its disposition towards the trade of this nation, and was endeavouring to prevail on Holland, Spain, and other countries, to do all they could to discourage our trade, and prohibit some of it in their dominions: he would ask were they so? And if they were, was this the precise period in which we should make them a voluntary gift of commerce to India? "I own," he said, "this is a subject on which I feel deeply; I have it much at heart, and I am sure there is not one man in this House, who would feel more sorrow than I should, if I conceived it possible for you to surrender any one of the rights of which I have been speaking. I am one of the last

men in the world, my conduct I think proves it, who would wish to plead for the system of this country narrowing the trade of foreigners in India; ever since I thought I understood any thing of the affairs of India, my maxim has been to enlarge that trade, and that we might as well attempt to prohibit any foreigners from buying our manufactures of Yorkshire or of Birmingham, or any other manufacture of this country, as prohibit foreigners from trading with our territories in India. But I should guard against misconception of this opinion. When I say we should not prevent them from trading, I mean, I am not afraid of them as merchants—I am not unwilling to give them a boon as such, with a chance of reciprocity, and I ask no more; but I think I am not going too far, when I desire this country to guard against that which I know the French have endeavoured to make, and will endeavour to make, if they see any probability of its success, I mean an incroachment on our sovereignty in India. This they have done, and if an opportunity offers, this they will do, under the pretence of pursuing trade. They will ask you civilly, for in no other way can they ask it, to allow them to do a number of things for the purpose of carrying on trade, when their object will be to incroach upon your sovereignty. It was in this way they endeavoured to incroach in 1787, when they told us they could not recover their debts without a certain enlargement of power; we resisted that directly; and I hope this will be the conduct of this country in future. The

very



very first article insisted upon by Lord Auckland, in 1787, was, that nothing in the most distant degree touching our sovereignty in India, would on any terms or conditions whatever, be assented to on the part of this country. I hope it is not presumptuous in me to say, I trust his majesty's government will adopt the same principle, and stand upon the same ground as we did then, and if we do so, I will venture to say there will be no danger; depart from that principle, and your sovereignty will be first undermined, then attacked, and perhaps finally overthrown."

Mr. Dundas censured those who supposed an intention in France, to incroach on our sovereignty in India, at a time when the people of that country advanced no such pretensions, as were now stated on their behalf; would it not be time enough, when they did bring forward those claims, for government to resist them? What passed in the House, transpired to the people of this country; and he could not concur with those who wished to make them think the peace a bad one. He could not

give approbation to all the articles of peace; but was it doing good to the country to keep the question up, and endeavour to make the people dislike it? Gentlemen complained of the pride and arrogance of France: was this the way to make her less proud or arrogant? Mr. Dundas then examined the observations of Dr. Laurence, on the subject of the danger to us in the eastern seas, and on the apprehension which he expressed concerning the claims of the Dutch, and concluded by stating his solemn conviction, that if we were now to give way to hypothetical cases, and entertain such motions as the present, we should, instead of strengthening, weaken the rights of the British empire.

Mr. Thomas Grenville and Earl Temple made some observations in favour of Dr. Laurence's motion, which was opposed by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Jones, and negatived without a division, and the same fate attended the residue of a series of motions for papers, which Dr. Laurence brought forward as necessary to the investigation of this most important subject.

## C H A P. XII.

*Proceedings in the House of Lords on the definitive treaty. Prefatory caution by Lord Stanhope; speech of Lord Grenville on the treaty; address moved by him; amendments proposed by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Pelham; speeches of those Peers; Lord Mulgrave; Lord Auckland; the Earls of Caernarvon and Westmoreland; Lord Ellenborough; Lord Darnley; the Earl of Roslyn; the Lord Chancellor; Earl Camden; the Duke of Richmond; Lord Hobart; Lord Pelham's amendment carried; Motion by Lord Holland, negatived.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the preparatory discussions, the definitive treaty was debated in both



both houses with great animation.

May. 13. Before the order of the day was gone into, Lord Stanhope addressed the Lords; and after enforcing the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, communicated, as an important piece of information, the invention, by an American, named Fulton, of a vessel which could be navigated under water, and which comprized an apparatus for setting fire to ships. This machine was in the hands of the French government, and his lordship, solemnly cautioned the peers on the fatal use to which, in future wars, it might be applied, exhorting ministers not to be unprovided with the means of counteraction.

Lord Grenville then offered his observations on the treaty. He began by vindicating his conduct, and that of his party, in having occasioned the discussion of so many points connected with the main question. Unfairness and irregularity had been imputed to them, but the charge was more applicable to those who had reserved the detail of their arguments to a general debate, in which it was impossible to come to an issue on the various points connected with the subject. He denied any intention to overthrow the treaty: whatever were its terms, Parliament was bound to accede to it.

Having made some further introductory observations, his lordship noticed the difference between the preliminary and definitive treaties. The terms of the latter, he contended were infinitely more prejudicial, than those of the former. It had been stated, that

in all negotiations for peace there were two grounds or bases necessary to be adhered to: the *Status ante bellum* or the *uti possidetis*. The negotiators of the definitive treaty, instead of proceeding distinctly upon one of these grounds, had applied both in the most prejudicial manner to this country. They had referred to the *Status ante bellum* with regard to England, by giving up all she had taken during the war; and they had adopted the *uti possidetis* as to France, by leaving her in possession of all she had acquired. As far as appeared by the treaty, ministers had made no attempt to reduce the power of France on the continent, but had, by concessions abroad, given her the means of weakening our colonial strength. In direct opposition to our intreaties and threats, France during the treaty, sent an armament to the West Indies, and imposed on us the necessity of sending a naval force more than double in strength to any we had sent during the war. Thus the first fruit of the peace was the necessity of keeping an armament of thirty-five sail of the line in the West Indies. The more urgent and pressing were the wishes of Bonaparte to send that armament; in proportion, ought it to have been the policy of our negotiators to have resisted until the preliminary articles were converted into a definitive treaty, and until he had renounced the intention of obtaining such a cession as he had since obtained in Italy.

His lordship then briefly adverted to the case of the Queen of Portugal and the Prince of Orange, and made some observations on the restitution of the Cape, after



which he examined the arrangements relative to Malta. Why, he asked, after having stipulated that Malta should be independent, and that its independence should be secured by one of the powers of Europe, competent to its protection, was it placed under the guarantee of six powers, who could never be brought to agree upon any thing respecting it. It was a futile arrangement, and contemptible as to the security which it offered to England. He had stated the whole revenue of the island at about 34,000*l.* of which, however, only about 8,000*l.* came into the coffers of the knights. The rest went to the maintenance of their hospitals, priests, &c. Since he had last spoken upon this subject, he had gained a more accurate account of their finances. It turned out that the total expence of their establishments, garrisons, fortifications and outgoings of every kind, amounted on an average of ten years from 1788, to about 130,000*l.* per annum. Their revenues came to them from different nations, where the order had property.

The French langue produced - - - 58,000

This arose out of the domains which they possessed in France, and which had been all confiscated.

The Spanish langue produced - - - 27,000

Arising out of two convents, which had been also confiscated.

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These together made - 85,000

Of the remaining 45,000*l.* the langues of Italy produced about

20, or 25,000*l.* springing out of property in Piedmont, Sardinia, Lombardy, &c. which was also confiscated; so that the order only had the langues of Naples, Portugal, and their own 8,000*l.* amounting altogether to about 20,000*l.* to support an establishment of 130,000*l.* It was idle and ridiculous therefore to talk of the order of Malta. It was extinct as a power. The whole would come under the influence, and indeed into the pay of France. The grand master would be nominated by, and subordinate to that country.

Lord Grenville next objected to the arrangements with respect to the West Indies. The French proprietors in the ceded island, were to be allowed to transport themselves, and their property without molestation; but the English were to be subject to such regulations as the French should think necessary. His lordship also descanted on the fraud practised with respect to the Russian prisoners, for whom this country had been obliged to pay, although they were armed and clothed by France, under an express convention to fight against this country. This was a fallacy of the most audacious kind! He also noticed the non-renewal of the treaty of Utrecht, and the assistance the omission in that and other particulars would afford to the French, in the war they were determined to wage against our commerce.

His lordship then displayed the situation in which the country stood at the commencement of the negotiation; it was in a state of war, but under circumstances calculated as much as possible to alleviate



alleviate its inconveniences. We had acquired the possession of colonies to an immense extent, which were valuable, not only from their military situation, but by affording the means of carrying on the contest itself; the produce of the West Indies had been 2,000,000. annually; from which a very considerable revenue had arisen; this resource was lost. We had by our naval power obtained such a preponderance, that the fleets of France could not stir; now they had been suffered to proceed to the West Indies; and we were compelled to send an expensive armament to watch them. We were also in possession of resources sufficient to have enabled us to have carried on the war, till we had obtained just, adequate and reasonable conditions of peace. Had we availed ourselves of them? No; we had left to France the whole preponderating power of the continent; and had confirmed her in the possession of Italy. We had also added to France, possessions of considerable importance in India, but had omitted to stipulate that they should not be fortified. But what was of infinitely more importance, our right of sovereignty in India, so clearly and explicitly recognized and acknowledged by France in the year 1787, was set loose by the non-renewal of that treaty in the definitive articles, and once more reduced to the form of a disputable claim. Lord Grenville then recapitulated many arguments which had before been used respecting Cochin, the Cape of Good Hope, the restored islands in the West Indies, Louisiana, the islands in

the Mediterranean, Sardinia and Naples.

Against these various charges, the defence rested on the ground of an imperious necessity for peace; but ministers denied the existence of any such necessity. If it was true that the country was under circumstances of imperious necessity, it was not astonishing the definitive treaty should have been agreed to; but what security had we that France would suffer us to recover from that state of necessity, to which she had reduced us. Such a plea on our part would only furnish a pretence for going on from sacrifice to sacrifice; from loss to disgrace; till at last we had nothing to contend for. If it was expedient to have made this peace, it must have been so from the consideration, that some advantage was obtained by it; the extension of our commerce, or enabling the country to adopt a system of economy, or of obtaining some security for the continuance of peace. Our commerce, he contended, must evidently be diminished in peace, for other countries would share in it. As to economy, in order to be able to husband our revenue, it was necessary that we should be able to protect it; and it was with peculiar satisfaction, he understood it was the intention of government to adopt the necessary measures, for having a large Channel fleet ready for actual service at forty-eight hours notice. With respect to security having been obtained for not going to war again, no man wished more that such might be the case. If it was not so, this country would have to commence a new war under



every circumstance of disadvantage; if at the end of three campaigns, we recovered what we had given up by the treaty, he should think we had made a most glorious war.

The noble lord next adverted to the question of the right of the British flag in the navigation of the eastern seas, and the claims of France and Holland to carry on a free and independent trade; and concluded by moving an address assuring his majesty, that the House would take into its most serious consideration the treaty of peace; that it should be its first duty to maintain inviolate the public faith, and assist his majesty in performing his engagements; that the House could not conceal its awful apprehensions at considering the situation which had been the result of the treaty of peace: nor forbear offering their thanks for such provisions as had been adopted to avert the danger; that it was impossible for the House to see without alarm, the circumstances that had attended the conclusion of the present peace, by which sacrifices had been made on the part of this country, without any corresponding concession on the part of France: that numerous subjects of clashing interests had been left unsettled: that in the moment of peace, we had seen indubitable and convincing proofs of the ambitious projects of our rival: that these considerations had imposed on the British government the necessity of measures of precaution: that the House relied on his majesty's wisdom to be watchful of the power of France, and humbly thought it necessary to

assure his majesty of its ready and firm support to his exertions in resisting every fresh encroachment on the commercial rights of the British empire: that it was desirous of a system of economy consistent with a naval and military establishment, adequate in the danger of the country: that it was actuated by a sincere wish for peace, and, impressed with that sentiment, earnestly wished his majesty, by amicable adjustment, to arrange those points which had been left unsettled by the definitive treaty.

In the debate on this motion, two amendments were proposed, one by the Duke of Norfolk for omitting all the address after the first two paragraphs, the other by Lord Pelham, substituting terms of approbation for those of censure employed by Lord Grenville.

The Duke of Norfolk disapproved of the address, as calling on the country to go to war again, and telling France, with whom we had concluded a solemn treaty of peace and amity, that we meant to discuss every point in a way little short of having a drawn sword in our hands.

Lord Pelham said, a vein of disapprobation of the peace was apparent throughout the address; and he considered the noble Lord as avowing himself an enemy to the peace. This position being denied by Lord Grenville, Lord Pelham continued observing, that one principle pervaded the noble Lord's argument, which he thought highly unjustifiable, namely, the assumption that whatever we ceded to other countries, was, in fact, given up to France; and he censured the manner in which



which the supposed dispositions of our late adversaries were alluded to in the address. His lordship vindicated the conduct of government with respect to the Cape and Malta; Portugal and the Prince of Orange; and with respect to the differences which had taken place between the periods, when the preliminaries and definitive treaties were executed, he deemed them, on a fair balance of the interests of both countries, not a sufficient ground for breaking off the negotiation; the proceedings with respect to Italy, were more a nominal than a real accession of power to France; nor was he alarmed at the claims which Lord Grenville supposed the French might advance with respect to India.

Lord Mulgrave also censured the unqualified reprobation which, on this, as on a former day, Lord Grenville had expressed of the peace. Although it was not such as he could wish for, it was one which he should prefer to a continuance of the war. The arguments relative to the insecurity of Malta were unfounded in fact. That island possessed an impregnable fortress, which would in future render it impossible for the French to take it by force, and they never could have taken it had any resistance been made when attacked in 1798. The inhabitants of the island were beside much better affected to the English, than they were to the French. He did not think the island would be more secure in the hands of Russia than of Naples; nor should he leave the people to themselves. It was not very likely the people would put the island into the hands of the French, the effects of whose

fraternity had been already felt all over the continent of Europe. On many topics mentioned by Lord Grenville, Lord Mulgrave repeated opinions previously enforced, and observed he could not conceive any solid ground for entertaining suspicions of the sincerity of France, so far as related to the fulfilment of the treaty; neither was he in the least alarmed at the supposed inordinate ambition of Bonaparte. He wished it to be fully understood, on the part of France, that neither the British government nor the British people, had the most remote intention of violating the national faith so solemnly pledged.

Lord Auckland delivered a most able and argumentative speech. The definitive articles on the table, he observed, formed the closing scene of a war, into which, as he had often asserted, not from conjecture nor from argument, but from a positive knowledge of the fact, we were unavoidably forced, for the defence of our own constitution, and for our independence and existence as a free nation. He could look back to the whole course and conduct of the long and severe struggle with fair national pride. We had lost no dominion, but had finally made and secured to ourselves acquisitions of great importance. With respect to national character, it might be said, without vaunting, that our navy and armies had been raised to a pitch of glory unexampled in all the histories of mankind. And lastly, our great object had been attained in the intire preservation of that constitution, and of those blessings resulting from the best of all governments, which



our enemies, foreign and domestic, had attempted to destroy. Whatever opinions, therefore, he might have avowed respecting the wise and just policy of declining all pacification, till we had reduced the enormous and growing power of France, and had restored independence to the continental states:—whatever he might have thought, even since the epoch of the preliminaries, as to the expediency of continuing our exertions till we had obtained, for ourselves at least, a solid and unequivocal security:—whatever he might now think, if he were to balance the expence, pressure, and distresses of a prolonged war against the distrusts, agitations, and dangers of an insecure pacification, he nevertheless saw and acknowledged the general wish and impatience of his countrymen to withdraw themselves from a state of war, and to make the best peace that relative circumstances would allow. How that general wish had arisen was a question which he would not at present investigate. He respected the public opinion; and the definitive treaty having been signed and ratified, ought to be executed with that scrupulous honour and good faith, which are, in peace as well as in war, the best and proudest distinctions of our national character.

Considering it his duty, as a peer of parliament, to quit all asperity of expression in regard to the people who were lately our enemies; he called their lordships' attention to the effects and consequences of the non-renewal of a long list of treaties, which it had been the practice of more than a

century to renew. He had looked into the works of all the first publicists on these subjects, and had corrected himself in a mistake still prevalent in the minds of many, who state in an unqualified sense, that all treaties between nations are annulled by war, and must be specially renewed if meant to be in force on the return of peace. It was true, that treaties, in the nature of compacts or concessions, the enjoyment of which had been interrupted by the war, and had not been renewed at the pacification, were rendered null by the war. But compacts not interrupted by the course and effects of hostilities, such as the regulated exercise of a fishery on the respective coasts of the belligerent powers; the stipulated right of cutting wood in a particular district; or possessing rights of territory heretofore ceded by treaty, were certainly not destroyed or injured by the war. On the other hand, there were cases in which treaties may be dissolved without any specific breach, and without any war between the parties. He would suppose that we had not made war against Holland, on her entire revolution and change of constitution and system; still our antecedent treaties with her would have been dissolved, by her incapacity to maintain the relations to which those treaties were meant to apply. And, therefore, it was stated by Vattel and other writers, that treaties cease whenever an essential alteration takes place in either of the contracting parties. And this doctrine would apply to our late treaties with Savoy, Switzerland, and other countries, which are tempo-



temporary victims to the French revolution.

He then stated the inferences to be drawn from these principles, as they applied to the different countries of Europe.

With respect to Holland, it was not true that our non-renewal of the Dutch treaties, would liberate the ships and vessels of that republic from their ancient practice of striking their flag to British ships of war in the British Seas. That practice did not depend on the treaty of 1784, nor even on the treaty of Breda, in 1667, which were only recognitions of an existing right. The same remark would be found applicable to the sixth article of the treaty of 1784, by which. "The states General promised not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects in the eastern seas." That article was no compact or grant; it was only an acknowledgment of a pre-existing and undoubted right, in which our merchants were not to be disturbed.

Next with respect to Spain. Our commercial treaties with that country were lost and gone: but it was equally certain that those treaties had ceased to be executed long before the war; and he could add, from personal experience, that we had acquiesced in their being disregarded by the Spanish government. As to the cession to France of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, and of Louisiana, he had seen it with concern; but he saw also, that it could not have been prevented or remedied by a renewal of former treaties: for the cession, in both instances, had taken place when the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht had been ren-

dered null by the war, and before it could be revived by any article in the pacification. He denied, however, that the non-renewal of any treaty affected our right to cut Logwood. Our privileges in the bay of Honduras, had been given in lieu of ancient and acknowledged rights in the bay of Campeachy. Those privileges having been enjoyed without disturbance, during the war, were, in fact, confirmed and established.

Lastly, with respect to France. The non-renewal of the commercial treaty of 1786, naturally presented itself to his observation. His parental affections, however, did not extend to his treaties. They did not influence him so far as to make him regret the loss of the treaty alluded to. It had already passed through its limited period, and had no claim to a renewal, unless our negotiator at Amiens, could have persuaded the French government, that the French manufacturers were able, in 1802, to resume the competition to which they found themselves unequal in 1786, under the tariffs then settled. On our part also, it would have been necessary to reduce the wine duties to the specified amount at which they were fixed by the treaty of 1786; we must consequently have sacrificed the duties imposed during the war, which produced above a million sterling. He could not, however, quit this part of the discussion without expressing his surprize, that any statesman could consider commercial treaties, as of small importance to commerce. He believed himself to be fully aware of the great effects of capital, of energy, and of enterprize, but he knew





at the same time, that commercial treaties are most beneficial to trade, by regulating the terms of competition, by giving personal protection, and by other collateral advantages and encouragements. In support of these opinions, he would confidently appeal to the manufacturers of Birmingham, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Paisley, who would well recollect the benefits derived, during six years, from the French commercial treaty.

Thus far he had spoken only of certain detached interests, as affected by the non-renewal of treaties. It had, however, been observed, that the great and venerable mass of treaties which had so long constituted the title deeds of so many states and empires, is utterly lost and gone. Unhappily this assertion was true. The most important acts of diplomacy, accomplished by the most enlightened of our ancestors, during a period of two centuries, were now left to moulder in dust, or to be drawn forth only for the curiosity and researches of historians. But this event, deplorable as it might be, was not caused by any omission in the definitive articles, but by the fate of war, by the existing circumstances of nations, by the inscrutable decisions of providence. The customary stipulation for the renewal of treaties, had ceased to be applicable to the new order of things on the continent of Europe.

His lordship having noticed the particular provisions of some of these treaties, came to the subject which most particularly induced him to engage in the discussion, the injury which might be produced to our possessions in India, by the

non-renewal of the convention of 1787. He shewed in a most satisfactory manner, that if that convention were renounced, the injury would not be to England, but to France, who retained no possible claim in India, beyond the peaceable possession of the factories restored to her, and such liberal protection as might be granted by us to every nation with which we were at peace. He found it impossible to close this subject without referring to the Marquis Wellesley, whose provident and energetic mind had done so much toward extending and strengthening our Indian empire. That noble person who had made such gigantic strides in the paths of fair conquest and of glory, would indeed, be much astonished, if he were told, that because our forty years sovereignty was not recited in the definitive articles, it might be questioned by a power which holds Brabant, Flanders, Savoy, and great parts of Germany and Italy, by the mere pretension of recent conquest. Still it might be repeated again and again, that France might revive her old and litigated claims, and so she certainly might. She might claim Gibraltar and Jamaica; she might assert a right to the free navigation of the Thames; but if she were disposed to bring forward absurd and hostile pretensions, would any clause in any treaty prevent her? He hoped and trusted, that France for her own sake, would shew herself capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with other states; and that with the name of peace, we should gradually obtain all the attributes, and all the blessings and security of



of peace. He, for one, however, would watch her conduct both in the east and in the west with jealousy, but without acrimony; with anxiety, but without fear. The strange occurrences of the last ten years, had shewn the fallibility of political speculations, and had taught him a due diffidence both in his own judgment and the judgment of others. Still, however, he knew beyond all possible doubt, that though we had made great sacrifices for peace, we retained every advantage of internal prosperity and extensive dominion; and that though his countrymen had been somewhat impatient for peace, still that the national spirit was unbroken, and as high as ever. The sense of our naval and military glories would long be warm upon our minds. We knew the effect and force of the public resources and the public energy. We knew that in despite of all the expence of the war; we had already a sinking fund of nearly six millions sterling. We were prepared to resist and repel any real injury, and the united kingdom (in that word alone, we are indemnified for a great proportion of the expences of the war,) would remain happy, pre-eminent, and unassailable, as long as she should remain true to herself, to her sovereign, and to her constitution.

The Earl of Caernarvon said, that with all possible respect for the private virtues of those who composed the present administration, he could not look with confidence, or trust, to their experience or abilities, for security amidst the difficulties which surrounded us. The country at large felt more astonishment than confidence, when,

on their accession to power, and desired not to be judged incapable of the arduous task they had undertaken, till they had been tried and found deficient. They seemed to think it of trivial importance to the public, whether the state vessel, exposed to the most turbulent and dangerous sea, with which it had ever been assailed, should be intrusted to known and approved abilities, or to persons who had never arrested the attention of the public, till they were placed where their errors might be irretrievably fatal to the country. They no sooner occupied the helm, than, as if inexperience was essential to the management of public interests, they pressed to their aid a noble lord, beloved by all men, but one whom flattery would not venture to qualify with the character of an able and experienced negotiator. Thus seconded, they undertook the conduct and management of the most intricate and involved interests, and opposed their private virtues, and unpractised abilities to the crafty experience of men, who for nine years of duplicity and chicanery, had acted on the hopes, fears and credulity of the whole world, till by force and cunning, unrestrained by any moral virtue, they had raised their country to that formidable eminence, from which they impressed with terror and mistrust, every nation with whom they had any political relations. Under such unequal negotiators, some disadvantages might naturally be expected, though the two nations were placed by the war in situations of no great disparity, though the respective countries felt equally the

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the oppressions and burthens of the war, and looked with equal ardour for the blessings of peace. The preliminary articles, however, or rather the catalogue of uncompensated advantages to France and her allies, at the expence of Great Britain and her allies, staggered the most desponding advocates for peace; but the earnest wish for the return of its blessings, for the revival of all the relations of amity, and the peaceful renewal of friendly and commercial intercourse, and the extinction of all the horrors of war, overweighed all other considerations, and the preliminary articles, approved by no person, gave a species of joy to all classes, not indeed without hopes, and even assurances, that some articles respecting our allies, affecting our national honour would be altered. But the definitive treaty had destroyed all those hopes, for it had only heaped concession on concession, added disgrace to disgrace, and even contrived to remove all security for those rights which still remained unconceded, and, with the security to those rights, they had removed even the hopes of stability from that peace which they had purchased by such large concessions. In terms conformable to this introduction, the Earl censured the non-renewal of former treaties; displayed the evident hostility of France toward us in commercial matters; and disapproved the arrangements respecting the East Indies. Good intention and private virtues were not excuses for rashness in undertaking, and errors in the management of interests on which the peace, commerce, and future

importance and prosperity of this country must depend.

The Earl of Westmoreland considered the arguments of Lord Caernarvon as tending to make the people dissatisfied with the peace. The noble lord must not be surprized to hear some of his own former arguments repeated, arguments which he appeared, in some degree to have forgotten. The change of sentiments he had sometimes seen, reminded him of an extraordinary metamorphosis, related as he believed, by Swift. In a certain country the men and women changed sexes: among other strange effects of this transmutation, the maids of honour became officers of the guards, and the officers of the guards became maids of honour. It was, however, remarkable, that among the new maids of honour, those that had been the most profligate became the most reserved; and that among the virgins, now become military beaux, those that had been formerly the most modest became the most dissipated of the corps. His lordship then entered into a detailed and judicious vindication of the peace, observing, among other things, that the occupation of Louisiana by the French would not be dangerous to the American states, it would only serve to awaken their jealousy against a power which would never be able to attack them in that quarter with any success; and he trusted that in any future contests between us and France, we should find these states to be most friendly and watchful allies. There was one reason he added predominating over every other, which made it necessary



necessary for ministers to conclude a peace—that was, the general wish of the people; for though he would not have ministers be guided by speeches pronounced in Guildhall or Palace-yard, they were bound to regulate their conduct according to the sentiments of the people at large.

Lord Ellenborough, after making many severe observations on the manner in which Lord Grenville had prefaced his speech, said, the arguments he had heard against the definitive treaty, in his mind, weighed not a feather in comparison with the inestimable advantages of a cessation of hostilities under the present circumstances of the country. With regard to the noble lord's argument, that the public law of Europe was become a dead letter, because certain treaties were not renewed, he was astonished to hear men of talents lay any stress upon such a point of reasoning. To what use would the revival of all the solemn nonsense and important absurdity contained in those treaties have contributed? Were they not replete with articles totally inapplicable to the present political situation of Europe; and were they not, for that reason, converted into useless trash and absolute waste paper? It was not, his lordship said, in the immediate line of his professional studies, to dedicate much time to treaties, but he had read over those in question with aching eyes, and was no stranger to the law of nations, which was founded on principles of immutable justice, was less liable to misconstruction and abstract reasoning, and more to be relied on than any single

treaty; or collection of treaties; and he could assure the noble lord, that there were very few deviations in the writers on the law of nations upon the subject. The noble lord who had brought on this discussion with such severe terms of reprobation of the definitive treaty, had forgot that he was not always the strenuous advocate for the renewal of treaties, for it would be found from the instructions to our negotiator at Lisle, in the drawing up of which his lordship, he should suppose, must have had no inconsiderable share, and a copy of which was actually upon their lordship's table, that in that negotiation there was a particular injunction against the renewal of certain stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht. His lordship then combated the objections against the treaty as applied to India; with respect to Malta, he contended that the order was not in such a state of poverty as the noble lord had represented it, and that it was not at all probable that it would fall into the hands of France. As to the Cape of Good Hope, he thought we were well rid of it; for its expence was enormous and its advantage most inconsiderable. The Dutch never had contested our right to navigate the Indian seas; and as to the idle and paltry compliment of their striking their flag to us, he thought there was not much magnanimity in enforcing that from the weaker power, which we did not require from the stronger; and Portugal, he believed was truly thankful for what we had done for her in the definitive treaty. The address moved by Lord Grenville, was insidious and unwarrantable. It did that by insinua-



insinuation which it did not dare to avow in terms. It would have been much more manly and dignified in that noble lord, if he really thought that ministers deserved to be vilified and aspersed in the manner, and in the style of argument, in which they had been that day spoken of, to have moved an express and explicit address to advise his Majesty to dismiss them from his service, as wholly unworthy of his confidence. The country in general, he was persuaded, entertained very different sentiments of their conduct, and most especially in respect to the peace they had just obtained. The country had not forgotten the circumstances of peculiar gloom and depression under which they came into office, and in consequence of which men of less determined spirit might have shrunk from the acceptance of situations of the highest responsibility. He was persuaded the country joined heartily with him in feeling, when he gave ministers his most humble and grateful thanks for their spirit and moderation, their wisdom and their firmness, which enabled them to rescue the British empire from the dangers and difficulties with which it was surrounded, and he relied with confidence on their attention to such measures as were likely to render it permanent.

The Earl of Darnley, although he had given an unqualified vote of approbation to the preliminaries, was obliged to refuse it to the definitive treaty. He supported the preliminaries, although they contained nothing splendid, nothing gratifying to national pride, because he saw in them nothing absolutely degrading. There were a few points which remained to be

finally settled by the definitive treaty, and to these he could not help desiring to call the particular attention of the House. He took for granted that the money due on account of prisoners would either have been put in a train of immediate discharge, or some substantial pledge given to secure future payment; that the Emperor of Russia was ready and willing to take Malta under his protection; and that the acknowledged defect in the preliminaries, in not specifically providing for the interests of the Prince of Orange, would have been effectually remedied. In all these expectations he had been grievously disappointed. The definitive treaty differed materially in every particular in which it could differ from the preliminaries; and in all to the disadvantage of this country. No man felt more sincere respect for the Marquis Cornwallis than he did, but he should be guilty of the grossest flattery if he complimented him as an able and adroit negotiator. That he was not able to cope with the practised craft and subtlety to which he was opposed; the treaty itself but too manifestly and too fatally proved. In conclusion; although the address moved by Lord Grenville contained a great deal that could not be controverted, yet as it also contained a strong implied censure upon ministers, to whom upon this and every other occasion he would give full credit for the best intentions. It should content himself with having thus briefly stated his sentiments, and should not vote for either of the propositions before the House.

The Earl of Rosslyn rose to correct an error into which Lord Ellenborough had fallen. The honour  
due



due to the British flag from the Dutch in the narrow seas, and within a certain boundary of our coasts, was not an idle and trifling ceremony, not a mere form, and therefore to be undervalued, but a most serious and important right, which implied our dominion of the sea. The maintenance of that right warmed the heart of every British seamen, and filled it with pride and exultation. He must feel great regret if the insisting on an honour, so flattering to the prejudices of our seamen, was to be forborne, because he was persuaded it would be a great mortification to them to be obliged to depart from a practice in which they highly delighted. Nor was our claim to this honour in the British and St. George's Channels, confined to the Dutch alone, it was due to us from all nations navigating those seas. At the same time, it was no claim of right of modern date. Our right of sovereignty at sea originated nearly three centuries since. In the reign of James I. the Dutch disputed it, and that eminent writer on the law of nations, Grotius, wrote a very learned book against it, but it was answered most satisfactorily in a book equally learned, written by Mr. Selden. That book made such a powerful impression on mens' minds, that the dispute was at an end, and the right was fully recognized and established. His lordship thought that considering the great achievements effected during the war, particularly in the Baltic, and in Egypt, we had a right to expect better terms than those comprized in the definitive treaty, yet, as it was agreed, on all hands, that his Majesty ought to be supported, in order to enable him to carry it

into full and complete execution, from certain words contained in the address moved by his noble friend, he lamented that, for the first time in his life, he should feel himself obliged to give his vote against him.

The Lord Chancellor said that as the House had, by a great majority, given their sanction to the preliminary articles, it was neither an usual, nor a very candid proceeding, to discuss each article of the definitive treaty separately, not only in the general consideration of it, but still less to have made each article a subject of distinct discussion previously, on a motion for various papers, because the definitive treaty was grounded altogether on the preliminary treaty. He had heard many objections to the definitive treaty from his noble friend (for so he would still call him) which were not new to his mind, and which were certainly of some weight; but he had also heard many that were so insignificant and trifling, that he was surprized at their coming from so respectable a quarter. He was not one of those who were ready to say, that the present was a great and glorious peace, but he had discharged his duty conscientiously in advising his Majesty to consent to sign it, and he trusted, if candidly viewed, that, altogether, it would be found to be as good a peace, and as advantageous to the country, as was likely to be obtained.

The learned lord entered into a distinct review of the various objections urged against the peace, at too great length even to be briefly analyzed in this place, but some observations are selected, as least anticipated in former discussions or by other



other speakers. His lordship could not agree with Lord Ellenborough in respect to the value and importance of treaties solemnly executed between nation and nation; he could not think that they deserved to be held in contempt, or treated in so light a manner as he had treated them. He would, however, assert, with his noble and learned friend, that most of the conditions of the treaties, the omission of the revival of which as complained of by Lord Grenville, were, from the violent change that the circumstances of Europe, and more especially of France, had undergone within the last twenty years, wholly inapplicable to the present treaty; but all great and important rights, stood secured on a much stronger basis than any recognition of them by any treaty whatsoever.

On the sovereignty of India, the Lord Chancellor reinforced the arguments of Lord Auckland; with respect to the Prince of Orange, he renewed the observations advanced in a preceding debate, that the private compact made between the French and Dutch plenipotentiaries could not vitiate the treaty publicly entered into, and to which four nations were parties. In noticing the Cape, his lordship considered the reasoning upon the idea of France, Holland, and Spain, having a right, under the article in the definitive treaty, to have a more formidable united fleet than us at the Cape, in the proportion of three to one, as altogether visionary and speculative. Had it ever been the case in former wars between this country and those powers, or was it at all likely that it ever should be the case in the course of hostilities that might be commenced in future?

No danger, he affirmed, was to be dreaded on account of the Cape being delivered over to that power, in the hands of which it had remained for so many years without injury to this country or its interests. Equally secure was our right to cut logwood at Honduras, and as the gum trade from Senegal and the coast of Africa had been carried on by us uninterruptedly during the war, he had no doubt it would continue without molestation.

The right of the flag, his lordship could not regard as a matter of so light and trivial a nature, as Lord Ellenborough had seemed to consider it. The right was one of great national importance; but to account for its not having been insisted on in the definitive treaty, their lordships ought in candour to carry their minds back to historical facts, and to compare them with the present treaty. Holland had long submitted to the right claimed and exercised by this country of the honour due to the British flag. France and Spain had pertinaciously refused to acknowledge it. Could his Majesty's negotiator, therefore, expect to persuade the other plenipotentiaries to admit a stipulation of the recognition of a right which two of the contracting powers had never acknowledged, although the other had, ever since the year 1515, submitted to it?

The Lord Chancellor then examined at length, and explained in a sense directly opposite to that affixed on them by Lord Grenville, the supposed variances between the two treaties. He justified the conduct of government towards Portugal, applauded the adjustment effected with respect to Malta, and as-



sumed just praise for the restoration of Egypt to the Porte, although he candidly admitted that the spirited and vigorous exertions of the late ministry had led to our successes in Egypt, and at Copenhagen. He adverted to the argument that had been advanced respecting the Russians made prisoners by France, while they served as auxiliaries to the British army, and treated the conclusion of the noble lord who moved the address, that we were liable, under the treaty, to be called on to pay for furnishing them with cloaths, arms, and ammunition, which they were to direct against us, as scarcely worthy a serious argument. As to the address itself, his reason for objecting to it was, that in substance and effect, though not in terms, it amounted to the very address Lord Ellenborough had described; it was in fact an address of censure and removal; and as to that part of it, which recommended instant negotiation and remonstrance upon important points, stated, but in his opinion most erroneously, to have been neglected in negotiating the present treaty, he agreed with the Duke of Norfolk, that to open a new negotiation upon such grounds, after a definitive treaty had been concluded in all its forms, would be to "negotiate with a drawn sword in our hands," and must inevitably lead to a renewal of the war.

Earl Camden supported Lord Pelham's amendment, as it contained the best and most essential parts of Lord Grenville's address, and particularly that very important advice to his Majesty, to declare that he would concur in no farther incroachment or aggrandizement on the part of the French Republic.

The Duke of Richmond did not approve the conduct of the war in all its parts, particularly the profusion and eagerness with which subsidies had been granted to petty German princes; and blamed the tardiness in carrying our military plans, as to the land service, into execution. He had a great respect for his Majesty's present servants, but exclusive of the several omissions in the definitive treaty, he thought nothing short of the strongest necessity could have justified the making of such a disadvantageous peace, a peace by no means adequate to the just and reasonable expectations of the country.

Lord Hobart, after some remarks on the inconsistency of those who could support the preliminary, and yet vote against the definitive treaty, denied that any change of system had taken place in that respect, since the present administration had come into office. Lord Grenville, some time before he relinquished his official situation, had repeatedly assured the House that the question of peace was reduced to a question of terms. The present administration, immediately after their accession to power, had expressly declared, upon being pressed for a communication of their sentiments respecting peace, that they would make no professions upon that subject, they only desired to be judged by their actions. It however was evident, that they had lost no time in opening a negotiation. That negotiation had indeed been protracted from various circumstances, but principally from the situation of affairs in Egypt. The French, in expectation of a successful issue to the contest in which they were engaged in that country,

were



were not disposed to conclude a treaty founded upon the presumption of their failure; ministers would agree to no terms which admitted the possibility of a contrary result, and thus the negotiation was protracted, until the persevering valour of the British troops had nearly effected the expulsion of the French from Egypt. With respect to a threatened invasion; there might have been a time when the reinforcements which it was judged necessary to send in support of our gallant countrymen in Egypt, might, to a certain degree, have created an idea that we had weakened ourselves at home; but long before the negotiation was brought to a conclusion, our preparations were such as to leave no apprehension upon any man's mind for the consequences of any attack which the French might have ventured to undertake. In other respects Lord Hobart considered the time of concluding the treaty as peculiarly well chosen. No doubt was then entertained of the prevailing sentiments of the people in favour of peace. Delay would inevitably have produced petitions upon the subject from every part of the country; and it could hardly be necessary for him to point out to the House the disadvantages which must have attended a negotiation commenced under such circumstances: disadvantages, indeed, of such a nature, as could leave no hope of the treaty so undertaken, being concluded upon terms, to which a government that really valued the honour and interest of the empire could possibly accede; delay therefore could only have rendered peace unattainable, and have led to dishonourable conditions. His lordship

then recapitulated and enforced the arguments formerly used to shew that the Cape of Good Hope was of small value or rather an incumbrance to this country, and that Cochin under present circumstances useless to us. He entered into an ample statement, supported by the authority of M. de la Condamine, the Count de Pagan, and the author of the "*description géographique de la Guiane*", to prove that Lord Grenville was mistaken in his opinions respecting the rivers Arawari and Amazon. He made some remarks in refutation of the observations of Lord Grenville, respecting Rio Janeiro, the extension of French Guiana, and the expeditions to the Baltic and Egypt.

After some further observations from Earl Spencer and Lord Grenville, and some discussion on points and of form, the amendment of the Duke of Norfolk was withdrawn, and that of Lord Pelham adopted, the House having first divided, and the number being, for the ministry, 122, for the opposition 16.

Lord Holland afterward moved a resolution declaring, that the omission of various opportunities of negotiating a peace with advantage to this country; and more particularly the rejection of the overtures made by the Chief Consul in January 1800, appeared to have led to a state of affairs which rendered peace so necessary to the preservation and safety of the empire as to justify the important and painful sacrifices which his Majesty had been advised to make.

This motion was negatived, after a few words from the Duke of Montrose, who observed, that when Bonaparte sent his letter to his Majesty, it was to solicit the negotia-  
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tion of a separate peace with Great Britain; he wrote also at the same time to Vienna and to Petersburg to solicit Austria and Russia to

make a distinct peace each of them with the French Republic. This was obviously an insidious design to divide and separate the allies.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Debate on the definitive treaty in the House of Commons. Speech and motion of Mr. Windham; seconded by Lord Folkstone; Defence of the peace by Lord Hawkesbury; he moves an amendment; which is seconded by Mr. Wellesley Pole; Speech of Mr. T. Grenville; Mr. Dundas; Mr. Pitt; Mr. Grey; Sir William Young; Lord Castlereagh; General Maitland; Lord Temple; the Master of the Rolls; Dr. Laurence; Mr. Bond; Mr. Williams Wynne; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Sheridan; he moves an amendment, which is rejected; that of Lord Hawkesbury adopted.*

13th and 14th May. **I**N the House of Commons the debate on the definitive treaty occupied two days.

The opposition to it was led by Mr. Windham, who, in an able speech of nearly three hours, detailed his objections and opinions. He began by vindicating the previous discussions which had been provoked on this important subject. In his view of the chief points of the treaty, he first considered Malta, where he maintained that our enemies could have eighteen ships of the line, while we could have only six, and that the whole disposition of the island rendered the stipulation of neutrality fictitious. The garrison must in fact be French. So far from having restored the order of Malta, we had made war upon it in the very spirit of French principles. This little order, which contained in itself the great characteristics and distinctive qualities of that which the French revolution served to destroy, we had now concurred to overthrow. The little phial which contained the essence of the old principles, Minis-

ters had diluted, and not even with common water, but with water taken from the puddle. In this and in various other points there was a marked variation between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, to the disadvantage of this country. To the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope, he renewed his objections, insisting that the question of its being a free port was left intirely at the option of France. By the restitution of the Cape and Cochin, France gained the means of preparing an armament and landing it in India, before we should have conceived in this country the least suspicion of any such design.

On the boundaries of the French dominion in Guiana, Mr. Windham observed, that ministers seemed to have understood that subject but imperfectly, and to have completely puzzled themselves. The conduct of the French was a most gross and scandalous fraud, and as such was spoken of in the House; a fraud by the French on the ministers, if the ministers were unacquainted with the fact; a fraud by the ministers on the country, if they could be



supposed to have known, and not to have mentioned it to parliament. This fraud was however too bad for even the French negotiators to contend for; yet although they did not insist upon its being carried directly and regularly into execution, they did insist upon receiving a compensation for it; and here it was that we heard for the first time of the Arawari. This Arawari was taken, upon the result of a negotiation, as the compromise between the boundary understood to exist at the time of the preliminary treaty, and the boundary attempted to be imposed by the fraudulent treaty of Madrid. The French gained by this pretended sacrifice all that the original attempt was calculated to procure for them: by the possession of the Arawari, they were in possession, in effect, of the mouth of the Amazons; which was all they ever wanted. Ministers were so lost in these wilds, had so confounded themselves between those different streams, between the Amazon and the Arawari, the north branch and the south branch, the Catapapatuba, and the Vincent Pinson, that having met with a civil gentleman here, who was so good as to offer his assistance, they fairly put themselves into his hands, and were led about by him, not knowing in the least where they were going, till, in the end, he brought them back precisely to the point from which they set out; that is to say, the mouth of the river Amazon. "When I look also," Mr. Windham proceeded, "at the cession of Louisiana to France, a point acquiesced in by the definitive treaty, it is of a magnitude that I am at a loss to describe in adequate terms. Taking the inde-

finite extent of Guiana, and the cession of Louisiana, we may be said to give away a fourth part of the globe. We have given the command of the two greatest rivers in the world, the Mississippi in North America, and the river Amazons in the South. Rivers are the vital parts of countries: we may be said, therefore, without hyperbole, to have made a present to France of a brace of continents. Never was there such a lavish, prodigal, thoughtless spirit of cession! Ministers have really scattered pearls like barleycorns; and I am amazed to see with what coldness and indifference the country has viewed transactions of such importance, by which so many of the most valuable interests have been lavished upon their rivals, and in which so many stipulations are contained pregnant with danger and pain to themselves."

In addition to these considerations, Mr. Windham observed, the whole continent of Europe was abandoned to France, and he proceeded to remark how effectually the French might assail our power in India. He treated with ridicule the arguments advanced on a former day by Mr. Dundas respecting our rights, and his magnificent phrases about the justice of our cause. The honourable gentleman, like another Ajax, dealt his blows without mercy among the poor cattle, taking them for so many Trojans, instead of reserving his might for foes who would furnish full employment. From some parts of his speech it appeared as if he had been napping, and on his awaking had imagined that we were still at open war. He talked of drawing the sword against any power that should dispute



dispute our rights, and exultingly dwelt upon our strength in India. This was not perhaps exactly the moment when we could say, "Here we stand upon our sovereignty, touch us who dare." Our strength in India might defy all attack; but though the dispute was in India, the battle might be fought in Europe? Like an action at law, the right might lie in Cumberland, and the issue be tried in Westminster Hall. The French might think us strong in India, and weak in Europe. We had seen already how, by a close squeeze in Europe, they had made us vomit up all that we had gorged elsewhere.

Mr. Windham then animadverted on the insincerity of France in negotiation, as displayed in all the late transactions on the continent of Europe, and contended, that all her efforts were avowedly directed to the ruin of Great Britain. The French avowed that they acted on the Roman model; they fairly acknowledged what they meant to be, and frankly told us also what they meant us to be. Some indeed admitted that Europe was gone, and peace be with it! they thought come what would, we might take to our boat and escape. That might have been said formerly; but the spectre of French power now pursued us in every direction. In Europe, in Asia, in America it followed, continually scaring us with its threatening aspect. In pursuing this subject, Mr. Windham noticed, the permission given by ministers to the French fleet to sail to Saint Domingo, on which he descanted with great severity. We had also allowed her, he said, to be placed in a situation in which she would acquire such an influence over the

American States, as at a future period might enable her to employ them with advantage against our most important interests.

Those who expected that the peace would disarm France of her hostility, who thought she would be contented to cultivate the advantages of commerce and manufactures without animosity towards England, must now see that she pursued more than ever the grand object of universal empire. At every period, before the preliminaries and since, she had expressed, without disguise, the spirit by which she was animated. England was not in a condition to resist this spirit, because she had never shewn a proper foresight of her danger. At first, when the principles of the French revolution were at work; when other nations were actually in conflict with them, when the havoc they produced was seen in the example of others, it was said, all this would never reach us, that the *menstruum* might dissolve the base metals with which it came in contact, but would pass harmless over the pure gold of the British constitution. Men were not aware, that the character of the revolutionary principle was, to prey both on good and bad, nay, on the former in preference. It was not long before the pure gold of the British constitution was found as susceptible of the effects of Jacobinism, as the baser materials, which they were so fond of imputing to the composition of other governments. In the year 1792, all the establishments of this country began to fume and hiss, under the action of the new principles, like the veriest piece of copper under the touch of aquafortis. But never-



theless there seemed to be a strange and extraordinary indifference to the state of Europe and to the progress of the hostile principle. Snug was the word. People were for leaving other nations to shift for themselves; the high spirit and politic maxims of our ancestors were forgotten. Even when other nations stood forward in the common cause in our defence as well as their own, there was no alacrity to participate in their exertions. The nation seemed not only to have no disposition to engage in the war, but to display a new and singular anxiety to avoid it.

Pursuing this part of his subject, Mr. Windham remarked on the conduct of the late war, condemned the system of taking ships and colonies, when a powerful blow ought to have been struck at the seat or centre of the system from which the true principle of the war and danger proceeded. From this censure he excepted, the expeditions to Toulon and Quiberon. Taking to himself a due share of responsibility or praise in advising the latter measure, he acknowledged the zeal, diligence, and activity of Mr. Dundas in conducting the war; and did not arraign the plans proposed by Mr. Pitt, but observed, that the manner in which the war was carried on did not sufficiently mark its nature. The force was centrifugal; it threw out all our operations toward the extremities. It never converged enough towards the focus from which the danger proceeded. Never was there a war carried on with such an incessant cry for peace from the very beginning. How, in any other war, would it have been tolerated that the justice of our cause and our pro-

ceedings, in every instance, should have been arraigned, and those of the enemy defended, in newspapers, in pamphlets, in Parliament; that every one who endeavoured to rouse the public spirit was vilified and traduced? How could it have happened (if the people had been sufficiently impressed with the nature of the war), that it was doubtful whether the processions to St. Paul's, to celebrate three of the most splendid victories this nation had ever gained, would have been received with applause? How else could it have happened, that attempts should be made to depreciate one of our most brilliant naval victories, and to shew, that the advantage was on the side of the enemy? To prove these circumstances, nothing more was necessary than to examine the files of newspapers, or the pamphlets that issued from the press during any period of the time. And what was the inference? Why, that such writings never could have obtained circulation, had there not been an indecision in the public mind on the subject of the war, and a total change of the very feelings and sentiments with which the nation had heretofore ever been actuated. If the war was not originally just and necessary, every shilling spent was too much. If it was, as some had considered it, merely a war of experiment for a short time, to see what we could make of it, we had made too great sacrifices. If, however, it was a war for the very existence of the country, the exertions we had made had been too little for the object, too little even for our means. That our exertions, however, had not injured us, would appear by considering whether the country had pined.



pined or thriven, whether it had become fat or lean, by its efforts. Mr. Windham here indignantly refuted the objections urged by some, in the true spirit of jacobinism, against the prosperity of the country; exposed the fallacy and malice of their assertion, that although individuals were rich, the nation was poor; and that the wealth with which we abounded was in a few hands. He lamented the effect which had been produced on the public mind by treating the balance of power as an idle chimera, and by undervaluing the feeling of national honour, France, he said, was acting upon a contest with us in peace, she was lowering our dignity, and plucking our honours. The notion that peace would hush up all our dangers, had induced us to give up to Holland the honour of the flag; which, however little important many might think it, kept up the pride and spirit of the service, and had been maintained by us for a century and a half. This it was also which induced us to submit to have the cockades taken out of our soldiers' hats in Portugal. We also allowed, under the same idea, our ambassador to remain at Amiens, kicking his heels near the hall of audience as a lacquey, while Bonaparte, instead of communicating with him, set off for Lyons, designedly, as it should seem, to furnish a precedent for similar insults on any future occasion. On the supposition that Great Britain was in a state of infinitely less security than it was on the night when this treaty was signed; and comparing what it had given up with what remained, he had no hesitation in repeating his former assertion, that the fee simple

of the country was worth more on the 30th of September last, than it had been since, or perhaps ever would be again. "We have now, however," he added, "signed and sealed the bond; and, as Dogberry says,

"I fear we shall never be our own men again."

In conclusion, Mr. Windham recommended that we should earnestly endeavour to correct the dissensions which the treaty of peace might create, and for this purpose that we should demand necessary explanations respecting India and other particulars left in doubt, before we surrendered Malta, the Cape, and Cochin. "I know," he said, "that some may be disposed to calculate the life of a nation like that of an individual; and, regardless of posterity, say, 'though our commerce may fail in the end, it cannot do so for a long series of years, and will, at least, last during our time.' The nation which has not more foresight or feeling than that, must inevitably perish. Great stress has been laid on what is called the failure of the predictions respecting the results of the American war. These predictions, however, have, on the contrary, been realized. Had we had America now to support us, we never could have consented to such a peace. America has been an immense resource to the enemy during the war; and the very convoy which entered France at the time of Lord Howe's victory, was thought a sufficient compensation to that country for the destruction of its fleet. Let those who think that in spite of this peace the country will still last their time, will still furnish life and heat for their ephemeral existence, for the miserable animal-



animalculæ that are crawling upon its surface, let them take care they do not deceive themselves. They may calculate ill who suppose the misfortune may not reach them. The fate of nations often comes upon them much quicker than is imagined: in this manner is Spain, of late a rich and powerful nation, all on a sudden become one of the vassals of France."

He moved an address exactly similar to that of Lord Grenville.

Lord Folkestone seconded the motion, and repeated the arguments which had been used respecting the dereliction of our naval rights, the sacrifice of our allies, particularly the Prince of Orange and the Queen of Portugal, and the surrender of Malta, the best and only protector of our commerce in the Levant, into the very hands of our ancient and mortal foe. We had, of late, he observed, learned to appreciate the temporary advantage of commercial considerations, so much above all our interests, that little was to be hoped from a state besotted with the avaricious sentiments of sordid wealth as we were.

Lord Hawkesbury, in defending the treaty, argued that, although some commercial questions were not finally arranged, it was better to leave them for future adjustment, than longer to defer the negotiation. He had always objected to the discussion of the treaty in parts, because if ever there was a subject which ought to be discussed all together, it was a treaty of peace. The parts must be examined with reference to each other, and not distinctly; for though in one part something unfavourable might appear, yet that, upon a review of the whole, would perhaps turn out to

be a concession, in order to obtain some advantage in another part.

The question had properly divided itself into two heads: first, whether the terms of the definitive treaty were consistent with the basis of the preliminary articles; and, secondly, whether, if any departure from the preliminary articles had taken place, that, or any events which had occurred during the negotiation, were of such consequence as to induce ministers to refuse to conclude the treaty?

Before he should enter on these points he called the attention of the House to the circumstances of the country when the negotiation for peace began. We were left almost alone to contend with France; Austria obliged to comply with a peace dictated by the enemy; the German empire at her mercy; deserted by our allies, except two, Portugal and Naples, neither capable of affording us any effectual aid; we saw ourselves, instead of being at the head of a formidable confederacy, menaced by a league of our old allies, under the influence and direction of France. In this dilemma a peace was the wish of all persons, and ministers, being pressed to negotiate, laid down three principles as the rule of their conduct: first, the complete integrity of the British empire; secondly, fidelity to our allies; and, thirdly, to obtain compensation out of the conquests we had made, to counterpoise the acquisitions of France on the continent.

Treating on the events that occurred pending the negotiation, he agreed it was impossible to view some of them without anxiety and alarm: but it was gravely to be considered, how far they ought to have



have influenced the progress of our negotiation; or whether it would have been justifiable to break off the treaty. He was no advocate for the opinions of some persons, that we ought to be insulated in our politics as in our geographical situation, and that we should have no concern in continental affairs; nor could he, on the other hand, subscribe to the doctrine, that we were on all occasions to volunteer in them. God forbid that we should not be influenced by obligations of honour; or that we should give up the reputation of the country, by declining to protect any country from injustice! but a strong case should be made out to persuade us to an effort attended with risk to ourselves. The same reasons which would have induced an interference in favour of the Cisalpine Republic, would urge us to insist upon the restoration of the Netherlands to Austria, of Holland to the Stadtholder, and of Savoy to the King of Sardinia. Even had we been disposed to resist Bonaparte in this measure, how could we have accomplished any thing without the aid of the continental powers? and the event was scarcely announced, when the cabinet of Berlin congratulated him, that of Vienna acquiesced, and Russia shewed no symptom of dissatisfaction. The cession of Louisiana was not an indifferent object; but Louisiana was an old French settlement, and during the negotiation of the peace of 1763, which was generally thought the most triumphant peace this country had ever concluded, this settlement was privately transferred by France to Spain; and that transaction was much more gross than that now complained of, because Louisiana

was referred to expressly in the treaty. As to the political advantages which France could derive from this possession, he doubted whether they could be of much consequence; but he was certain they were not of such consequence as to have justified ministers in rejecting the peace. He denied that this possession would give France much influence with the United States, and ridiculed the notion that it would enable her to swallow up America.

The principal omission charged on the treaty was the non-revival of the several commercial and political treaties, and two particular conventions. Such a revival on a view of the articles, would not be found desirable. From the treaty of Westphalia, up to that of 1763, it was the practice, as the system of Europe was perpetually changing, to renew former treaties, with such alterations and additions as suited existing circumstances, until at length those treaties became so confused, inconsistent, and contradictory, as to contribute more to augment litigation than to produce the adjustment of any difference. To prove the impropriety of renewing all former treaties, his lordship recapitulated some of their principal stipulations, beginning with that of 1748, and shewing that, either in themselves, or as precedents, they would, in present circumstances, be dishonourable and injurious. On the whole, he thought it indisputably better to leave commercial arrangements to be hereafter adjusted, than to postpone the conclusion of the definitive treaty, even if the country was to be left in the state it was in before the preliminaries were signed. Our



manufactures must find their way to general consumption, as they had, even during the war, and France would suffer far more than ourselves in a war of duties and exclusions.

The differences complained of between the preliminary and definitive treaties related to five points: prisoners, Portugal, Newfoundland, the Cape of Good Hope and Malta.

With respect to prisoners, his lordship observed, that in the treaties of 1763, an article was inserted that each belligerent power should maintain its own prisoners; it was an article which humanity and justice approved, and was sanctioned by the best modern authors on the law of nations, among whom, was Vattel: but the French disputed this principle with us in the late negotiation; alleging, that they did not grant it to any of the other powers with which they had concluded peace. When, therefore, they afterwards acceded to it, we could not claim a modification in our own favour, by refusing to allow a deduction for the subsistence of the Russian prisoners who were soldiers in our pay, and under our disposal when captured.

On the subject of Portugal, Lord Hawkesbury repeated the explanations already afforded, with the addition, that ministers, thinking Portugal capable of making a much better defence than she had, had sent advice as to the means, and, among other things, recommended the removal of their general, whom age rendered incapable of commanding. This advice had not been adopted, and they would not therefore intrust any portion

of the British army to an incapable commander; but notwithstanding this conduct of Portugal, they took means to communicate to her the progress we were making in negotiation, and the prospects that we had, exhorting her to hold out as long as possible; that she might obtain better terms; yet she concluded a separate peace. We afterwards stepped in, and by our interference reduced the extent of the cessions that she had herself agreed to make in Guiana; an instance of liberality scarcely to be paralleled. We so arranged it for her, that her navigation of the river Amazon is perfectly secured, and not at all exposed to that interruption from the possessions which the French had obtained by the treaty, that gentlemen on a former evening so strenuously maintained, upon the authority of a map not quite so accurate as they had been taught to believe.

In Newfoundland, no concession was made; that arrangement being precisely as the matter stood before the war. With regard to the Cape of Good Hope, there was no material difference between the preliminary and definitive treaties. The terms respecting Malta might not be so good as might be contrived; but they were certainly as good as circumstances would permit. Gentlemen could not expect that we should retain it ourselves; for, when we blockaded it, we issued a declaration, that it was not our intention to retain, but to restore it to the order of St. John, under certain regulations. The first object of those regulations was to meliorate the condition of the Maltese, and at this Gentlemen seemed



seemed to level their principal hostility; they were averse to the privileges granted to the inhabitants; they did not seem to think of the important point we had gained, in the abolition of the three French *langues*, which had such domineering influence in that island, leaving only the Russian langue, and creating a Maltese langue. Gentlemen would not be so disturbed at the creation of this langue, or at the privileges given to the natives, if they would recollect the conduct of those natives during the siege, when, under a British officer, they were so active in their exertions to annoy the French, and to second our views: surely such men were intitled to our peculiar protection, and had some claim to be relieved from the oppression to which they were liable under the ancient constitution. Was it not of consequence to the security of the island, to conciliate the population to the order, and thus enable that order to establish a formidable militia for its defence? A power to guaranty it, with a view to preserve it from the dominion of France, was also chosen; that guarantee was first offered to Russia; but such was the change in the politics of the courts, that Russia refused; and it was therefore put under the protection of Naples, a country which had the deepest interest from the contiguity of the island of Sicily, to take care that Malta should not fall into the hands of France. This was not all; we had the guarantee of Austria, and the principal powers of Europe, for the independence of the island. Under all these circumstances, there was no

real departure in the definitive treaty from the basis of the preliminary articles; and no event which occurred in the interim, could excuse a departure from the negotiation.

On the subject of retaining a port in the Mediterranean for the benefit of our trade to the Levant, Lord Hawkesbury repeated his former statements of the advantage the Dutch maintained over us in that quarter, by the greater wisdom of their quarantine laws. He expressed astonishment, that while the opponents of the peace made so many observations on the advantages which France would acquire by the possession of Louisiana, they should omit all notice of the benefits which would accrue to us from the conquest of the Mysore; the destruction of that power which was the staunch ally of France, and the inveterate restless enemy of this country.

In the West Indies, our superiority to France was not less evident than in the East. Our colonies almost trebled in produce during the war, with the addition of one of the most fertile islands in the West Indies, containing a most capacious harbour, and forming the first naval *dépôt* in that quarter. Indeed, if the naval and commercial means of the two countries were duly compared after the events of the war, the power of France would in most respects appear more specious than solid, while ours would be found solid and safe, and supplied moreover with the means of extending itself by the extent of our capital. The extended dominion of France was liable to fall to pieces; its extent was matter of weakness, and the multipli-



multiplicity of her objects must frustrate their accomplishment. The comparative superiority of our resources, when our superior capital was attended to, could not therefore be denied.

It might be asked, what was our security for the enjoyment of these advantages? He should answer by saying, that we had made an honourable peace, a peace that secured all the vital springs of our strength and power. He was ready to admit, that the state of the world was such as could not prevent us from considering the peace insecure; but all history, and even his own experience, taught him, that the apprehension of that insecurity should be no obstacle to the conclusion of peace, on honourable terms. In support of this principle, he cited the speech of King William, after the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, which contained the sentiments which parliament should now entertain; not to permit the enemy to do that in peace which they were not able to effect in war. He did not pretend to say, that the security of peace was no consideration; all he should ask was, could a better peace have been secured, had the contest been protracted longer? If not, was it not better to take the chance of it, such as it could be obtained, under all the circumstances of our situation?

In acceding to that peace, there was another motive which weighed heavily with him, and which, no doubt, must have had great weight with the House: he meant the internal state of France. France had now abandoned the principles and maxims of the re-

volution, and was rapidly reverting to the ancient principles of religion and civil order. The current ran that way; and would it be wise, by renewing the contest, to replunge her in all the horrors from which she had lately emerged, and which threatened to agitate the rest of the world? Much had been said of the ambition of France, and of the views of her present rulers; but the ambition of France was the ambition of the French people, and was the same under the monarchy, as under her present form of government. Neither view should make him hesitate respecting the eligibility of a peace, which enabled us to escape out of a disturbed state of things, with our financial system and all our resources entire. It was not merely an alleviation of their burdens that the people languished for; but they were anxious for peace, because their patience was worn out by the war. They sighed for the termination of a struggle which had lasted nine years, and which they were reluctant to continue without any definitive object. If our interests remained entire, if our honour was preserved, for what purpose should the war have been longer persisted in? Of those who thought the peace dishonourable, that it affected our vital interests, and left us in a state of doubt and insecurity, he could not expect the support: but he was as confident, that those who thought our honour had been preserved; that the terms on which peace had been concluded, were as good as, under all the circumstances of our situation, could have been expected; and that a peace which left our resources entire should



should be adhered to, that they might be husbanded for vigorous resistance against any future encroachment, would vote for the amendment which he should propose.

The amendment moved, expressed the gratitude of the House to the king for communicating the treaty; and stated, that the House having approved the preliminaries, was satisfied that his majesty had consulted the true interests of his people in concluding a definitive treaty on the same basis. Although parliament regretted the great changes which had taken place on the continent, they saw with satisfaction, that the wild and destructive designs which threatened this country had been frustrated; that his majesty had not only preserved his dominions intire, but gained vast and valuable additions, calculated to secure our commerce and maritime superiority. That parliament would anxiously cultivate the blessings of peace, and relied on his majesty's known disposition to adhere with scrupulous fidelity to his engagements; but entertained a perfect confidence, that his majesty would not fail to employ that vigilance and attention which the situation of Europe demanded; and, above all, would uniformly determine and prepare to defend against every encroachment, the great sources of the wealth, commerce, and naval power of the empire. That his majesty's faithful subjects would at all times be ready to support the honour of his crown, and the rights, laws, and liberties of their country, with the same zeal, energy, and fortitude which they had invariably

manifested during the war, now happily brought to a conclusion.

Mr. Wellesley Pole having seconded the amendment, Mr. Thomas Grenville delivered his sentiments against the peace. He treated as an exaggeration, the assertion of Lord Hawkesbury, that the people were worn out with the war, and clamorous for peace. The spirit of the people, he affirmed, was alive to their liberty and independence, even in the latest period of the war, and they continued to think it necessary up to the very signing of the preliminaries. He reprobated the argument, that if this peace was not accepted, no other could be obtained, and recapitulated the objections against the treaty which had been so often urged in the course of the discussions, still contending that in all parts of the globe, the interest and honour of Great Britain were sacrificed.

Mr. Dundas directed his principal observations to objects connected with India. He had no hesitation in saying, that when he heard of the manner in which the Cape of Good Hope was to be disposed of, he heard it with regret and sorrow. He had always considered that place as a great acquisition to this country. He was of that opinion in theory before we had it; he was confirmed in that opinion by experience of the use of it, since it was in our possession. He looked upon it as a good *depôt*, and a place for the reception of our troops when we had occasion to send them to India; by their being landed and refreshed there, they went to India full of health and vigour, and were in every



every respect fit for immediate service. He looked upon the Cape and Ceylon as our two great bulwarks. His opinion, which no connexion, however close; no friendship, however cordial; no attachment, however sincere, should induce him to withhold, was, that the Cape of Good Hope should not have been given up, and had he been in administration, nothing should have induced him to be a party in agreeing to a peace upon any terms by which this country was to abandon it. But, although this was his opinion, he did not hold it to be any part of his duty to join those who took so much pains to render the peace an object of disapprobation with the people: he saw no good that was likely to arise out of that conduct. In 1783, when a peace was made, it was admitted to be necessary on all hands, yet that peace was afterwards made use of by parties, in that and the other House of Parliament, as an organ to destroy the administration who made it. He did not like the purpose for which the parties then decried that peace; as little did he like the course which was taken now, which he could not help regarding as a conspiracy for the purpose of supplanting the present ministry.

Mr. Pitt, who only spoke for the purpose of resisting a motion of adjournment, which however was carried, assured the House that he was perfectly satisfied with the tone and spirit of the address, as it was amended, as well as with the arguments so ably and successfully used by his noble friend.

Mr. Grey said, however he might be disposed to vote against the address, he was less inclined to

oppose the amendment; for, though he could not help thinking that the dangers of the country were greater by the definitive treaty than by the preliminary articles, yet he was convinced, upon the whole, that his majesty was well advised to put an end to the contest, even on those terms; the war had failed in all its objects; our successes, however signal, had been separate, and their great end had been consequently defeated.

Sir William Young, on the subject of Malta, observed it had been said, that the treaty gave a preponderance to the Maltese language; they were to fill at least half the offices of state, and might be expected to form a sufficient militia for the protection of that island. Gentlemen who held that language seemed little acquainted with the island of Malta or its inhabitants; he had himself resided there for ten weeks; and had better opportunities of being acquainted with the subject. In the whole island there were not five men who could be called merchants; and could it be expected that an order which valued itself on its high nobility, could associate with persons of the description of gold workers and sellers of coral, in the administration of the island? If a few could so far degrade themselves, their votes would be lost in the opinion of the majority; and the island of Malta would then, instead of being restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, be in fact given up to the democracy of the Maltese. In the residue of his speech, he censured the cession of Louisiana, and, connecting the possession of that territory with the conquest of Saint



Saint Domingo, augured the acquisition of Mexico by France, whose ambitious views he traced through all her conduct with respect to the various states of Europe. He supported the original motion.

Lord Castlereagh made a long and able speech in vindication of the peace: he restated and illustrated many of the arguments already used in answer to those who disapproved the stipulations of the treaty, and demonstrated by a clear display of facts relative to exports and imports, that this country was in no danger of being supplanted or eclipsed by the growing commerce of France. He was convinced that we had come out of the combat, in a situation which would enable us to meet any danger that might threaten our independence or our honour. The exertions we had already made had enabled us to sit down in peace, if the world would allow us to continue so; and, under the circumstances in which we found ourselves placed, he thought it well to discontinue the contest, since we could discontinue it in perfect consistency with our safety. He trusted that a vigorous establishment would be preserved, and that we should be ready to stand forth in any contest which might be necessary for the maintenance of our rights, our independence, or our honour.

General Maitland applied himself principally to answer the speech of Sir William Young. On the subject of Louisiana, he observed, that when formerly possessed by France it had been useless; in the hands of Spain it was not improved, and if we, though possessors of Canada, could

not injure America, how could France do so from the mere circumstance of holding Louisiana. After making many remarks on the West Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, the General concluded with some statements respecting Malta, contending, from the experience of the war, that it was not so essential to our interests as some supposed. Lord Nelson, even when it was in the hands of the French, had pursued, beaten and annihilated their whole fleet.

Lord Temple renewed his objections to the peace, affirming, that it was not likely to be secure, nor had we gained by it, the vaunted objects of the war, indemnity for the past, or security for the future. He censured the commercial details advanced by Lord Castlereagh, as applicable to the monarchy, but not to the present state of France. He again reprobated our conduct toward our allies, the danger to which our Indian possessions were exposed, and the surrender of the honour of our flag.

The Master of the Rolls professed his intention to confine himself to two points, as he could, only by so doing, bring his argument within moderate compass. He noticed first, the assertion, that the definitive treaty ought not to have been concluded, because France, after the signature of the preliminaries, gained a great accession of power. The gentlemen on the other side, he observed, had not shewn what part of those acquisitions, or how much of that power, had been the consequence of the peace. It was to the events of the war that France was indebted for that increase of

her



her power. Did those gentlemen mean to contend, that the war ought not to have been undertaken? He was persuaded, that, had as was the condition of Europe at the present moment, it would have been much worse, had it not been for the war. It might be said, there was not a necessity for making peace; it would, however, be recollected, that the dictates of prudence were a ground of necessity to a wise man; and certainly, if there existed no visible means of bettering the condition of a country in a state of war, every thing concurred to induce and to render it a matter of good policy, in that country, to conclude a peace. After shewing how impracticable it was for this country to prevent the growth of French power without a continental alliance, the master of the Rolls argued, that the treaty ought not to have been broken off on account of the transactions respecting the Italian republic, nor could ministers, with prudence, have pressed for any cession of territory by way of compensation. Could the retention of a West India island counter-balance the power of France? The contrary was felt in the negotiation at Lisle. He had heard no definitive proposition made as to the propriety or expediency of continuing the war: it seemed, according to the arguments of gentlemen on the other side, that we were to carry it on, merely for the purpose of taking the chance of whatever might occur. According to those arguments, we were to continue the war for the mere purpose of not being at peace. We were to go on merely for the possibility of a change in

the affairs of Europe; and if this did not happen soon, we might exhaust our resources before it did happen; and might, at last, be under the necessity of making peace upon terms much less honourable and advantageous. He considered it a great triumph, that we were enabled to make peace retaining our ancient constitution unimpaired, and quoting the opinion of Mr. Burke, on the danger of Jacobinism, insisted that Bonaparte was rendering an essential service to the world, if, whether from policy, fear, or whatever cause, he seriously employed himself in extirpating that detestable principle.

The importance of Louisiana, he contended, had only been discovered within the last few nights; it had formerly been in the possession of France without any such discovery, and the danger to arise from its bringing that country in contact with America, might indeed take place in the course of ages, but could not speedily occur. The Master of the Rolls then reviewed the arguments on the omission to renew former treaties, the practice, he said, was not uniform; and it should have been stated for what purpose they ought to be renewed; for unless gentlemen could shew him some benefit to be derived from that renewal, he could see no reason for it. If, as was said, all treaties not renewed fell to the ground, there were some which he could not regret; and he treated as whimsical the observation, that while we could derive no claims from these expired treaties, France could by virtue of them, advance several pretensions injurious to our interests. We were not to implore  
France



France to enter into commercial negotiations; the offer ought to come from her. The definitive treaty gave her nothing but the factories and possessions which she had at the commencement of the war. In all his reading, he had never met with the assertion which was now started, that France might pass by the commencement of the war, and mount up to any intermediate period, for the purpose of establishing claims. If this doctrine of claims which were not claimed, was to be set up, it would be necessary to bring all the exertions of imagination, and the superinduction of every probability, into a negotiation, and to choose a person of the most lively fancy to assist every ambassador; he must retire to his closet, and invent and contrive every thing that his imagination could suggest, that might be made the subject of claim or dispute by the adversary, and then let them all be inserted in the treaty.

Dr. Laurence objected to the mode which the advocates of the peace pursued, of raising separate questions on each particular point, and asking how far every one would justify a continuance of the war. The reason why Louisiana was formerly of no value in the hands of France, was, that the attention of the old government was principally turned to Canada. The cession of Louisiana in 1763, bore no analogy to the late clandestine proceeding; it was not known until after the treaty was ratified; and the reason of the surrender was well known; it was given over to the Spaniards as a purchase for Minorca, which the French were to transfer to us.

Five years ago, when France sent her expedition to Malta, she professed that her principal object was to extinguish the system of its government and religion, as it was said, by the then governors of France, to be the centre of superstition and aristocracy; and they could now boast of having accomplished their object, for the new organization of the constitution of Malta, left scarcely a vestige of the venerable old system; it innovated upon all that time had consecrated; and the island itself, instead of being under one influence, was placed under a *picnic* guarantee; the whole of this plan being prepared and carried into effect without the consent, or, in a great degree, the knowledge of the knights of the order. He would not plead for the indiscriminate renewal of all our political and commercial treaties; but there were some which he thought it would have been wise to revive, and not to rely solely on the treaty before the House, in which nothing definitive was to be found, and yet it was to form the basis of the future system of Europe; the principles and practice of all former statesmen being rejected. He contended, on the whole, that ministers gave up more for the hollow armed truce which they had obtained, than they should have done, had the war been unsuccessful throughout. Among the faults of omission, Dr. Laurence reckoned the insecure condition of the British merchants settled in the ceded colonies. It would be a good opportunity of putting the sincerity of France to the test, to propose some arrangement on those topics, before the restitution should be made. With respect to  
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the supposed public solicitude for peace, he had no hesitation in stating it as his firm belief, that if a list of the concessions to be made to the enemy had accompanied the first news of the peace, instead of being the subject of exultation, even with the common people, the peace would have been received with strong murmurs of discontent. The people of England required to be led; they were influenced by the character of those above them; and that formed not the least part of their praise; they were capable of great exertion, and patient of suffering; they combined in their character the extremes of the good qualities of other nations; they were constant in their fortitude, loyal in their sentiments, and elevated in their spirit; they were above the idea of submitting to any peace that was dishonourable and disadvantageous, and they had too much good sense to value one that was insecure. If, from the imprudent temerity in which this treaty had been concluded, and the loose terms in which it is drawn up, hostilities should soon commence, the fault would not be in the circumstances of the period at which the negotiation began, as asserted; not in the conduct of the predecessors of ministers, but in the ministers themselves, who entered upon the negotiation and followed it up almost to a termination, without resorting to parliament for counsel in any step of their progress. The consequences would be attributable to them; should those apprehended arise from a peace which left so much open for discussion, constituting so many grounds of dispute and discord.

Mr. Bond justified, and Mr. Williams Wynne expressed his sentiment against the treaty.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer considered the motion of Mr. Windham as proceeding from a genuine disapprobation of the peace, and from a wish to censure the measure and those who had advised it. He had deemed any peace with the present government of France inadmissible. When the peace was made, and before he knew the terms, he had treated the peace itself as a death blow to the prosperity of the country; and had always gone the full length of saying, that any peace with France in its present state was inadmissible. These, he said, were not his sentiments, and should they, or the address founded on them, be adopted by the House, they could not fail of leading to a speedy renewal of the war. Professing himself satisfied to rest the defence of the peace on what had already been so ably and eloquently advanced, he proposed only to notice a few separate topics.

On Louisiana, he remarked, that France when possessed of that territory and Canada also, was unable to cope with Great Britain, nor could she now hope to do so, when the United States of America, for the purpose of resisting her encroachments at least, would be friendly to us. There was not in Louisiana, a single port wherein a ship of the line could enter, and at Fort Hillsborough, such a vessel could not anchor, without taking out her guns. Nor was there any danger to our commerce in that quarter, from the cession of this place to France. The improvement which had taken place in  
making



making copper bottoms to our ships, and other circumstances, gave us other great advantages in that quarter, as it enabled us to alter the course of our navigation, by going through the windward passage, instead of the Gulph of Mexico, so that we should never be annoyed in that quarter by the French.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then noticed the points in which the definitive varied from the preliminary treaty. The observations on the subject of Portugal, after so much had been said in explanation, he considered as wilful misrepresentation. On Malta, he repeated the statements already made, and insisted on the effect of the guaranty. On the other heads, prisoners, the Cape, and Newfoundland, he did not consider it necessary to offer any remarks; but he would ask, whether this treaty was or was not, under all the circumstances, fit to be entertained by the House, and worthy of its support? He was not desiring that it should be praised. He had never thought of this treaty, nor of the preliminary articles, with any sentiment of exultation; he had satisfied himself, and he remained satisfied, that it was, upon the whole, the best measure that could be taken. He had long been of opinion, and he trusted he should never change it, that there was no extremity of distress which the nation would not rather suffer, than permit its honour to be tarnished; for honour was another word for strength; but if he were asked, under such circumstances, and after an additional proof of the ambitious views of France, and of its

power by the transaction at Lyons, if this country had abstained from making remonstrances, or from taking any step to signify to our adversary the feelings of his majesty on that occasion? He would answer, that gentlemen who argued a case like this, had many advantages over a person in his situation. They would easily put questions which it was impossible for him to answer; and they might state obstacles which it was difficult, if not impossible, for a minister to remove in the way of argument, in a manner that was at once satisfactory to those who made the objection, and consistent with the duty of the minister. He would only say, that it was matter of great satisfaction with him and the rest of his majesty's ministers, that they were determined, in the event of the failure of the negotiation, to have laid before the House every document which they possessed on the subject, and afford the House complete information upon it.

Having closed this portion of his argument, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made many observations on the extended power of France, and the hopeless state of the continental nations; still maintaining the superior position of this country, both in a commercial and political view. "The earnest wish of his majesty's government," he said, "is that the blessings of peace may be continued, and we wish to take every measure consistently with the honour of government, and the safety of the country, to preserve these blessings; and I am impressed with a thorough conviction, notwithstanding what has been said, that the probabilities



of the continuance of the peace now concluded, are not less than the probabilities of the continuance of the different pacifications which have taken place at the various periods of the last century: I mean, if the country should be disposed to make provision for its own security, without which, peace cannot be lasting. We must not suppose, that France is free from the disposition to take advantage of our weakness, if we should appear at any time to be weak; but, let us guard against weakness, and take care to give to ourselves the security which we have the means of giving. By this course, we shall at once inspire ourselves with confidence, and discourage those who may incline to be our enemies. I know nothing in the circumstances of the present time, I know of nothing in the disposition of the government of France, nor in the disposition of the person at the head of that government, to warrant any apprehension that the peace now concluded may not be lasting. If this country be true to itself, I think a just expectation may be entertained that it will be lasting. This country is now in a state of acknowledged strength and indisputable power. It is on an eminence, and may continue so, by a fixed determination to pursue a right course; which is, not to invade the rights of others, nor suffer others to invade its own. By adopting the sentiment expressed in very correct words by my noble friend, (Lord Hawkebury) on a former occasion, that is, by a system of conciliation and firmness, I am confident that peace may be maintained; and the pre-eminence of this country pre-

served as high as it is at present; I can hardly wish it to be higher, but I trust it will never be lower. It is the wish of my heart, and it shall be my constant, unremitting endeavour, to preserve as much as I am able, the happiness of this country, which now is the admiration of surrounding nations."

At two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Sheridan delivered his opinions in a singularly brilliant speech. "I have heard," he said, "that there are about twelve or thirteen parties among us; nay, some carry the number much further. Now I scarcely expect a single vote with me beyond that little circle of a constitutional party, who have for the last ten years been the objects of so much unqualified abuse; but those men who have so often been held up to public opprobrium, are the very same whose every prediction has been fulfilled, and every fear realized. The discussion of this necessary but disgraceful treaty of peace to night, is a confirmation of the propriety of their political conduct during the whole course of the war. I support the peace, because I feel confident that no better terms, considering all circumstances, could be obtained. The predecessors of the present ministers had left them no choice, but between an expensive, bloody, and fruitless war, and a perilous and hollow peace. They have chosen the best of the alternatives. After some observations on the remark of Mr. Dundas, that the opponents of the peace were merely conspiring to turn out the present ministry, and affirming that it would have been better to have made peace when Bonaparte offered



It, in 1800; Mr. Sheridan proceeded: "It is lamentable to see you all split into miserable parties, when your great enemy is uniting all possible means of extending his power. You are squabbling about the measuring of ribbands and tapes, and the paltry revenues of Malta, when much greater objects are before you. The events of every day seem to call more and more for the expression of a public feeling, that the time will come when the French encroachments and oppression must cease, and when the voice of this country must be clearly raised against their atrocities and tyrannical conduct."

On the assertions that we had preserved our honour, relinquished nothing, and gained much by the peace, Mr. Sheridan animadverted with great severity. We had not prevented French aggrandizement, not rescued Holland, not recovered Flanders; security and indemnity had afterward been the objects of the war; in the pursuit of them we had sacrificed near 200,000 lives, and 300 millions of money; and we had gotten Ceylon and Trinidad. "I should propose," he said, "that as we have given to our heroes titles from the places where their laurels were won, our St. Vincents, Nelsons of the Nile, &c. so we should name Ceylon, Security Island; and call Trinidad, the island of indemnity."

Mr. Sheridan then noticed the degraded state of the continent; particularly Germany, Holland and Italy; and the danger that Switzerland, that innocent, virtuous, suffering country, would soon undergo a division among her powerful and generous neigh-

bours. The state of this country, so much vaunted, would have been far better, he contended, had the war never been undertaken, or had it been terminated sooner. On the subject of Jacobinism, he did not admit the doctrines of the Master of the Rolls. "My alarms," he said, "begin when the alarms of some persons cease. Some danger was always allowed; but to suppose the people of this country so miserably infatuated as to fall in love with dirt, and blood, and guillotines, with all the atrocious deformities of Robespierre; and that now, when France is "covered with glory," though certainly without liberty or any thing that much resembles it; there should be nothing to dazzle and captivate, is out of my comprehension. If there be in this country men of dangerous ambition, Bonaparte is the man to hold out to them, by his ambitious and successful conduct, an example much stronger than any thing that could attract the people in the exhibitions of riot and murder, unsociality and ferocity of manners. But they say, he has begged pardon of God and man by his piety and penitence. Yes, the pious, prostrate Bonaparte has begged pardon of God for making a tool of the Sovereign pontiff, by bringing back the prelates of the Gallican church, and, with the salaries of curates, constituting them, spies and informers. How has he begged pardon of man? By coming down on that honest, simple, hospitable people, the Swiss, and destroying the independence earned by the bravery of their ancestors. How has he acted to us? Why by condescending to receive our humili-



liating submission of every thing we had acquired by the prowess of our army and navy. I must trust to our valour to defend us against his armies; and I pray heaven to protect us against the effects of his penitence and piety."

It would have been wise, Mr. Sheridan maintained, to have surrendered Malta to France, and kept the Cape for ourselves, and on this point, he quoted a former speech of Mr. Dundas, who said that the minister who, on making peace, should give up the Cape, would deserve to lose his head. After some further remarks on Malta, which should have been retained if possible by Great Britain, to keep the British flag flying in the Mediterranean, "like a great sea mark, saving those that eye it," Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the opinion that the restitution of colonies would make France commercial, and divert the attention of Bonaparte from military projects. "I do not know," he said, "what France will be; but I do know that she is now a hard Iron republic. Bonaparte, from his military education, and the sort of company he has kept, they allow, is as yet a little rough; but then, if we could only catch him and clap him behind the counter he will become perfectly civil and quiet. When I was reading the treaty, I thought all the names of foreign places, viz. Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Cochin, Martinico, &c. all cessions. Not they: they are all so many traps and holes to catch this silly fellow in, and make a

merchant of him." Mr. Sheridan then made some humorous allusions to the statue proposed to be erected of Mr. Pitt, which he said should be set up near the Bank of England, and composed, not of gold, for of that he had not left us enough, but of *papier maché*, and old bank notes. He also descanted with great pleasantry on the state of parties, where the ex-ministers were all distinct and separate, and yet they and the individuals in office were all right honourable friends. The minister, he observed, had not taken the strong ground, he might have assumed in defending the peace, that the arrogance of his predecessors obliged him to put up with indignity. "The minister," he said, "takes no strong ground of defence: I won't say he dare not take it. There he sits to receive the attacks of the new confederacy, who are not great in numbers, but in talents. The ex-minister is mounted on a kind of hill fort to fire down on the assailants, but the garrison is all manned with deserters from the principles of the war. I should like to support the present minister on fair ground: but what is he? A sort of outside passenger; or rather a man leading the horses round a corner, while reins, and whip, and all, are in the hands of the coachman on the box\*. Why not have an union between the two ministers, or, at least, some intelligible connexion? When the ex-minister quitted office, almost all the subordinate ministers kept their places. How was it that the whole family did

\* In this part of his speech, Mr. Sheridan alluded to Mr. Pitt's place in the House, which was on one of the upper seats, above the treasury-bench.



not move together?—Had he only one covered waggon to carry away friends and goods? Or has he left directions behind him, that they may know where to call? Aristophanes, a Greek author, whom I must translate for the benefit of the country gentlemen, tells a story somewhat in point. He says, that Nycias sat so long in one posture, (perhaps as long as the ex-minister sat on the Treasury Bench), that he adhered to the seat; so that when Hercules came to snatch him away, in the sudden jerk a certain portion of his sitting part was left behind him. Of the ex-minister I would just say, that no man admires his splendid talents more than I do. If ever there was a man formed and fitted by nature to benefit his country, and to give it lustre, he is such a man. He has too much good sense, taste and talent, to set his mind upon ribbands, stars, titles, and other appendages and idols of rank. He is of a nature not at all suited to be the creature or tool of any court. But while I thus say of him no more than I think his character and great talents deserve, I must tell him how grossly he has misapplied them in the politics

of this country. I must tell him again how he has augmented our national debt, and of the lives lost in this war. I must tell him he has done more against the privileges of the people, increased more the power of the crown, and injured more the constitution of his country, than any minister that I can mention." Mr. Sheridan then stated his belief that the late ministry, no more resigned on account of the Catholic question, than they did because they could not discover the longitude, and concluded by moving as another amendment, "that the omission of various opportunities of negotiating a peace with advantage to this country, and more especially the rejection of the overtures made by the chief consul of France, in January 1800, had led to a state of affairs, which rendered peace so necessary as to justify the important and painful sacrifices which his majesty has been advised to make for the attainment of it."

After some conversation, this amendment was negatived without a division, and that of Lord Hawkesbury adopted by a great majority, the numbers being 278 to 22.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Sir Edward Law appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench on the death of Lord Kenyon, and made a peer, by the title of Lord Ellenborough; Mr. Perceval Attorney-general, and Mr. Manners Sutton Solicitor-general. Death of Francis Duke of Bedford, Eulogy on him by Mr. Fox. Notice of a motion for an inquiry into the Conduct of the late Administration given at an early period of the Session by Sir Francis Burdett; the motion often deferred; at length made; speech of Sir Francis Burdett; his motion seconded by Mr. Sturt; opposed by Earl Temple, and Mr. Archdall; the motion negatived. Notice of motion by Lord Belgrave, in approbation of the conduct of the late administration; and of one by Mr. Nicholls, thanking the King*



*for having dismissed them. Speech of Mr. Nicholls in support of his motion; of Lord Belgrave in proposing an amendment conformable to his notice of motion; Sir Henry Mildmay proposes another amendment, but withdraws it; Mr. Erskine also proposes an amendment and withdraws it; the amendment supported by Mr. Wilberforce and Sir Robert Peele; the original motion by Mr. Grey; Lord Hawkesbury speaks in favour of the amendment; Mr. Fox against it; observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Belgrave's amendment carried; and a motion by Sir Henry Mildmay for separate thanks to Mr. Pitt. His birth day celebrated by a very numerous company.*

**I**N the debates in the House of Lords recapitulated in a preceding chapter, the name of Lord Ellenborough appears; this was the title conferred on Sir Edward Law, late attorney-general, who was raised to the peerage, and appointed chief justice of the King's Bench on the death of Lord Kenyon. This virtuous and upright magistrate was regretted by all who knew how to value his integrity, discernment, and loyalty. In his hands the law was made the protector of religion and good morals, and his example never counteracted the lesson his judicial acts were intended to teach. On the removal of Sir Edward Law, the honourable Mr. Perceval was advanced to the situation of attorney-general, and Mr. Thomas Manners Sutton to that of solicitor-general.

In the course of the spring, died also Francis Duke of Bedford. His grace being succeeded in his title by his brother Lord John Russell, member for Tavistock, Mr. Fox, in moving for a new writ for that borough, pronounced a pathetic eulogy on the deceased peer.

**March 16.** Rising in great agitation, and frequently pausing in the course of his speech through affectionate emotion, Mr. Fox declared he did not address the chair with an unusual preface, on a

matter which was generally a mere motion of course, for the sake of expressing his private feelings. Sensibly as it affected him, the loss the public had sustained was infinitely greater: and it was from this conviction, from having witnessed the deep grief that had pervaded every rank, that he was induced to deviate from the common order of proceeding, and offer a few words in submitting to the House a motion arising from the decease of the Duke of Bedford. His loss was to be the more deplored, as he was carried off at a period of life at which the character is formed by a course of actions, which offer a pledge that what was to follow would correspond with what had preceded. He was old enough to have practised all the virtues that make mankind happy, and not too old to make us apprehensive, that by the course of nature we were so soon to be deprived of them by death, or that their exercise was likely to be damped by the absence of that ardour and enthusiasm which commonly attend on youth. Every thing in his composition was made to raise our wonder. His merit was the greater, not only because he was intirely the work of his own hands, but because virtue was greater in high stations, as it was more difficult, and as it embraced



braced a wider diversity of objects. He was not so much distinguished from others either by his birth or opulent fortune, as by a peculiar character, which he owed intirely to the native force and vigour of his own mind. This led him to the pursuit of utility, which became the prevailing motive, and the distinguishing characteristic of all his actions. He was born to a situation in which it is most difficult to keep pure the affections of the heart, and to cultivate the faculties of the understanding. When yet a child, he came into the possession of his honours and his fortune: he was surrounded by dangers which have perverted and corrupted the best disposed minds: he saw nothing in the world but what was fair and inviting. Under these circumstances, would it have been surprising if his heart had been hardened, if his views had become contracted, if he had wanted the common sympathies with distress, if he had thought of little else but the excess of self gratification? The Roman satirist had justly observed, *Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa fortuna*; but it was not so with the Duke of Bedford; for it was not the least remarkable part of his character, that in the midst of affluence and the means of enjoyment, he had taught himself all the virtues of adversity. No man ever put himself so low in his own estimation, or others more high. He used to consider himself comparatively as nothing, and to exalt, in proportion, the cause, the interest, and the objects of those for whom he lived; for at a period of life, and in an age that presented all the allurements of society, the constant undeviating object of all his cares,

was how to make others more happy, more rich, more satisfied with their condition and circumstances in the world. "If his condition was that of celibacy, Mr. Fox proceeded, it was only so in one sense, namely, that he has left behind him no children to lament his untimely end, and to imitate his brilliant example. But if all those are to be considered as our children whom we cherished and protected, whom we have rendered happy by our good offices, and whom we have bound to us by all the ties of affection and gratitude, no man ever had a family more numerous, or was more piously mourned; for he watched over the cares, and administered to the wants of those who came within the sphere of his benevolence, whether they were his relations, his friends, or his attendants, with all the providence and all the feelings of a father." Mr. Fox then praised the deceased nobleman for his warmth and constancy in friendship, his continual improvement in knowledge and virtue, and his attention to objects of public utility, which he pursued to such an extent, that if it had pleased Heaven to spare him some years longer, he would have found that his, almost princely, fortune, was not equal to it, and that his zeal for the most laudable and useful pursuits might have involved even him in embarrassment and difficulty.

The political opinions of the Duke, Mr. Fox observed, differing widely from those of the majority of the House, might, instead of forming a subject of panegyric, rather seem to require exculpation and apology. To those who felt so, the only apology he could offer was,



that there were some families in whom it might be remarked, that the love of public virtue was hereditary; and that if the Duke of Bedford might be thought to have carried this sentiment too far, and even to have retained something of a high aristocratical demeanour; yet, in times which we were taught to look upon as the best, the times of Athens and of Rome, those who were most eminent were always those who were most influenced by the example of their ancestors. It could not have been unnatural to have remarked in one of the family of the Claudii, a partiality and predilection for the privileges of the patricians. It was not unnatural in a descendant of the great Earl of Bedford and Lord Russell, to be animated by a fervent love, and to discover more than a common leaning toward the rights and liberties of the people of England. After some further remarks on his political consistency, and a description of the virtuous sensibility he displayed in his last moments, Mr. Fox concluded in these terms. "Let it not be supposed, that safely as I might trust to the generous indulgence of the House to state my feelings of the excellent man whose death we deplore, I have taken this unusual opportunity of expressing them only to strew flowers over his grave. No! It is for the sake of impressing his great example upon the public; it is that men may see it, that they may feel it, that they may talk of it in their domestic circles, and hold it up, whenever it can be imitated, to the imitation of their children, and of posterity. Thus it is, if we can suppose him now to look down upon us, and to be sensible of what is transacting in

the world, we may be sure that he rejoices that his death is as useful as his life, since its effect is, beyond all others, to teach mankind, according to the philosophical, although perhaps the too sanguine notion of a young orator of ancient times, that although the actions of vice are confined in their influence to the immediate mischief they produce, virtue lives again in its example, and is made to endure for ever."

From a very early period of the session, the attention of the House of Commons had been frequently directed to a motion promised by Sir Francis Burdett, for an inquiry into the conduct of the late administration, who, as he phrased it, had been the authors and promoters of the late bloody calamitous and disastrous war. From the 13th of November to the 12th of April this promised motion was deferred for various reasons. Sometimes, it would be inconvenient to the friends of Mr. Pitt; sometimes to his opponents; at one time the recess was too near, and the House too thinly attended; at another it was judged expedient to postpone the motion till the definitive treaty had been signed. Against these delays strong remonstrance was once made by Mr. Ellison, who said he had travelled 170 miles on purpose to attend the discussion, but the postponement was countenanced by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Horne Tooke.

The speech with which, April 12. after so much delay and preparation, Sir Francis Burdett prefaced his motion, was afterward published in the form of a pamphlet, but the bookseller, by omissions and leaving spaces in the printing, avoided the danger to which an



unmutilated publication might have exposed him.

“The time,” said Sir Francis Burdett, “has at length arrived, when laying aside conjecture and uncertainty, we are enabled (from a knowledge of facts, and circumstances that have passed before our eyes) to form an opinion of the principles and conduct of those men, who have, for many years, swayed and guided the councils of this nation; and on various occasions during that time, those ministers have boldly avowed themselves responsible for the measures they pursued, which were often arraigned, though obstinately persisted in. Now, I presume we may be permitted to make up the national account of blood and treasure, and shew to the people what has been received in return for the dreadful expenditure of both. Therefore, I consider it our duty to investigate the conduct of his Majesty’s ministers, for the various, and varying objects pretended by them, for engaging the country in the late ruinous war,—and for continuing a contest in which so much blood and treasure have been wasted, and the sinews of the country so much weakened; but above all, it is our duty to take particular notice, and give the most pointed attention to all those striking and dangerous alterations which they have dared to make in the laws and constitution of the country; and it is our duty to look with the most scrutinizing eye on the several unprecedented acts of theirs, by which they have for many years carried on open war against the long established rights, the property, the peace, and the domestic security of the people.”

One of the objects which would

present itself to inquiry, was the origin of the war, and although it had been decided by ministers, and their notoriously corrupt adherents, that it was a just and necessary war, he would now appeal to the sober judgment of the House, from that decision obtained by corruption. Now that the falsehoods, frauds, and artifices of ministers, were made manifest to the world; now that their fallacious and arrogant assertions had been uniformly contradicted, and by their counsels, the country was brought to so perilous a situation; surely he should not be told there were not just grounds for inquiring into the deceptions practised by those false prophets and tricking imposters. “We shall find,” he proceeded, “that, under false and strange pretences, the fundamental laws of the land have been altered; every bulwark of the constitution removed; every thing taken away but corruption and abuse, which have been shamefully augmented in the midst of general and national distress; there is no condition or situation in the country, from the highest to the lowest, considered individually as private citizens, or collectively as constituted authorities, which has not been materially altered. The situation of the King, the situation of the Queen, the situation of the Prince of Wales, whose rights have been as little respected as the meanest subject; the situations of both Houses of Parliament—of the judges—the laws—the magistracy—the militia—the Bank of England—the City of London—the West Indies—Scotland—and prostrated Ireland—also the condition of the people at large.—All, all have been totally changed, under pretence of  
resisting



resisting innovation and change. To effect this unnatural change was the real and ultimate object of the war.—“My founding steps,” (thought the minister) “will not be heard amidst the din of war,”—a war, not directed against enemies abroad, but against the liberty, property, manners, laws, customs, and habits of the people at home. I maintain that it was against the very existence of the rights of the people, that his Majesty’s late ministers conspired to have the war.”

Omitting to notice their want of success in foreign enterprizes, as too notorious, he would describe their victories over the people of this country, who unfortunately confided in them, and in that respect their success had been complete indeed. The liberty of the press, violated by placing printers and publishers intirely at the mercy of government, under new and unconstitutional restraints. He must be a bold man indeed, who would venture to put pen to paper to express his sentiments, at a period when a second conviction for a constructive libel, would subject him to transportation to Botany Bay; at a period when a libel was a thing not to be defined. A scare crow in a garden had been called a libel; the gestures of a deaf and dumb man might be deemed a libel; and the very motions of our hands might also be considered libellous. The judges of law and equity, were rendered dependent on the crown by large salaries or pensions bestowed upon them after they retired from the judgment seats; star chamber sentences had been pronounced for the most trifling political offences; men convicted of libels had judgment suspended over them for

years, and let fall to crush them whenever they became obnoxious to ministers. “Juries,” he said, “have been threatened with a writ of attainr by an attorney-general, for daring to assert their privilege, and giving a verdict contrary to his opinion; a new trial (for the first time in this nation) has been granted in a criminal case; the freedom of speech has been violated; above fifty persons together are not permitted to discuss their political grievances, under the penalty of death by military execution; and trial by jury in most cases taken away where the revenue is concerned.”

The income tax he censured as establishing an inquisitorial power; the sale of the land tax, as a confiscation of property to an immense amount, accompanied with circumstances of delusion and fraud; and to these might be added innumerable wanton, harassing, and disproportioned penalties, to enforce this overgrown system of taxation, converting England into an Excise office, and one part of the people into spies and informers to prey upon the other.

From these points, Sir Francis Burdett turned to the subject of secret imprisonment, treating it as part of a system invented for the purpose of altering the good old provisions respecting treason, and introducing constructive treasons. The effect had been that of undermining the morality and corrupting the integrity of the people; ministers had triumphed over the ancient manners which characterized Englishmen; they had destroyed all sense and patriotism in public men. “Ministers,” he added, “have new modelled the police upon the plan



plan of the old despotism of France, and have created a *lieutenant de police* under the title of third secretary of state, a station unknown to the constitution. They have selected needy creatures, dependent upon themselves, and invested them with the sacred character of magistrates. They have erected secret and murderous dungeons, under the controul of those corrupt magistrates. They have sent the money of the people out of the country, and have brought over foreign mercenaries, thinking them fitter instruments of tyranny than our own soldiers. They have, year after year, suspended the habeas corpus act; arrested indiscriminately such persons, not whom they had proof against, but against whom they expected they might be able to extort evidence. Knowing what they did, they could not but know that all men must be against them, and therefore they suspected every one. Having chosen victims, they commenced their inquisition; the process of which was varied, according to the supposed temper and disposition of the prisoner. Some were loaded with irons, and plunged at once into all the horrors of Cold Bath Fields, to suffer the torture of hunger and cold. Others underwent a different treatment; they were sent to messenger's houses, where they were indulged with food and fire, and comfortably lodged: the messenger's business being to pump his prisoner, and perpetually to represent to him the terrors of Cold Bath Fields and Governor Aris, hoping, good naturedly, that he might escape them by giving information, or as they termed it *singing out*. In this state of preparation, the prisoner was brought up to be

examined, when the first question asked by the dignified magistrate who presided at these inquisitorial proceedings, was in the cant phrase of a thief-taker, whether the prisoner would sing out or not? Most of these unfortunate men, having no song gratifying to the ear of the worthy magistrate, and preferring cold and hunger to giving false information, were sent to Cold Bath Fields, and recommended to the care of Governor Aris. Thrust then, into a solitary cell in this prison, where thirst and hunger, and every species of cruelty is practised and endured, unpitied and unseen, exposed even to personal violence, and having suffered it in several instances from the brutal ferocity of Aris, cut off from every consolation which the most inhuman have seldom denied their victims; even wives and children excluded; in this close, cruel, illegal custody, have ministers kept men without charge, without knowing their accusers, and without daring to bring a man to trial. At length, some at the end of two, some at the end of three, one has been imprisoned the greatest part of seven years, with ruined fortunes, broken health, broken hearts, almost, are they permitted to rejoin, witness and partake the misery of their starving families. To crown all, ministers have prevailed upon this House to reject the petitions of men they have thus treated, and to pass a bill of indemnity for these ministers and gaolers. A plain proof which of the two broke the law, the accused or the accusers. But, this is not merely a bill of indemnity; had it been so, it would have been sufficient to have secured ministers, after a strict inquiry into their conduct, against the



the legal damages which might have been awarded. But it was further necessary to reject petitions, stating the horrid facts of which themselves were ashamed; it was necessary to clear your gallery when these petitions were read; it was necessary to bar up the doors of the courts of justice, in order to prevent any well authenticated account of their conduct from coming before the public.

We have heard much of the blessings of our happy constitution, but look at the real situation of the country; five hundred and fifty millions of debt, with barracks and bastiles erected in every part of the nation, the habeas corpus act destroyed, for the frequency, long continuance and facility of its suspension, has totally annihilated the confidence of the subject; an army of spies and informers, an inquisition of property, an inquisition of political opinion, a shackled and corrupted press, a gagged and beggaried people, pensioned justices, eventually salaried judges, vague laws, threatened juries, an executive magistrate not accountable, a degraded aristocracy, a confiding parliament, and irresponsible and indemnified ministers. What is there in this system so admirable to recompence the people of England for the immense sacrifices they are called upon daily and hourly to make for its support?"

Sir Francis Burdett then adverted to the state of Ireland, noticing first, the excellent public spirit which prevailed there at the close of the American war, when left to herself the country exhibited the grand spectacle of a volunteer army, self raised, self paid, self cloathed, self armed, not subject to martial

law; a debating army, choosing its own officers, canvassing public measures, submitting to no other articles of war than public opinion, to no other mutiny bill than private honour. From this happy state corruption and fraud occasioned the country to decline. Places were multiplied, and monopolizing natives appointed to fill them; while the formation of a national debt, the establishment of a national bank, which at first pleased the vanity of the inconsiderate, were, in fact, stores gathered from the people, and swept into the granaries of the English minister, to be distributed by the hands of his factor, known by the name of secretary to a lord lieutenant; these supplies, were so abundant, that the price of a seat for one election only, rose from eight hundred to two thousand pounds in the House of Commons; and in the House of Lords from little or nothing, to three, four, and five thousand pounds. The people, at first gratified by the sound of an independent parliament, found to their cost it was of them the parliament was independent, and wholly dependent upon the will of the British cabinet. Then the question of parliamentary reform was introduced into Ireland, and the people were not in a small degree induced to promote it by the eloquent speeches of Mr. Pitt; but the right honourable gentleman having, in the mean time, become prime minister of England, strengthened by troops returned from America, and supported by a majority of the owners of the representation, whose fortunes, and whose families were made by this system, resisted every movement towards that reform to which he before led the



way. The friends of this object being continually baffled in their pursuit from 1783 to 1791, found it necessary, in order to effect their purpose to embrace every description of persons, and to avoid all religious prejudices, the rock on which reform had hitherto split. To this end, some of the most enlightened and strenuous advocates of reform composed a test, conceived in the following terms:—"In the awful presence of God, I declare, that I will, as far as in me lies, endeavour to promote a brotherhood of affection and union amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that I will persevere in my endeavours to procure a full, equal and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland in parliament." Thus the work of reconciliation and union was in rapid progress. Many societies of the coalesced sects, better known by the name of United Irishmen, were formed, and every thing wore an aspect favourable to peace, mutual affection and reform. The parliament itself, in 1793, took up the subject, and seemed to evince so much fairness in the entertainment of it, that no fewer than eleven committees of the House of Commons sat in the session of that year, for the purpose of taking the state of the representation into consideration. These measures alarmed the ministry, and they passed the notorious convention bill, the object of which was to quash the united societies, and to prevent all political meetings. From this time the meetings, which had hitherto been held openly, were convened privately; became numerous in proportion to the means taken to obstruct them, and perseveringly main-

tained their principles of union and reform. Attempts at reform without union, would not have alarmed. Religious bigotry would have easily frustrated them. It was the union of Irishmen that struck terror to the soul of ministers; because by the disunion of the protestant, the catholic, and the presbyterian, they were able to hold Ireland in a state of abject submission. Recourse was therefore had to the disunion of the sects, and the papering and racking system was adopted, which expelled from their habitations thousands of families, by a process the most atrocious. A paper of notice was pasted against the doors of the cottages of the catholics, commanding the inhabitants to quit their abode in five or ten days, and proceed to the province of Connaught, or they should be sent to hell. These mandates, not being at first complied with, the fanatics who had issued them, repaired to the houses of the unfortunate catholics, ousted the whole family, and racked, and set fire to the miserable hovel and its contents. Such transactions could not fail to attract notice; many of the authors of them were committed to prison; his Majesty's attorney general was sent to the theatre, where these tragedies had been acted, to prosecute the offenders, who were all acquitted except one, and he was pardoned. After this, which served as a manifesto to every agent of government—after such a pardon, it is not to be wondered at, if those catholics, who had not yet been papered and racked, should, dreading a repetition of the same system, and having no protection from law, proceed to deprive the Orange Men, (who were the authors of these proceedings) of their



their arms, themselves having been kept disarmed. This proceeding answered the purpose of ministers; it afforded opportunity of disuniting Irishmen of different persuasions, of protecting one sect, and stirring it up to take vengeance on the other. As the ordinary forms of law were tedious and uncertain, they determined to sling off the cumbrous load of statute, and employed an army, the officers of which erected a military tribunal, where they sat, tried, sentenced, and condemned; not a few individuals only, but whole tribes of the people were sent on board tenders. English fencibles, ancient British fencibles, and Hanoverian fencibles, were sent over, and such a scene of arson and massacre ensued, that the whole nation groaned. At length the people rose; thousands lost their lives in battle, and thousands were afterwards destroyed, for it was after the battles the horrors of war began. Thus was engendered a cordial hatred between the parliament and the people; and now was the time for the English minister to put the finishing stroke to the design he had been so long secretly carrying on. Having conspired with the parliament against the people, he now conspired with the army against the parliament; and to effect this object, the parliament was to be stigmatized as so full of low ignorance that it was unfit to govern a nation, and Ireland, as the only means of rescuing her from the danger with which she was threatened, was called into union with this country. Having dwelt some time on these topics, he exclaimed, "When I reflect upon the enormities which have been committed in that country, I really feel ashamed

of my species, ashamed of being a man. Robespierre only inflicted death upon his victims; the inquisition itself abandoned torture; and no Sicilian tyrants, not one nor all the twelve Cæsars, exceeded the cruelties that had been practised in Ireland. And can we permit this to be washed in Lethe, and forgotten? Is not the time arrived, or is there no time for inquiry into such unprecedented conduct? And shall we allow ministers, by a miserable juggle and sham change of administration among their own creatures and partizans, to escape unquestioned; and the people of England and Ireland to be disgraced? Hitherto, failure abroad and unconstitutional acts at home, have been deemed good parliamentary grounds of inquiry. It is high time to inquire into, and have defined, the real objects of the late war. It is fit to inquire, if such a peace as the present is safe and honourable, and why negotiation was rejected before.

The situation of the country, he contended was in many respects similar to that in which it was placed at the close of the American war. On that occasion he cited several of Mr. Pitt's speeches, reflecting on Lord North and his administration, and declaring to the people that they had no choice but ruin or reform. "I call," he said, "upon the gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland to stand forward at length in defence of the rights of the people at large. This is their natural position, the post of interest as well as honour; and let us all, before it becomes too late, set about reforming those abuses, which disgust the country, and weigh the people to the earth. Consider our

next



next war with France will probably be carried on in Great Britain; and if you wish for energy you must not be out of love with democracy. If you want virtue you must give it motives. If you want patriotism, you must afford a Patria, by a fair government embracing and taking in the people, by restoring to the people their rights, and giving them security for their enjoyment, by a fair representation in this House. Thus by uniting all classes in one common interest, you may defy the power of France, aggrandized as she is; or of the world, could it be placed in one giant arm. And what is more, you may defy wicked, corrupt, and profligate ministers. I now require, on the part of the people, that justice which at the close of the American war, Mr. Pitt demanded. I demand inquiry, in order that punishment should follow guilt, as an example to ministers hereafter, and as the previous and necessary step to reform, which can alone secure the people in future. If, after a war the most burdensome, bloody, and calamitous, this country ever was engaged in, ending in a peace, which places it in a situation critical and perilous beyond all former example; if, after the most flagrant and daring violation of the laws and constitution, no inquiry shall be granted into the conduct of those who have been intrusted with the administration, I shall indeed believe, that the destinies of France, (a term much used of late in this House) do lead that country to universal empire, and this to be enslaved and destroyed by a set of the most rash, wicked, and unwise men that ever were intrusted with the affairs of a great nation."

The motion was, for the House to resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the late administration at home and abroad during the war, and it was seconded by Mr. Sturt.

Earl Temple, in opposing the motion, thought it necessary to apologize for occupying time in answering a speech the most extraordinary he had ever heard, and in which there was more assumption, and less argument than in any that had ever been delivered within the walls of that House. The honourable baronet had not thought it necessary to adduce any new grounds on which to rest his motion: the topics and principles he had dwelt upon, were the very same which he and his friends had repeatedly advanced before, and upon which the decision of the House had been invariably the same. His lordship distinguished the acts of the late ministry from those of their successors, insisting that to the former nothing could be imputed which had taken place since February 1801. The origin and the objects of the war had already been frequently discussed and determined by the House; yet the honourable baronet persisted in mistaking both, and in supposing them to be aggressions on the part of England, and an anxiety to restore the French monarchy: no assertion had ever been more completely refuted, and no position more clearly proved than that it was the object of the war to repel that system of jacobin philosophy and of jacobin politics, which aimed at nothing but the overthrow of every civilized government; but more particularly at the annihilation of the British constitution, which was their envy as much as



our boast. The speech of the honourable baronet might perhaps be well suited to a tavern audience; it contained rounded periods, bold epithets, lofty declamation; he talked of bastiles and imprisonment; but the very same language was held in France previous to the revolution, and maddened the people into a determination to demolish the bastile. When lo! one poor prisoner only was discovered in it; and after France had imagined that she had thus laid low the towers of despotism, she soon saw almost every castle of the kingdom erected into dungeons to immure her children. The honourable baronet had also assumed that the only object the united Irishmen had in view, was parliamentary reform. To answer this assertion, he would content himself with reminding the House of the declarations made by Arthur O'Connor, and by the two Sheers, by which declarations it appeared that parliamentary reform the Irish traitors never looked to, but only held it out as a mask to cover their real designs. After some further observations, Earl Temple declared that in his heart and soul he believed Mr. Pitt to be the saviour of the country, and the real author of the strength, energy, resources, and prosperity which she had displayed during the war, and which she was now likely to enjoy in peace.

Mr. Archdall said, after the melancholy information from the honourable baronet, that the late ministry had levied war against the Irish as a people, he naturally wished to rise early in the debate, if it were only to ascertain his own existence. This ministerial warfare levied against Ireland, consisted in acts of concession from the com-

mencement of the war till the union of the parliaments; acts of repeated concession, and disappointed conciliation. He mentioned the different popular acts passed there, particularly the Militia Bill, to which Ireland chiefly owed its preservation at this moment; but the force raised under, which was not what the honourable baronet had recommended, a debating army; and the Roman Catholic Bill, of which the Catholics had expressed an opinion, by publishing, that they should for ever remember with the most lively gratitude the benefits which they had received during the Earl of Westmoreland's administration; under Lord Westmoreland's government, he said, more good laws had been made for Ireland, and that country was left in better circumstances, than in all the governments of all the lords lieutenants, from Lord Wentworth down to Lord Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Lord Westmoreland's successor. After mentioning this last nobleman with great respect, he said, the next government was a government of self defence; it was assailed by rebellion and civil war, and was obliged to repel force by force. Could the honourable baronet say, that commotion should go so far, and no farther, and that the hand which might raise a storm could be sure to allay it? As to the free quartering of the army, which he had reprobated, he should not defend, nor blame it. All he should say was, that it was not an act of the late ministry, but of the great and regretted character, who was then the commander in chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby. Having made some further observations on Ireland, Mr. Archdall spoke



spoke in terms of triumph of the glorious effects of Mr. Pitt's administration, not only in preserving the throne, and the civil and religious establishments at home, but also in affording charitable aid to sufferers from abroad. "Let other nations," he said, "when they think of this, tell the honourable baronet, what is now the English character abroad. And let this united nation, when it looks back to the contrast; on the one hand, their ministry calling forth the virtues of the country, and placing them in unison with those of the sovereign; on the other, a selfish and disaffected party, in their jacobin uniform, of threadbare sophistry and patch-work declamation; who once were troublesome, and might have become formidable, in the course of this war of principles, as well as power, had they not been defeated by arguments as well as by facts, and at last driven into obscurity with the indignation of the public. Let this be recollected, and the honourable baronet have the pleasure and the pride to tell what is now the English character at home." On the personal character of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Archdall bestowed a high eulogy. Having noticed some leading points in his public conduct, he said, "If after this, some one should come forward to criminate his merits in the parliament which had witnessed them, even he would presume to speak what the right honourable gentleman need not condescend to speak for himself, that to this House it would be enough to say, as his illustrious father said before him, "*You know these hands are clean,*" and to his accuser it would not be too much to say,

"Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,  
"Fortunam ex aliis —."

In the residue of the debate little occurred worthy of notice; Sir Francis Burdett was not strenuously supported, nor was it considered necessary on the other side to enter into a detailed refutation of the assertions so often advanced, and so perpetually disproved. Mr. Jones insisted that some inquiry ought to be instituted into the conduct of a ministry who had dilapidated 258 millions of the public money, who had granted 583 pensions, and created 95 peers. Lord Belgrave proposed an amendment, thanking the late ministers, for their great and eminent services in the exertions they made to preserve to us unimpaired the blessings we enjoyed during the whole of the late contest. Mr. Pitt was desirous that the principal question should be met directly, and the amendment withdrawn. This was at length agreed to, and on a division, the number for Sir Francis Burdett's motion was 39, against it 246.

After the division, Lord Belgrave gave notice, that he should bring forward the subject of his amendment in the shape of a motion, and Mr. Nicholls having afterward declared his intention to move a vote of thanks to the king for having dismissed his late ministers, it was determined that both propositions should be discussed on the same day.

Mr. Nicholls's motion was, for an address to his Majesty, thanking him for having removed the Right Honourable William Pitt from his councils. He had been induced, he said, particularly to select this right honourable gentleman, not merely because he



formed the most prominent character in the late administration, but because circumstances applied to him exclusive of the rest of his colleagues in office. He then proceeded to review the origin and conduct of the war, describing its first objects to have been the rescue of Holland and the expulsion of the French from Flanders; in both these efforts we had failed. Another object was to destroy the effect of French principles, but they were now more than ever recommended by success. This subject led him to the trials for high treason, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and thus, he said, had Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of warding off distant, and perhaps imaginary dangers, plunged the country into a contest for the destruction of French principles, and the diminution of French power; and who was there bold enough to say, that at the conclusion of this contest the power of France was not augmented to a degree which could not be contemplated without anxiety and alarm? In saying this, he did not mean to censure the peace, but the war which had rendered such a peace necessary, and compelled us to submit to the high language of France. In the conduct of the war, the minister had acted in contradiction to certain axioms of Machiavel; one was, never to trust the representations of emigrants; another, never to rely on the destruction of the finances of an enemy. In the progress of his speech he reviewed all the events of the late war, imputing intirely to Mr. Pitt that its conduct had been unprosperous, and its termination such, as to make men rejoice in the peace, merely because it was a relinquishment of a war which

had been so pregnant with disasters.

Mr. Nicholls then proceeded to notice the conduct of Mr. Pitt as a peace minister, directing his attention first to four principal objects: the income tax; the measure for the redemption of the land tax; the system of paper money; and the addition of two hundred fifty-eight millions to the national debt. On each of these topics he insisted at some length, and argued, that in none of them was there any thing from which the public had derived advantage. By these measures the funds might be kept up; and the capitalists might be gratified, but the tradesman was reduced to wretchedness. Every article of consumption was enhanced in price, and thousands had perished in the poor houses. He then descanted on the use of corruption by Mr. Pitt, contending that those arts as employed by Sir Robert Walpole, compared with those of the right honourable gentleman, were trifling; and alluding, in illustration of this opinion, to the number of peerages granted, and pensions confirmed during his administration. In the residue of his speech, Mr. Nicholls treated on the improper conduct of Mr. Pitt with respect to Catholic emancipation; and particularly his requiring those persons to look up to him as their patron and supporter; on the civil list, and the manner in which the claims of the heir apparent had been resisted during his administration; and he conjured the House to watch with a jealous eye over the designs of an individual who seemed to aim at an influence, by which the throne itself might be controuled.

Mr. T. Jones seconded the motion.

Lord



Lord Belgrave rose to propose an amendment, observing he could hardly think the honourable gentleman meant seriously to press his motion, as it was notorious that Mr. Pitt had resigned his situation, and had not been dismissed his majesty's service. The acts of the late administration had all separately been approved by parliament, but the House was now called upon to bring into view the general merits and demerits of government, and upon a conscientious revision of their whole conduct during the war, to decide either in favour of, or against the motion he intended to submit to their consideration; and he was far from wishing any gentleman to vote with him who did not feel entirely satisfied that their merits very much outweighed their defects. He thought, indeed, that considering, with the smallest portion of candour, the various difficulties of the public service, and particularly the unprecedented difficulties of the late contest, and the liability of man to err, it would not be conceived very extraordinary, if the late government should occasionally have betrayed, in their conduct, the imperfection of human nature. In the motion he intended to propose, he included those ministers who had been principally concerned in conducting the affairs of the nation in the arduous and perilous contest in which it had been engaged. But he meant certainly to point both the vote and his remarks chiefly to the late chancellor of the exchequer, who had been, for so many years, the leading member of his majesty's councils, and to whom the country was, above all others, indebted for its distinguished character in the estimation of mankind.

In support of these opinions, though averse to entering into details, his lordship presented to the contemplation of the House, the state of the country at the end of 1792, and asked, whether, comparing their present situation with that in which they were at that period, they did not feel themselves very much in the condition of mariners, who had just escaped the dangers of the most tremendous storm they had ever encountered, and who looked back upon the scarcely subsiding waves with emotions of calm delight, and unspeakable satisfaction? Let them now view the vessel of the state having weathered the storm, and riding in triumph and security in her native port; and then consider whether some credit was not due to those that had steered her uninjured through a sea so threatening, so awful, and so tempestuous? In the late war, the country had not only France to contend with, but French principles, supported by arms. They had not only a foreign enemy, but a domestic one to alarm and increase their difficulties. In the early part of her revolution, the deformity of her principles was something veiled by appearances so specious and alluring, that they for awhile infused their fatal poisons even here, and the disaffected availed themselves of the delusion to spread their snares, and weave their treasons in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and especially the latter country, where the materials to work upon were found more combustible, and better suited to their diabolical designs.

Pursuing this subject Lord Belgrave noticed the progress of the war; our numerous triumphs by sea,  
[Q] 2 our



our conquests from the enemy, without any loss on our part; the prosperous state of India, under the wise administration of Lord Wellesley; and lastly the union with Ireland, which effectually frustrated the darling hope of France to disunite the two countries for ever. He extolled the sinking fund, as a system wisely contrived to uphold the public credit, and to ease the burthens of posterity; noticed the income-tax as excellent in theory, though somewhat defective in operation; and, in fine, contended that the late minister might be truly said to have established a system of finance, by means of a rigid adherence to the integrity of the sinking fund, in times even of great peril, which might be called the magna charta of public credit, which no future minister would venture to depart from. Lord Belgrave then made an animated eulogium on the personal character of Mr. Pitt, who, for seventeen most trying years, had directed his majesty's councils with unfulfilled integrity, with intire personal disinterestedness, with the most laborious diligence, with perfect devotion to its interests, and with constant zeal and anxiety for its happiness and prosperity.

His amendment, seconded by Mr. S. Thornton, was, that "it is the opinion of this House, that by the wisdom, energy and firmness, of his majesty's councils during the late arduous contest, supported by the unparalleled exertions of our fleets and armies, and by the magnanimity and fortitude of the people, the honour of this country has been upheld, its strength united and consolidated, its credit and commerce maintained and extended, and our invaluable constitution preserv-

ed against the attacks of foreign and domestic enemies."

Mr. Grey objected to the amendment as irregular, and was supported by Mr. Fox; Mr. Wilberforce argued on the opposite side, and the Speaker decided against the objection.

Sir Henry Mildmay, cordially agreeing in the amendment, declared that to Mr. Pitt the people were indebted for the preservation of their laws and their religion; and the king for the crown he wore. Allowing great merit to his colleagues in office, Sir Henry wished, however, to confine the vote of that night to Mr. Pitt, and offered an amendment to that effect, but was informed it was, at that period, irregular.

Mr. Erskine vehemently reprobated the amendment, and conjured the House, as they valued their dignity, their character, their honour, not merely in the present age, but in all future times, not to give their sanction to a proposition so monstrous. If the assertion in the original motion, that the king had dismissed Mr. Pitt was unfounded in fact, why did not the noble lord make that a distinct affirmation, and use it as a ground for rejecting the motion. He descanted at great length on the metaphor of a ship, used by Lord Belgrave, and insisted that on his principle those who had taken upon themselves the management of the vessel of state, and had deserted their posts in a moment of peril, were not only not to be forced to account for this extraordinary conduct, but to be loaded with praises, and have honours lavished on their heads. After treating on other topics for some time, Mr. Erskine returned to this part of the subject,



subject, and observed, there was one way in which it could be satisfactorily proved that the right honourable gentleman had not deserted his duty. It might be said that certain circumstances disqualified him for ostensibly undertaking the work of peace; that he only retired a moment behind the scenes, but that, though his face was hid from public observation, his comprehensive eye watched over all the varied parts of the political machine; that every thing continued subject to his controul; that the restoration of that peace, which was received with so much gratitude throughout the country, was his work. Admitting all this to be true, it was a fact known only to a very few persons in the House, and therefore it was a fact upon which the House could not proceed to act. The whole of this transaction he wished to see cleared up, before he could possibly even consent to entertain the amendment which the noble lord had proposed.

It was another objection to the amendment, that it purposed to include some of the most prominent characters of the late administration, who were busied in declaiming against the peace; who, by every exertion in their power, were endeavouring to convince the House and the public that it was ruinous and disgraceful; and were doing what in them lay to prepare the way for the renewal of hostilities. Was this the way to consolidate or cement peace betwixt the two nations? Was this the way to convince the government of France that we were desirous of cultivating a good understanding? He should also object to the motion

because Mr. Pitt had advised the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures in 1800. The House could not have forgotten the time when this rejection took place. It was when Italy contained not a single French soldier; when it had been traced and retraced by the footsteps of the Russian troops, and the French armies had totally withdrawn from it; it was when the states of Europe had not fallen into that degraded situation in which they now presented themselves; it was when terms of peace, much more moderate and consistent with the independence of Europe, could have been obtained; it was at such a moment as this that language of the most barbarous and disgusting kind was employed to the chief consul of France. It was not merely that we refused to treat, but that we refused even to listen to a proposition for that purpose. It was not that we sent back a refusal, couched in the language of conciliation, but that the offer was treated with the most offensive contempt. The rejection, accompanied with all these circumstances, was sanctioned by the House. The bitter pill was swallowed, but if it were to do again, was there one man in the House who would agree to its repetition!

Censuring as unfair the proceeding of Lord Belgrave, who, instead of meeting the original motion with a direct negative, had evaded it by a pompous interpolation, Mr. Erskine proposed, as an amendment, that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the conduct of the late administration, and causes of their resignation; but being informed that the forms of the House did not allow of the mo-



tion being put, he withdrew it.

Mr. Wilberforce was glad the opposition party had chosen the resignation of Mr. Pitt as their strongest ground of argument, for it was weak as could be imagined. That his remaining in office was accounted by them so essential to the interests of the country, was a high compliment to his talents. It was only necessary to attend to the conduct he had pursued since his resignation, for from that might be formed the best judgment of the motives which induced him to resign. The magnanimity with which he had supported the ministry which had succeeded him; the spirited and disinterested manner in which he had come forward to approve the peace which they had made, proved the greatness of his mind, from which the House could not withhold due applause. Mr. Wilberforce did not, however, wish to vote praises to him exclusively, for his measures were all submitted to the review of the rest of the Cabinet, and modified and amended by their united wisdom. As particular grounds of his admiration of Mr. Pitt, he cited his energy in exciting the spirit of the country to repel surrounding dangers; the disinterestedness and public spirit with which he looked forward to the advantage, the relief, the prosperity of future ages, and the magnanimity he had ever shewn, both in conducting the war and approving the peace. He strenuously advised the existing administration to follow the glorious example thus placed before them, and, after vindicating Mr. Pitt from the groundless charge, so often advanced and so often refuted, of having been the

author of the late war, concluded by giving his hearty assent to the amendment.

Sir Robert Peel bore testimony to the unrivalled knowledge of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in the commercial concerns of the country. He also extolled his disinterestedness, having been the benefactor of his country, and neglected no one's interest but his own. "It has indeed been said," he proceeded, "that though he did not enrich himself, he secured his influence by bestowing pensions and titles on others. But he had no occasion to have recourse to such arts; he had secured sufficient support by honourable measures; three parts of the House, who were incapable of being bribed, were his friends." He thought the House should bestow on him some more solid mark of approbation than a vote of thanks. It would be disgraceful to the nation to allow such a man to retire to languish in poverty. "I, for one," he said, "would be happy to contribute to prevent this; not from any personal motives, for I have not the honour of being acquainted with the Right Honourable Gentleman, but on account of the great and important services which he has rendered his country."

Mr. Grey said Mr. Pitt's admirers had confined themselves to general eulogium and declamation, or to an assumption of facts which it behoved them to prove. The amendment was not only unprecedented and unsupported by argument, but insulting to an oppressed people, who were groaning under the fatal effects of his misconduct. It had been said, that to Mr. Pitt the King was indebted for his crown.



crown. *Non tali auxilio!* the crown never was in danger, and if it had, there was a sufficient share of loyalty and good sense in the country to defend it without any assistance from him. It was said the vessel of the state had outrode the storm, and was secure in port. In what did this security consist? "Look to France, and see the situation in which we are left!" Mr. Grey then inquired why we could not, at any former period, as well as now, have made peace with the French Republic. Jacobinism was no more dreadful at any former time than at the present. Had Robespierre been allowed to consolidate his power, and to seat himself quietly on the throne, would he have been less safe to be treated with? If he had found it for his interest, would he not have suppressed the clubs, silenced discussion, shackled the press, and, after worshipping the Goddess of Reason, installed Christianity in the church of Nôtre Dame? These things had been done by one of whom such atrocities are related during his campaign in Egypt; and why might not the same line of conduct have been pursued by the other governments of France who had vexed that ill-fated country?—ill-fated in having lost its liberty, although fortunate in conquest and aggrandizement; but these were poor compensations for being reduced under the yoke of despotism. The attempts which Mr. Pitt had made to negotiate, Mr. Grey ascribed entirely to misfortune; transient success at all times served to make him reject overtures of accommodation with the most unbounded haughtiness. "I approved of the preliminaries," Mr. Grey proceeded, "and I would

by no means give a vote which would endanger the renewal of the war; but I feel myself strongly inclined to alter my opinion, and my mode of acting, not only by events which have subsequently happened, but the manner in which the peace is defended. What is the boasted port in which we are now riding securely? France has attained that power and those boundaries which few men in France, at the beginning of the contest, considered more than an idle dream. Her present limits are the Ocean, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, and the Alps. Indeed she has gone beyond the Alps, and the Italian Republic is no longer to be considered but as one of her departments." To these circumstances he added the probability that France would increase her commerce, rival us on the sea, exclude us from the continent of Europe, and cut us out from Africa, while she carried on trade with great advantages in India; and from her formidable new position in America, would make the United States dependant, and controul the whole of our commerce to the West Indies. To prove the fallen state of this country, he would only appeal to the right honourable gentleman's colleagues in office. Instead of expecting approbation, did it not lie on him to clear his character? He might be innocent, but was not the reduction of a great nation to comparative imbecility and insignificance, *prima facie*, evidence of misconduct which he and his friends were bound to repel?

The financial embarrassments with which Mr. Pitt had contended, must have arisen from his own faults. When our trade was so



extensive, when our credit was so high, could they arise without mismanagement? It was possible they might, but it was too much to ask the House, without inquiry and without proof, to believe that they did. In the war, dissention relaxed the efforts of the confederacy, and at last dissolved it. This he attributed to the selfish principle on which the contest was conducted. Could we expect that the confederacy would keep united, when it was seen that we were aiming at the aggrandizement of our own power? Distrust was generated, together with a similar desire of plunder in all our allies. While we were pursuing schemes of conquest in the West Indies, the emperor attempted to gain a new barrier for himself in the Netherlands, and took possession of Valenciennes in his own name. When we began to struggle for what were called British objects—when an attempt was made by our troops upon Dunkirk, dismay and disgrace attended our ill-directed efforts. Mr. Grey then returned to the events which had occurred since the preliminaries were signed; Elba, Italy, and Louisiana, all these things permitted, without a remonstrance, a proof that England was excluded from the affairs of the Continent. When such was the sad result of the measures of the late administration, parliament was gravely called upon to hail them as deliverers. It was above a year since these gentlemen had retired from office, leaving the country in a state of unparalleled danger, and we had just concluded a peace which we reckoned ourselves happy in obtaining, though unattended by security. At such a moment, and

on such men it was proposed to confer a mark of honour, which neither the ministers of Queen Anne nor the conductors of the seven years' war ever received. They were to be represented as having raised higher the glory of the country, and more effectually promoted its prosperity than a Chatham or a Marlborough.

Mr. Grey then ascribed the aggrandizement of France and disgrace of the country to the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures. In his approbation of the present peace, Mr. Pitt was not supported by his late colleagues, who had declared their sentiments against it. Gentlemen on the other side had assumed that the British troops, when opposed by equal numbers, were always successful. Had they forgot Dunkirk, where we yielded to inferior numbers? Had they forgotten the fatal and disgraceful expedition to Holland, where a British army was obliged to capitulate to an inferior force? They should recollect the expeditions against Ferrol and Cadiz, and the history of that armament meant to assist the Austrians in Italy, but which did not reach the Mediterranean till the fate of Europe had been decided in the plains of Marengo, and which, but for an accident, would have sailed into the port of Genoa, then in possession of the French. The success in Egypt was far from being to the credit of the late ministers, they deserved censure and punishment for having exposed these brave men to dangers too great in the ordinary course of human events, to be encountered with the smallest hope of victory. Our troops were victorious chiefly from their own discipline,



cipline, skill, and heroism; but, in no inconsiderable degree, from the misconduct of the enemy. Returning to the subject of finance, Mr. Grey allowed to Mr. Pitt financial talents and knowledge, but declared that his rash and dangerous attempts at innovation had involved the country in greater difficulties than it had ever been entangled in at any former period. In what did he deserve the thanks of the House? Was he to be thanked for having more than doubled the national debt, and for having expended during the late war more than was expended during the wars of Queen Anne, and of King William, nay, all the wars since the Revolution? The restrictions on the Bank; the income tax; did they intitle him to the thanks of the country? Even the spirit of the system of the sinking fund, his great measure, was abandoned, and the burthen transferred from the present House of Commons and imposed on future parliaments and posterity. Here then were specific objections against the financial merits of the right honourable gentleman, in which, however, his strong hold was supposed to consist. And should not the House, therefore, pause before they proceeded to an unqualified vote of praise on his general administration? The argument that he had kept up the funds, Mr. Grey treated as inconclusive, and, in support of his opinion, cited Hume, and referred to the History of Holland, to prove that the House should look for better criteria of the security and honour of a nation than the mere price of stocks. "That the right honourable gentleman possessed great talents," said Mr.

Grey in concluding, "no man is readier to acknowledge than I am; his eloquence, his dexterity at debate may be unrivalled; but his talents are rather shewy than solid, and better calculated to defend bad, than to produce good measures: his government was most iniquitous and oppressive in many respects, and utterly destitute of true policy."

Lord Hawkesbury, in answer to the observations of Mr. Grey, began by justifying Lord Belgrave's amendment, which, as he properly observed, arose out of Sir Francis Burdett's motion and speech, and that, in fact, after the decision of the House on that occasion, the present motion of Mr. Nicholls was unnecessary. He resisted Mr. Grey's arguments respecting the origin, conduct, and termination of the war, by repeating the facts so often stated respecting its nature and principles, and re-establishing the known truth that England was not the aggressor. He denied that jacobinism was as dangerous now as when the late war began. The present government of France had published to the world a recantation of every principle of jacobinism, and of every other principle from which danger was apprehended, in a manner as satisfactory, (as far as profession could be so) as the most sanguine friends of the war, or the most decided enemy of jacobin principles could desire.

In answer to some other observations of Mr. Grey, he said, there never was a time, from the commencement of the war to January 1800, in which we had any chance whatever of any peace. The honourable gentleman had complained that no proposition came from us when we or our allies had  
been





been successful; that our attempts at negotiating were always in the hour of distress. He must have forgotten that a proposition to negotiate had been made by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, at Basle, which was a period when the Austrians had been successful. He then took a view of the observations on the negotiation in 1800, and maintained that it was not probable we should have had better terms at that time than the present. The French were then in possession of various places, which he enumerated, Genoa, Malta, Egypt, &c. some of which they afterwards lost, and observed also, that Austria and Russia were at that time willing to continue the confederacy and prosecute the war. To the objections against the peace, he observed, that the state of Europe was not so secure as could have been desired; but when he came to think of the advantages and disadvantages of peace and war, and compared them together, there was not much room for doubt remaining with him as to the course which this country ought to pursue.

The honourable gentleman had then gone into the conduct of the war, and had enumerated what he considered failures, and certainly some events deserved that name, for certain expeditions had failed of their intended objects; but as far as regarded the separate concerns of this country, there never was a war more eminently successful; there never was a war in which more was acquired, and what was acquired contributed more to the credit or the valour of our fleets and armies; or gave a better proof of wisdom in council. He believed this was the first war in which no British

colony had been wrested from the crown; where we were so triumphant in the West and in the East; in the Mediterranean; in every quarter where the British force had been separately employed; and he contended it was impossible for the House to consider these things without not only admiring the skill and valour of the British force, but without also paying a tribute of praise to the wisdom of the council by which they were devised.

It had also been asserted that by this war the national debt had been doubled; that might be true; but the national debt had been doubled by every war since the Revolution. But when the nature of that debt, and of the taxes laid on, was considered, there would be found no blame imputable to his right honourable friend, unless they could shew that the war could have been conducted with less expence; he considered this a proof of the merit of Mr. Pitt, not because the debt was so great, (that was matter of regret to him and to every body) but because the burthens to support this debt had been so laid on as to affect in so slight a degree only the commerce, the prosperity, the comfort, and the domestic happiness of the people. His lordship then made a strong eulogium on the wisdom and firmness of Mr. Pitt with respect to the sinking fund. If this plan had been adopted soon after the period when our national debt commenced, and persevered in, as his right honourable friend had done in this, we should, at the commencement of each war, have had little or no debt upon our hands.

Lord Hawkesbury then vindicated the measures taken during the war



war for preserving the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. No man regretted those measures, or rather the necessity of them, more than he did, for he should always regret the necessity of laying any restriction on liberty, as it had been recognized by our ancient constitution; but it was the practical excellence of our constitution, that it had the means of applying temporary remedies for evils as they arose; and that was one reason why we had in reality so much liberty in general. In a country which did not possess the power of laying temporary restraints on liberty, it was impossible to have much of it at any time, because, whenever a state became endangered by the excess of liberty, without the means of checking that excess, such a state must be overturned; but a power of checking it on an emergency enabled us to have liberty to its utmost extent at other periods. The noble lord concluded by taking a view of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and made many excellent observations on that great event, which made an important feature, he said, of the administration of his right honourable friend, and for which he deserved the highest commendations; which had already produced many good effects, but which posterity would regard with admiration, astonishment, and gratitude to its authors.

Mr. Fox approved neither of the original motion nor of the amendment. The latter he censured as evading the main question; it was a general lumping amendment, by which army, navy, (already repeatedly and justly thanked by the House) and his

Majesty's councils were praised: and, in fact, a general edict of praise was to be issued. The House itself was to be complimented; and the representatives of the people must be placed in a very awkward situation, in being called upon to vote their own thanks, and in apportioning their own share of this general piece of flummery. The motion had been introduced by many just and pertinent remarks; but he could not vote an address of thanks to his Majesty for dismissing the late first lord of the treasury, till he actually knew that he was dismissed. Rumour represented the transaction in a very different light. If it was true that Mr. Pitt resigned because he was unable to carry into effect the plan which he deemed necessary for improving the situation of the Catholics, then, however hostile in other respects to the measures and principles of the right honourable gentleman, he should bestow the full share of merit upon that conduct, and say, that "nothing in his administration became him like the leaving it." Still Mr. Fox considered him open to censure, for not having moved in the House that the plan of civil and religious liberty, no less recommended by justice than by policy, should actually be carried into execution. At any rate, if those who resigned were seriously actuated by the motives assigned, they ought to have transferred to their successors the responsibility of opposing a plan which they had deemed of so much public importance. Mr. Fox thanked the present ministers for giving peace to the country, but still applauded the firm and manly consistency with which many members of the late administration



tration opposed the measure. From this it was evident, at least, that several members of the cabinet were not mere stop-gaps, as seemed to be insinuated, for such men as Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, the late Secretary at War, could not be supposed mere nominal members, under the controul even of Mr. Pitt. These men were at variance with the latter on the subject of the peace; it was absurd to vote thanks to Mr. Pitt, with the inference that all the members of the cabinet, however differing in opinion from him, were to be comprehended. Mr. Fox then proceeded to consider and contrast the situation of the country as the late administration found, and as they left it. He contended that this country was the aggressor in the war, because the usual and proper means of negotiation were not used to prevent the war.

He treated the war as unsuccessful, because the specific objects for which it was undertaken had not been accomplished. The war prolonged the reign of the monster Robespierre, because Frenchmen, from a laudable feeling, which, in some cases, might be carried too far, thought not of their domestic tyrant, but looked only to the English and Austrians, by whom they were assailed. The ways of Providence are inscrutable, and the means by which its ends are brought about beyond our investigation. The fortune of Bonaparte had been conspicuous, and, along with his great and extraordinary qualities, had smoothed his way to eminence. Among the circumstances by which he was favoured, might be classed the treatment he had received from the British government: in fact, he

had important aids in the incapacity, the folly, and intemperance of our ministers, of which he had prudently availed himself. He then reviewed with great severity the conduct of the war in its various circumstances, and the measures taken for domestic security during its progress, blaming particularly the suspension of the habeas corpus, and the selection of low and obscure persons as causes of terror and objects of vengeance. Mr. Fox ridiculed the unexampled attempt to bolster up a minister's reputation by a vote of thanks. He said that, in future times, people on finding a vote of thanks to a Lord Chatham, (who must be included) would certainly conceive it to be a mistake of the date, and set down 1762 for 1802. He likewise ridiculed the *qui pro quo's* that would arise from confounding William Pitt the son with William Pitt the father. He next took a view of the late minister's financial system, and strongly reprobated the income tax. Adverting to the incroachments on the constitution, he admitted that occasions (to be carefully watched, however) might justify temporary abridgements of liberty, but, if the rights of the people were to be lightly taken away in every war, and on flimsy pretexts, not a shadow of freedom would remain. He touched on the state of Ireland, when insurrection, ready to burst forth, was subdued by such severities. He admitted that cruelties had disgraced both parties, so that it was difficult to say which inspired most horror, the atrocities, in some cases, of the insurgents, or the cruelties with which they were suppressed. He shewed the evils  
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that had arisen from the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and asked if the late minister was to be thanked both for sending and recalling him? He expressed, in strong terms, his horror at the use of torture to extort confession, and his astonishment that, in an age like this, torture should be justified by grave and learned characters. No man could view the aggrandizement of France without dismay and anxiety. The war too had destroyed that connexion with the continent and influence in Europe, which, well understood and applied, was of so much importance. As a whig, he could not but lament the change. The system of the advisers in this reign had produced two great catastrophes; the separation of America, by straining power too close, and the dissolution of continental connexions, by improperly directing it to the purposes of pillage and plunder. This was because the system never contemplated anything but the extension of power, and totally overlooked or opposed the interests of liberty.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer affirmed that, in point of fact, Mr. Pitt had resigned, and from motives which, though not necessary to be explained, were influenced by a deep and honourable sense of duty, such as had ever actuated him. He adverted to what had been said respecting Maret's overtures to this country in 1793. He believed he himself was very zealous to accommodate matters, but the truth was, he had no powers to negotiate, and was not therefore attended to. He then took a review of the negatives given to the overtures of Mr. Wickham and

other persons, and assured the house of the very deep regret felt by Mr. Pitt at these repeated failures. He never saw affliction more keen, or distress more visible, than in the mind of his right honourable friend, on being obliged to continue the war. He vindicated the general conduct of hostilities, and highly praised the financial talents of the late minister.

The debate was prolonged some time by discussions, chiefly relating to Ireland, and on the question being put, Lord Belgrave's amendment was carried by 222 votes against 52. Another amendment by Sir Henry Mildmay, proposing express and separate thanks to Mr. Pitt, was carried, after some attempts to turn it into ridicule by additional amendments, the numbers being 211 to 52.

These attacks on the 28th May. character of Mr. Pitt, far from weakening his claims to the public regard, excited the enthusiasm of his friends. His birth-day was commemorated by a festival, which, as no tavern was sufficiently large to accommodate the numerous party, was given at the hall of the Merchant Taylors' Company. On no similar occasion was ever witnessed so large a concourse of men, eminent in rank, station, and talent, and never was such a celebration distinguished by so much genuine enthusiasm. The frequent use in the late debate of the metaphor of a ship, probably furnished the idea of a song, in which Mr. Pitt was celebrated as "The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm," and which was received by the company as a tribute not less elegant than just.



## C H A P. XV.

*Proceedings of Parliament on the subject of Finance. The outstanding Exchequer Bills funded; secret service money reduced; purchase of one third of the Duke of Richmond's annuity; indemnification of Earl St. Vincent's and Lord Grey; opposition to these measures. General measures of supply; description of the supplies voted; the ways and means; terms of the loan; the taxes opposed; debates on the tax on malt, hops, and beer; on the increase of the assessed taxes; on the tax on imports and exports. Lottery; measures taken to prevent illegal insurance; highly applauded; additional duties on lottery office licences; act for suppressing little-goes. Repeal of the Income-tax; and of the additional duty on printing paper and milled boards. Project of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for consolidating the sinking funds; adopted. Resolutions respecting finance moved by Mr. Tierney and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; those of the latter adopted. Statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the civil list; the King's Message to Parliament on the subject; claims of the Prince of Wales in respect of the Duchy of Cornwall submitted to the House by Mr. Manners Sutton; observations of Mr. Fox on the occasion; answer of Mr. Pitt; Mr. Sutton postpones his motion till after the debate on the King's Message; debate on the King's Message in the House of Lords; speech of Lord Pelham; his motion; amendment moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, supported by Lord Holland and the Earl of Caernarvon; opposed by Lord Hobart, Lord Moira, and the Earl of Westmoreland; and rejected. Debate in the House of Commons; speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; his motion; opposed by Mr. Fox; speech of Mr. Pitt; Mr. Tierney; and Dr. Laurence; the motion carried. Mr. Manners Sutton moves for a Committee on the claims of the Prince of Wales; the order of the day voted; the claims referred to the Court of Chancery. Provision made for the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge. Other matters of inferior importance. Financial measures for Ireland; Sums voted for public purposes; terms of the Loan. Restrictions on the Banks of England and Ireland continued.*

THE business of finance occupied considerable attention in the course of the session. The committee of supply found it necessary, according to the varying aspect of the times, to deliver various estimates and temporary proposals of expenditure. These occasioned frequent debates, in which not only the conduct of government with respect to the peace was censured, but Mr. Robson, and some other members

advanced objections against the propositions in all their parts. In these debates, however, in general, there is nothing contained worthy of notice.

The first financial operation of the session which claims attention is the funding of the outstanding exchequer bills. They amounted to 8,500,000*l.* and the chancellor of the exchequer, after a meeting with the holders of these securities, arranged



ranged a plan, by which they were to be converted into stock with a benefit to the proprietors of 2*l*. 15*s*. 7*d*. per cent. Mr. Addington detailed this plan to the House of Commons in a clear and able speech; it was opposed by Mr. Dent, but Mr. Tierney expressed his most complete and cordial assent to the plan, describing it as highly advantageous to the public, and censuring the opposition to it, as unfair and insidious. On a subsequent day, the minister gained great applause from the House, by stating that instead of 140,000*l*. the sum originally intended, he should want only 50,000*l*. for secret service money.

March 24. Among other miscellaneous services, the chancellor of the exchequer required the sum of 144,611*l*. 2*s*. to purchase one third of an annuity of 19,000*l*. granted to the Duke of Richmond, by acts of the 39th and 40th of the present reign, and 45,332*l*. 17*s*. 6*d*. to indemnify Earl St. Vincent and Lord Grey, from the consequences of the adjudications against them in the supreme court of the admiralty, for having detained neutral vessels at Martinique, and other of the French West India islands. The proposition respecting the Duke of Richmond was opposed by Mr. Robson; who considered it ill timed at the present moment, when economy was so necessary, and the public could so ill spare so large a sum. The chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Steele replied that the treasury had no option; by the act of parliament, the duke had, at any time, a right, peremptorily to prefer his claim, upon giving two

months notice. It was not in the power of the treasury to refuse compliance with this demand: they were bound when called upon to purchase as much 3 per cent. consols, as would yield an annuity equal to that of his grace. Mr. Robson also opposed the indemnification of Earl St. Vincent and Lord Grey. Lord Rodney, he observed, instead of being indemnified for taking neutral property, had been a great sufferer in consequence of what he seized during the American war. He also contended that, at all events, the public ought not to pay the enormous charge of law expences. The chancellor of the exchequer answered, that the case of Lord St. Vincent's was widely different from that of Lord Rodney. The former acted in obedience to an order of council; the latter proceeded upon his own authority only; the law expences ought in reason to be paid, as well as the other sum; they amounted only to 8000*l*. a sum which Dr. Laurence considered surprisingly small. On the following day, when the report of the committee was brought up, Mr. Robson returned to this subject, and made some observations on the conduct of Lords St. Vincent's and Grey, which drew on him some severe animadversions from Mr. Vansittart, Captain Malcolm, and Sir Edward Law, then attorney general.

For the general service of the year, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the embodied financial arrangement commonly called the Budget. The supplies already voted, he observed, were as follow.

*Navy.*



*Navy.*

Exclusive of the ordnance for sea service	£.	7,770,896	0	0
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*Army.*

Great Britain	-	6,188,204	0	0	} 7,708,334 10 5
Ireland	-	1,520,130	10	5	

*Ordnance.*

Great Britain	-	829,166	0	0	} 954,166 0 0
Ireland	-	125,000	0	0	

*Miscellaneous.*

Great Britain	-	260,482	0	0	} 423,689 15 9½
Ireland	-	163,207	15	9½	
Reduction of the national debt	-		200,000	0	0
Corn bounties	-		1,620,218	0	0
Deficiencies of malt duty, 1800	-		400,000	0	0
Interest on exchequer bills, discount on loan, &c.					
as per disposition paper	-		1,137,073	0	0
To pay off exchequer bills in possession of the Bank			3,000,000	0	0
Deficiency of £1,200,000 voted for the service of 1801, out of the duties on goods imported and exported	-				
Amount of civil list debt	-		410,000	0	0
			990,053	0	0

Making the sum already voted in the Committee of

Supply	-	24,614,430	6	2½
Whereof the amount of sums voted for Great Britain		22,806,092		
Ireland	-	1,808,338		

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£24,614,430

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These supplies were however, for five months only, the estimates for the remaining period should be made as speedily as possible, and there would remain to be voted for the navy, army, ordnance, &c. for seven months, and some for miscellaneous services. The ways and means as they now stood were as follow :

*Ways and Means.*

Duties on pensions, offices, &c. and malt duties	£.	2,750,000
Surplus subscription on exchequer bills funded		180,874
Loan to be pro- { Great Britain £.23,000,000 }		
vided for by { Ireland 2,000,000 }		25,000,000

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Amount of ways and means voted on or before 5th of April 27,930,874

Mem.



Mem.—Remains to be voted.

Surplus consolidated fund to 5th of January, 1803.  
Exchequer Bills on supplies, 1803.  
Lottery.

*Loan to be contracted in Ireland.*

Stock created by Loan, 1802.

	Capital Stock.	Interest.
3 per cent. consol. ann.	£.14,950,000 0 0	
3 per cent. reduced ann.	13,800,000 0 0	
3 per cent. deferred stock to be added to consols	1,601,375 0 0	
	<hr/>	
	30,351,375 0 0	
Interest on the consols and reduced	-	862,500 0 0
Ditto on the def. stock from Jan. 5, 1808.	-	48,041 5 0
Management on the whole	-	13,658 2 0
Stock created by ex. b. fund	11,138,062 10 0	
Interest, together with		
£7,796. 12s. 10½d. ann.	-	431,043 0 4½
£1 per cent thereon	-	112,222 12 6
Management	-	5,099 16 9½
Stock charged on income duties	56,445,000 0 0	
Interest thereon	-	1,713,016 13 4
Management on ditto	-	25,621 10 0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	97,934,437 10 0	3,211,202 0 0

The above charge to be defrayed by the following taxes :

Malt and Beer	-	2,000,000
Assessed Taxes	-	1,000,000
Duty on exports and imports	-	1,000,000
		<hr/>
		£.4,000,000

The interest on the deferred stock, amounting to £48,041 5s. to be defrayed out of the short annuities, which would expire the 5th of January, 1808.

The terms of the loan were £65. 3 per cent. consols, £.60 reduced. Deferred stock, £.6 19s. 3d. making together £.131 19s. 3d. for every £.100 of money.

The terms of the loan, Mr. Ad- dington contended, were extremely

advantageous to the public, and he declared that it was his intention to propose a repeal of the income tax.

The taxes which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed did not pass without animadversion. That on malt, hops, and beer was cen- sured by Mr. Whitbread, as pecu- liarly oppressive on one particular class of tradesmen. The brewers would have small cause to rejoice in the repeal of the income tax, if a



house which brewed 200,000 hogf-heads, were obliged, as would be the case, should this tax be adopted, to pay to the state a direct contribution of £.10,000. a year. When Lord Chatham imposed the beer tax in 1760, the public brewer received an allowance in the way of drawback, which in a great measure indemnified him against the loss which he would otherwise have sustained; in the administration of Lord North, when the tax was imposed in 1780, the same system had been pursued, and at a subsequent period, during the administration of Mr. Pitt, this allowance was not withdrawn, when, in consequence of the Spanish armament, an additional tax on beer was imposed. The policy pursued by parliament hitherto on this point, was uniform, and, in every one of the acts of legislature on the subject, the allowance granted in the way of drawback, was precisely declared to be for the protection of the public brewer against those who brewed only for purposes of private convenience. Similar objections were urged against the bill in other stages, but they were fully and satisfactorily answered.

The augmentation of the assessed taxes, which was very considerable, was opposed by Mr. Robson, Mr. Jones, and some other members, as peculiarly oppressive on the lower classes, and particularly on those, who not having property to the amount of 60*l.* per annum were not liable to the income tax. In answer, the moderate amount of this imposition, compared with the income-tax, was urged, and it was observed that a great portion of the increase fell only on the opulent.

The tax on imports and exports

was thus explained by the minister. He proposed it, he said, without any reluctance, because he had the pleasure to know it was approved of by the most considerate part of those on whom it was to fall: it was a substitute for the convoy duty, and he believed it would not be found to be materially inconvenient to the branch of trade on which it was to operate. He proposed to get rid altogether of the present mode of taking the duty, to do away the system of ascertaining it *ad valorem*, in some cases, and to make certain regulations in others, as explained by a schedule which comprized 500 articles of duty, which would be conveyed all at one view. The duty on imports, with certain modifications, was to be increased, and that upon exports to be diminished. This could not be said to be a duty that would operate to the injury of trade, for it had been already tried for three years, and during that period our trade had rapidly increased. It was intended to increase the charge on imports from 3*l.* to 3*l.* 12*s.* and in the application of the duties they were to be made to attach on specific articles, according to a schedule; instead of being imposed *ad valorem*. On the exports it was proposed that the duty should be reduced from two to one per cent. He wished it to be understood, however, that these regulations were not to apply to the East India Company, who were satisfied with the present arrangements. The highest amount of the tonnage was to be one shilling to all parts, with the exception of the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. On the tonnage to the East Indies, the tax to be imposed was to be three shillings, while



while it was to be two shillings and sixpence to the Cape. In its further progress this tax was vehemently opposed as injurious to commerce; an exception favourable to Ireland was decried, as attending to elevate that part of the united kingdom at the expence of the other; and the members for several trading towns and ports made representations of the injury it would produce to their constituents. In consequence of these efforts, some alterations were made in the plan, and particularly, the exemption required for Ireland was not insisted on.

30th April. Beside these ways

and means, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a lottery, for the service of the united kingdom. The great object he had in view, he said, in considering the plan which he was about to lay before the committee, was not only to make such an arrangement as might be beneficial to the public, by producing a large sum to come in aid of the ways and means; but after the best consideration he could give the subject, and the most accurate information he had been able to obtain, to prevent, as much as possible, the practice of low insurance; a practice fraught with the most serious evils at all times, and particularly mischievous under the present circumstances of the country. For any who had not enjoyed unusual sources of intelligence, it was quite impossible to conceive the extent to which these dealings were carried on, or the mischief they produced. If he were to state the sums paid in premiums, the number of clerks employed in these insurance offices, and the crowds of persons hired by the office keepers to go about to the public houses to entice the unwary

to engage in transactions which must certainly reduce their families to indigence and themselves to ignominy, he was sure he would procure the favour of every friend to morality, and to the happiness of the lower orders, for a plan which professed to remedy these abuses. It was obvious that the inducement to insure was in proportion to the advantage which might possibly be derived from insuring. Insurance was a contract between the insurer and the office keeper, by which the latter, upon receiving a certain premium, engages to give the former a certain sum, if a certain ticket shall come up on a certain day. The greater the number of days of drawing, the greater sum may the insurer receive, and the stronger is his temptation to insure. If there are forty days of drawing, he may get forty guineas; but if ten days only, then never more than ten guineas. As the time of drawing was contracted, the chance of great gain, upon paying a small sum, would be diminished, and in the same proportion the gambling spirit among the populace. It was therefore proposed to have three lotteries, and that the drawing of each should be completed in eight days. It was likewise thought desirable that for this year there should be none in Ireland. One inducement to this was, the advantage of having the new regulations extended to the whole lottery concerns of the empire, and of having them immediately under the controul of government. Beside, the Irish lottery had always been on a smaller scale; the tickets were cheaper and more numerous; the time taken up in drawing was longer, so that there was a wider door open for these il-



legal practices. He therefore hoped there would be no objection to the plan of consolidating the two together. He was aware that the effect of these alterations might be to check the bidding. The contractors of course had nothing to do with insurance, but their profits must in some measure, depend upon the dealings of those to whom they sell the tickets. He trusted, however, from the known sentiments of the House, that they would think a proportion of the benefit to be derived by the public well sacrificed, to a system which should add safeguards to the virtue of the people, and prevent the fatal effects of profligacy. He was happy to state, that whatever the tendency of the plan, in that point of view, might be, the advantage the public would derive was still very considerable. The sum produced would amount to no less than 555,000*l.* Two thirds of this (370,000*l.*) would be received by Great Britain, and one third (185,000*l.*) by Ireland. He was extremely happy to be able to say, that if the changes introduced by him should not gain the great end they had in view, at least they could do no harm, and were not purchased by the sacrifice of any great present advantage.

This plan was highly extolled by Mr. Corry and Mr. M. A. Taylor. The former observed, that the evils in Ireland resulting from illegal insurance were much greater than even in this country; to him the vice and wretchedness introduced into Dublin by lottery insurance had given the most heart-felt pain. As a further regulation, it was established that every lottery office in London and Westminster, should pay a licence duty of 50*l.*; but that such

licensed office should be only liable to a duty of 10*l.* for any agency office it might chuse to establish in any part of the country. That every office in the country should pay a duty of 50*l.* and have the same reduction for agency offices in any part of the united kingdom, except in London, Dublin, or Edinburgh.

In addition to these salutary measures for preserving the property and morals of the lower class, a bill was introduced for suppressing an inferior and more fraudulent species of lottery, called Little Goes. The regulations of this statute were so extensive as to include many modes of gambling which had long been carried on with general toleration, such as raffling, as practised at the watering places, and some other modes of adventure. Lord Holland decried the bill; contending, that it was beneath the dignity of parliament to pass a law to prevent children playing for gingerbread; but the Lord Chancellor found little difficulty in persuading the House that its objects were of a nature far higher and more important than the sports of children.

The repeal of the income tax alluded to in the speech of the chancellor of the exchequer in opening the budget, had been proposed at an early period of the session. Before the Christmas recess, Mr. Jones had given notice of his intention to demand the repeal, and afterward, he required some papers respecting its produce, but his application was resisted as being at least premature, till the war was effectually terminated by the definitive treaty. The measure seemed however to be anxiously desired by almost all classes of the people; and petitions were prepared

March 29.  
against



against it from many quarters, when the chancellor of the exchequer declared his intention to move the repeal. He was desirous, however, that it should be understood that his sentiments with regard to its justice and expediency remained exactly what they were. Peace alone could admit of such a measure. The subsequent mention of the matter when he proposed the taxes for the year introduced a debate in which the conduct and measures of Mr. Pitt were vehemently attacked by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Grey, but defended by the ex-minister himself with his usual force and success. The repealing act does not appear to have occasioned any debate during its progress.

Another tax repealed in consequence of an application to parliament from the parties affected by its operation, was that recently imposed on printed paper and milled boards. The petition, Feb. 15. signed by more than two hundred booksellers and printers, was brought up by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who stated, as its substance, that the last additional duty on printing paper and milled boards had greatly affected the trade of printing and selling books; that the tax was peculiarly oppressive upon the petitioners as a trading body, as it fell directly and wholly upon their capitals, and but slowly on the public, because in printing an edition of any book they were obliged immediately to purchase the whole of the paper, on which the duty had been previously paid, notwithstanding that the edition may be many years in sale, or may never be sold; that in order to sell books at a moderate price, and to lay upon each copy as small a proportion of

the expence of copyright and of first setting the press as possible, they are compelled to print a greater number of copies than can be sold for a considerable time, and are obliged to purchase heavy stocks of paper before a copy can be printed; that to prevent the increase of their stocks, they have forborne to print new editions of several deserving works, and in some instances have been induced to print smaller editions of them than they formerly did, in consequence of which the expence of printing, &c. has necessarily been laid on smaller numbers; this has obliged them to raise their price, which advance of price has greatly diminished their sale. With regard to the export trade of printed books, that Mr. Lefevre said, was, he feared, on the point of annihilation, because, as the petitioners stated, there had been printed, and were now printing, various editions of the best English authors upon the continent, which could be sold at half the price that English booksellers could print and sell them; a circumstance that must materially injure, if not totally destroy, the export of English books. That although a drawback of four fifths or two-pence per pound was allowed on printed books exported, it was an inadequate relief, and did not enable the trade to meet foreign competitors in foreign markets. This petition was after- Feb. 26. wards referred to a committee; evidence was heard in support of, and in contradiction to its contents, but the House finally decided in its favour, and the required relief was granted.

When he introduced the taxes for the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer also adverted to the establishment



blishment founded for redeeming them, and relieving the nation from their pressure. He intended to deviate from the usual course, but wished the House to understand that he considered himself treading on tender and sacred ground. There was not in that House, nor in the country, nor in the world, an individual more deeply impressed than himself, with a conviction that the sinking fund was the sheet anchor of this country, and had been our consolation on the subject of finance; and if he were to make a proposition, which could, in the slightest degree, shake that fund, or retard its progress in the redemption of the public debt, he should meet and he should deserve to meet, the reproach of every man who felt as he ought to do, and as himself he was sure did, for the true interest of his country. The committee would recollect, that in 1786 the plan was first submitted to the consideration of the House, and then a bill passed, by which one million was appropriated to the reduction of the national debt. All the compound interest of this sum was made to accumulate, and it was vested in the hands of commissioners, who should receive the annuity thus accumulating, until the whole should amount to the sum of four millions annually; and when that period arrived, it was declared to be in the power of parliament to say, whether that should continue to increase, or be applied in the reduction of taxes. In the year 1792, it was provided that one per cent. of every loan, or further sum borrowed, should be applied in the same manner as the million was in 1786: that was, to operate as a sinking fund for the extinction of such loan, in like manner

as the other fund was applied to the reduction of the debt. Now he intended to propose that these two powerfully operative sinking funds should be consolidated, and work their purpose together, for the reduction of the whole debt as it now stood, and, however paradoxical it might appear, yet it was true, that the whole of the debt could thus be extinguished in a shorter period, than by keeping each to its separate operation, according to the former system, because by the new plan, the operation of accumulation would not cease when it amounted to 4,000,000*l.* Upon the advantages of the latter system he expatiated with great ability; by it, he said, the extinction of the whole debt would be accomplished in forty-five years, a debt which must now be considered as upwards of 500,000,000*l.* He was confident that if this statement he had made should prove to be accurate, it was highly deserving of attention: his great object was, to do justice to the present time, and also to make provision for the welfare of posterity. It might be said the benefit to be derived to the public by the reduction of the taxes, after the sinking fund had obtained its maximum, would be prevented by this plan, but it should be considered, that, independent of this plan, there would be to be provided 900,000*l.* to support the fund of 1 per cent. for the reduction of the capital accrued since the last provision was made for such reduction. The plan thus intimated was afterward submitted to the House, many papers required for elucidating it, granted, and many questions respecting it readily answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It did not pass without much investi-



investigation, and some opposition from Mr. Tierney and Mr. Banks. Mr. Boyd supported the measure, and Mr. Pitt warmly approved it. The effect of the plan, he said, would be to improve and invigorate the sinking fund, and enable the country more effectually to support any struggle in which she might hereafter be engaged, than ever she could be if the plan was not adopted. There certainly would be a period in which the debt would be less rapidly discharged, than by the old method; the progress in the beginning would be slow. The question then was, the time when the quantity of stock to be bought up, according to the present plan, would be greater than by the old sinking fund? From the best calculation he was able to make, that effect would begin to operate in about fourteen or fifteen years time. Fifteen or sixteen millions would then be in the hands of the commissioners, and be applicable to the public service in case of a new war.

At a late period in the June 17. Session, Mr. Tierney, according to his annual custom, brought forward a series of resolutions respecting the national debt and resources, which were met 22d by another set of statements by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

These strings of resolutions 25th were afterward the subject of a debate, Mr. Tierney expressing himself merely desirous that those proposed by him should be placed upon the journals, and declaring himself very indifferent whether this was done by their being nega-

tived, or the previous question being put upon them. He also declared he had been anxious to guard against infusing despondence into the public mind. He saw no ground for despondence, but only a necessity for a strict attention to our finances, by which, and by which alone, we might overcome our difficulties, though they were undoubtedly formidable. It should be recollected that there was a great difference between this peace and the last, as the last succeeded a most disastrous war, and during the late war our trade had flourished to an unexampled degree. If the amount of our taxes had been raised by the war, there was, surely, nothing very extravagant in supposing that it might be diminished by peace.

Sir Francis Baring also declared it his solemn opinion, that in peace our trade must suffer severely. These observations gave rise to some others, tending to a refutation of them, and in the end, Mr. Addington's resolutions were carried without a division.\*

The state of the civil list, and some objects connected with it engaged a considerable share of the attention of Parliament. Before the Christmas recess, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that he had taken great pains in examining the expences of the civil list for the last fifteen years, and he was happy in stating from his own knowledge, that instead of improvidence and waste in its management, as had been too generally believed, the utmost economy had been observed, consistent with the nature of the expenditure. In some

\* See them together with those moved by Mr. Tierney, in the Appendix to the Chronicle, P. 242\*.



instances, it had been less than its amount; and in the course of fifteen years, in two years only did it exceed it. Indeed, when he reflected on the increase in the price of every article since the year 1782, he could not help thinking, that the present incumbrances on the civil list were comparatively small. He expected he should, soon after the recess, be charged by his majesty with a message on the subject, when, he doubted not, that the expenditure would appear so provident, that the king would find the House, as it ever had been, ready to support the dignity of his majesty and that of his illustrious family. When the communication was made, it was his intention to propose its being referred to a committee. The House would then have an opportunity of receiving the most minute information; and he had no hesitation in saying, their decision would give to the most benevolent of sovereigns, whose greatest care was the safety and happiness of his people, a fresh proof of their anxiety for his ease and happiness, and that of his illustrious family. When the House had an opportunity of inspecting the accounts, they would be able to judge how much was necessary; they would not give less, and his majesty did not require more. He was sorry severe difficulties had fallen upon persons in consequence of the situation of the civil list, which he wished to see done away; at the same time, it would not be necessary to lay any fresh burthens upon the people, as he thought the colonial possessions of his majesty were fully adequate to face the burthens on the civil list. The colonial property of the crown here alluded to, the minister afterward

explained to signify the lands of the Charaibes in St. Vincent's, and some other possessions.

The message alluded to Feb. 15. by the minister was sent to both Houses, stating that his majesty felt great concern in informing them, that the provision made by Parliament for defraying the expences of his household and civil government had been found inadequate to their support; and a considerable debt had in consequence been unavoidably incurred. Accounts for the information of members were laid on the table of the House of Commons, and on a motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, referred to a committee of 21 members.

On this occasion, Mr. Feb. 17. Manners Sutton, Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, addressed the chair respecting certain claims of his royal highness. It was pretty generally known, he said, that the Duchy of Cornwall belonged to the crown till the birth of a Prince of Wales, and that it was then separated from it, and instantly vested in the heir apparent. The infant prince was, on his birth, Duke of Cornwall, and intitled to the revenues of the duchy. These were, in general, allowed to accumulate during his minority, and afforded a fund from which his establishment might be formed upon his coming of age. In this instance they had not been secured for the benefit of the prince, but applied to the uses of the civil list, for which, had it not been for this, other resources must have been found. Some might imagine that this was a question between his Majesty and the Prince of Wales, but in fact it was a question between the Prince of Wales



Wales and the public. Had it been otherwise, his royal highness never would have applied to the House, and would have sacrificed interests of much greater moment, to his duty, affection, and respect, for his father, and his sovereign. His royal highness's claim was against the public, and it was a claim of right; the public had received the revenues to which he was intitled. When the subject was started a few years before, doubts had been expressed from a most respectable quarter; but he was convinced that these doubts would not for a moment have been entertained, had the information been then possessed which he was now ready, at any time, to lay before the House. All precedent and principle was in his favour. The period during which the arrears had accrued was from 1762 to 1783. The sum was little short of 400,000*l.* and, with interest from the time it was payable, now amounted to 900,000*l.* It might be said, there should be an allowance for the expences incurred by his royal highness's education, and that a deduction should be made for the sums of 12,000*l.* and of 16,000*l.* which had been paid into the privy purse. Giving credit for 100,000*l.* on these accounts, 300,000*l.* would still remain, which if vested in the funds, would now have amounted to between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* That this claim had not been satisfied would appear from the following statement:—In 1783, 60,000*l.* had been voted to his royal highness to defray the charges incurred by him on settling out in life. In 1787, 181,000*l.* had been voted him out of the civil list, to pay his debts, and to be laid out on Carleton-house. In 1795,

upon his marriage, 28,000*l.* had been voted him for the payment of his debts, and 56,000*l.* to complete Carleton-house. It would be unreasonable to consider the money expended on Carleton house, as voted personally to the prince, as it was realized for the good of the crown. Thus the sum voted to his royal highness did not exceed 250,000*l.* a sum much below what he was intitled to upon coming of age. His income, the honourable gentleman was sure, would not for a moment be considered as, from its amount, in any degree a compensation to him for his just demands. In 1742, 100,000*l.* a year had been voted to Frederick Prince of Wales. That prince's family was then very small, and the House of Commons had no other object in view than to enable him to support the splendour becoming his elevated rank. When the present prince first received a separate establishment, the annual sum allowed him did not exceed 50,000*l.*; in 1787, this was raised to 60,000*l.* and in 1793, upon his marriage, to 125,000*l.* 75,000*l.* being set aside to liquidate his debts. His royal highness was obliged to reduce his establishment, and to avoid every expence not absolutely necessary. If in 1742 Parliament thought 100,000*l.* a sufficiently small sum to support the rank of the heir apparent, when the rise was considered in all the necessaries and luxuries of life, it surely had not exceeded in liberality to his royal highness, and no one could imagine that debts due to him by the public had been discharged by these allowances. The honourable gentleman hoped he had said nothing which could excite an idea that his royal high-

ness



ness had ever felt either disappointment or dissatisfaction. On the contrary, his royal highness was deeply impressed with a sense of the obligations under which he had been laid, as often as his concerns had come before the House. He considered, and at all times was ready to declare, that the House had behaved faithfully to the public, and generously to him. What ever tended to remove prejudices from the character of one in whom the loyal and well disposed were all so deeply interested, he was sure must be universally interesting. Having laid this statement before the House, he had nothing to propose, and it thus could not derange the mode of proceeding determined upon by the right honourable gentleman. He left it to the House to consider what steps it would be proper to take. It would be most painful to him, if in the exercise of his duty he should say any thing which might be construed into censure of the late or present administration. Perhaps there was no blame any where, as, though his royal highness's rights undoubtedly existed, they had never been asserted.

The statement of Mr. Manners Sutton made a profound impression on the whole House. Mr. Fox agreed in his positions, and applauded the wisdom with which he had unfolded them. He denied, however, that the claims of his royal highness had never been asserted; they had never been so effectually asserted, he would allow; but he had himself advanced them on several occasions. He was of opinion that the discussion ought to be pressed. The sums voted to pay his royal highness's debts ought to

be deducted, whatever might be said of the 60,000*l.* granted him on coming of age. But it was the duty of the House, either immediately to allow him the remainder, or to declare his demands groundless. He had laboured under hardships, and suffered vexations, which to an individual of any rank must be almost insupportable. His whole private affairs had been disclosed; his debts had been stated and commented upon, when if he had received what was due to him, he never would have found occasion to apply for assistance. "If he were dissatisfied," said Mr. Fox, "I am the person whom he ought chiefly to blame: the measure of appropriating 75,000*l.* a-year to the liquidation of his debts was of my proposal. His royal highness knows, that besides the respect I owe him as heir apparent to the crown, he has ever had my best wishes for his honour, prosperity, and happiness. I therefore found it painful to propose such a step; but I considered it as my duty. I thought 125,000*l.* by no means too large an income to be granted to his royal highness. If Frederic, Prince of Wales, in 1742, was allowed 100,000*l.* 125,000*l.* was by no means an increased allowance. Why, then, did I suggest and support a scheme which reduced it to 50,000*l.*? His allowance was at first too small, and the debts incurred through this ill-judged parsimony I thought the House bound to discharge. But, when a settlement had been made, and his royal highness, though imprudently, had professed himself satisfied, I did not think it consistent with his honour to accept of money from the public to pay the debts which he had subsequently



frequently incurred." From this reasoning on the subject of the Prince of Wales, Mr. Fox drew an application unfavourable to the king's request; insisting that the sum granted by Parliament for the civil list, at the beginning of the reign, ought to have been definitive, and its expenditure strictly limited. To prove the evils of a contrary supposition, he reasoned in this manner. If a sovereign wanted money, not for purposes adverse to the interests of the country, but for purposes in which the country was not concerned, might he not go between tories and whigs to see who would give most? and might not political men barter the public money for royal favour? If the debts of the king were to be paid, the case was the same. He readily allowed his affairs to be involved, in the prospect of parliamentary assistance; and a minister was selected, not from his capacity, not from his esteem with the public, not even from personal favour; the only criterion of merit was compliance and profusion. As this was injurious to the constitution, so was it injurious to the prince himself. The crown became dependent upon parliament. No one would suspect him, he said, of a wish to make the crown independent, but this sort of dependence was highly unworthy of it. The prince was tempted into expence, and to extricate himself might be forced to practices unbecoming his station.

Against these sentiments, Mr. Pitt, anxiously, and immediately entered his protest. "I trust," he said, "it never will be very generally thought that parliaments at the beginning of a reign should de-

prive themselves of the power of occasional liberality, when they make no new grant, but only a commutation—when they are not paying the tribute of gratitude or expressing the ardour of their affection, but setting apart public money to public purposes—but providing for the splendour of the monarchy, which is a vital part of our constitution, and which the experience of every day shews more and more to be essentially necessary to the well being of the nation.

In consequence of this Feb. 21. debate, Mr. Manners Sutton informed the House, it was his intention to bring the question as early as possible before Parliament. But as a question of the utmost importance to his majesty had already been submitted to the House, his royal highness, from a principle of deference, and respect, was desirous that the consideration of a subject referring to his interest, should not interfere with that which related to the more serious concerns of his majesty.

The proceedings in the House of Lords on the king's message, were in some degree regulated by those of the Commons; as they deferred their discussions till the committee appointed by the lower House presented a report, and requested a copy of that report for their satisfaction and information.

In both Houses, the March 29. debate on the royal message was on the same day.

In the upper House, Lord Pelham briefly recapitulated the statement of expenditure laid before the House, divided as it was into distinct classes. Under class the first were arranged—1. The pensions and allowances to the royal family;

2. The



2. The salaries of the chancellor, the speaker, and the judges of England and Wales; 3. Salaries to ministers to foreign courts, being residents at the said courts; 4. The approved bills of all tradesmen, artificers, and labourers, for any articles supplied, or work done for his majesty's service; 5. The menial servants of his majesty's household; 6. The pension list; 7. The salaries of all other places payable out of the civil list revenues; 8. The salaries and pensions of the high treasurer, or commissioners of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and 9th, and lastly, occasional payments. His lordship explained upon each of these several classes, in what manner the decrease or increase had arisen, either in diminution or excess of the estimate, shewing, that as far as regarded the establishment for his majesty personally, and the splendour and dignity attached to the crown, no increase whatever had arisen. In like manner he shewed that by class 2, that of the salaries of the chancellor, the speaker, and the judges of England and Wales, there had been a decrease, which he accounted for by some of their appointments not having been immediately filled as they became vacant. In the 3d class, the increase upon the salaries to ministers resident at foreign courts, he admitted that there had been an increase of 129,643*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* which necessarily arose from the interruptions which occurred during the progress of the war in our relations with several foreign courts. On class 4, there was an excess of 74,090*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* In the fifth class, the menial servants, he stated, that there was a decrease of 605*l.* 18*s.* 5½*d.* On the pension

list, class 6, there was a decrease of 114,402*l.* The largest increase, his lordship said, was in the occasional payments, which was 995,908*l.* 1*s.* 4¾*d.* to which might further be added the sum of 51,679*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.* being the amount of warrants issued under this head, but not yet paid, as stated in the account of debts, making the total excess 1,047,587*l.* 1*s.* 6¾*d.* His lordship descanted summarily on these several circumstances, and observed, that in sixteen years it appeared that the excess over the estimates, and the accumulated debt, amounted to little more than one year's whole amount of the sum voted for the civil list. It was, he said, to be recollected that the money allotted to defray the expenditure of the civil list was in the nature of an annuity. That it was not subject to the fluctuating increase of produce of any of their lordship's private estates, but let all the varying circumstances of the times be what they might, it produced neither more nor less than the given sum allotted, and therefore, as every one of their lordships was inspired with the same loyalty to their sovereign, the same zeal and readiness to support the splendour and dignity of the crown, and the same sentiment as to the necessary ease and accommodation of his majesty personally, he had no doubt but that they would unanimously concur in support of the address, which he was about to move. It consisted of two parts,—a profession of their loyalty and attachment to his majesty's person, and a declaration of their readiness to concur in such plan for the relief of the civil list from the incumbrance upon it, which should be laid before, and appear



appear to them to be wisely calculated to meet the object of his majesty's wishes.

To this address, Earl Fitzwilliam, after noticing the evasion of the operation of Mr. Burke's act, moved an amendment, purporting that the House would proceed immediately to inquire into the causes of the excess and debt that had arisen in the course of the last sixteen years.

This amendment was supported by Lord Holland, and the Earl of Caernarvon, who analyzed with great minuteness the various particulars of expenditure, censuring some as unfit, others as excessive, and the account itself as deficient in precision. They insisted that Mr. Burke's act was meant to prevent any future excess from arising, and insisted that there was a great difference between the increased expence in the establishments of private gentlemen and noblemen, and in that of his majesty. It should be considered that his majesty was exempt from all those taxes which every subject, except members of the royal family, was obliged to pay; in the income tax alone there was a saving to the civil list of 90,000*l*. But it was useless to defend the arrears in question on the ground of all the necessities of life having risen in price, because it was stated that the excess did not take place in consequence of the high price of provisions or the war; that it was not occasioned by any extraordinary expences in the household establishment of his majesty. They wished, therefore, to hear no more arguments relative to the high price of provisions, or the war. That was a milch cow that had served ministers suffici-

ently. They censured ministers for suffering sixteen years to elapse, in every one of which this debt was accumulating without ever applying to parliament on the subject. Lord Holland said, he would vote with ministers on this occasion, if they entered into a proper inquiry, and if the mode adopted for discharging the debt should be by a sinking fund; by setting apart a certain portion of his majesty's income for the payment of the arrears, in the same manner as was done in the case of the Prince of Wales's debts. He saw no reason why it was not as just to do so in one case as in the other. The excess of the king's expences he looked on as a circumstance big with danger to the country, and one which parliament ought to examine with great jealousy.

On the other side were Lord Hobart, Lord Moira, and the Earl of Westmoreland. They defended the account and the expenditure in general; but Lord Moira was of opinion that the expenditure ought to be clearly explained, and that the civil list ought not to be encumbered with several payments which now proceeded from it. He reminded their lordships, that the main argument insisted upon in all the inflammatory pamphlets published during the war, calculated to excite disgust and disapprobation in the minds of the inhabitants of this country against the form of government under which they lived, was the great expence attending the support of the person of the monarch and his establishment, the assertion insisted on being that his majesty cost the nation a million a-year. It would therefore be well worth while to have the nature of the



the appropriation of the sum voted for the civil list explained to the public, that men might see how very small a portion of it was attached to defray the king's personal expences, and how much greater a part was necessarily expended in support of the salaries of the high officers and judges of the land, in support of the due administration of equity, justice and law, and how much more went again to the public services of the state. The effect these gross falsehoods had on the public mind was well known. He would tell the most enthusiastic demagogue that the establishment of a monarchy was as economical as that which belonged to any republic whatever. He would appeal to the example of history in all ages, and in all countries, and ask him whether the most galling and vexatious democracy that ever existed, could conduct the affairs of its government with more economy than a monarchy? The annals of all nations, and the universal experience of mankind, warranted him in saying, that a democracy was the most expensive, lavish, and extravagant of all governments. It was one essential part of such a government, that one man having but a temporary and precarious possession of the supreme power, would study only to keep up the stipendiary interest which he had in it, and would take more of the public money for the purpose of enriching himself, of making the most of his uncertain situation, and of bribing those who were to keep him in his power, than the whole expence attending the establishment of an hereditary monarchy. The poet Milton had said, in some of his works, that the trappings alone of a king would be

sufficient to support the whole expence of a republic. That great man must certainly have been blinded with enthusiasm, or guilty of gross adulation; for no government in this country was ever more expensive than the commonwealth under which he lived. The splendour and trappings of the crown were as useful to the state as they were conducive to the dignity of the monarchy, yet these trappings formed but a very small part of the establishment, the principal part of which was applied to purposes of such utility, that the state could not exist without them—such as courts of justice, &c. The gloomy retreat of a single tyrant might keep up a short-lived system of economy in the state over which he presided; but that could add nothing to the happiness of a people. The king of a country fixed and permanent in his situation, could have no inducement either to exercise an extraordinary parsimony or profusion: and that situation ought, even on principles of the most rigid economy and selfishness, to be supported in a manner as affluent and splendid as possible, for so it would be rendered as useful to the public as it must be honourable to the individual.

On a division the numbers were; for the amendment 4, against it 60.

The House of Commons being formed into a committee of supply, and his majesty's message, and the report of the select committee referred to it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered into a long and able explanation of the causes of deficiency. There was in the report, he said, that which might be an appeal to the generosity of the committee. There was in it an irresistible appeal to its justice. There

was



was in it also matter for regret, and not a little for astonishment. The House had full materials from which to form a judgment: there was now recorded on the journals of parliament, a plain, clear, distinct, and satisfactory statement of what really are the charge and expenditure of his majesty's civil list, and which, he hoped, would afford a complete answer to a variety of comments made, some of which were the result of ignorance, others partook rather more of the spirit of disaffection. It would now appear how ill founded the supposition was that his majesty's income, proceeding out of the civil list to himself was enormous; the contrary was the fact; and he trusted, that all assertions to that effect would now be set at rest for ever. He trusted it would be no longer stated any where, that his majesty enjoyed any advantage, with respect to income and revenue, beyond what was really enjoyed by any of his illustrious predecessors. The sources as well as size of the revenues of our kings; in ancient days, afforded them the means, not only of filling their coffers, but of carrying on measures of great pressure on the people, whether they were willing to bear them or not. In the times to which he alluded, the king had the disposal of the whole of the revenue of the country, except at some time of public exigency, when, on account of sudden, or increased demand upon the state, it became necessary for the monarch to resort to the House of Commons. It was on such occasions, and on such only, that the Commons had the privilege of restraint on the conduct of the executive government, a privilege which now was adequate to all necessary efforts for the check of abuses. His majesty had not the power of applying any part of the public revenue to his own particular purpose or personal use; and which use was frequently offensive to the feelings, as well as injurious to the interests of the people. It was at the commencement of the reign of Charles II. that the system began to take place which gave a check, or means of controul to the House of Commons, and through their medium, to the people, over the abuses of the executive government, which were often intolerable, under the heads of tonnage, pre-emption, &c. and a price was set upon the deliverance of the public from these imposts, and the revenue of the King of England was settled on its present foundation. The revenue of the crown in the reign of James II. was two millions per annum. At the commencement of the reign of William III. a question was put, whether his majesty *jure coronæ*, was intitled or not to those revenues which formerly of right belonged to the King of England? This was a question which the people were very desirous at that time of having settled: the Commons abstained from coming to a decision; but happily for the people of England, a large portion of the revenue enjoyed by the Kings of England before the Revolution, was commuted, and came into another channel, and it found its way into the hands of the subject, at which time, the parliament having refused to determine whether those dues formerly enjoyed by our kings, belonged to King William in right of the crown when he took it, established a civil list, an annual sum for the expence attending the civil establishment of his



his majesty, and it was upon this principle the establishment of the crown had been supported ever since. It must, from the nature of the thing, be obvious to the committee, that circumstances might vary the value of a sum granted for the support of the civil list annually; and, upon this idea, an augmentation of the civil list had taken place at different times. In 1697 the civil list establishment was permanently settled at 680,000*l.* which was afterwards augmented to near 900,000*l.* In the reign of George I. it was 850,000*l.* during which reign successive applications were made to parliament for considerable grants for the relief of the civil list, but what was most important now, as well as coming nearer to our own time, was, that which was voted on the accession of George II. It was then made 800,000*l.* and during that reign, there were two instances of votes in aid of the civil list to make good its deficiencies. When his present majesty came to the throne, many and various opinions were entertained, upon the grounds he had already stated, whether the revenues of Charles II. were not hereditary in the crown of England. All these revenues, as far as they were enjoyed by his late majesty, would have been readily granted to his present majesty, if it had been the disposition of his royal breast to take them, for no doubt there was a readiness of disposition to grant, on the part of parliament, as much to the present monarch as had been enjoyed by his illustrious predecessor; nor could there be any reason to the contrary: but the civil list was now otherwise settled than by appropriating to its aid any of these hereditary revenues. Here

the Chancellor of the Exchequer went over, succinctly, the leading parts of the history of the civil list during the reign of George II. and read the message from that king to the House of Commons, which was called by Sir William Blackstone the bounty of the crown. In consequence of this, parliament granted 800,000*l.* subject to a life annuity to the Princess Dowager of Wales, the Princess Amelia, and the then Duke of Cumberland, by which his majesty had left an income of more than 750,000*l.* After his present majesty came to the throne, it was clear that a very long period could not elapse before he must have had occasion to appeal to the liberality and justice of parliament, which appeal took place in about nine years. It was in 1769 that an application was made to that House, and the sum of 513,000*l.* was voted in aid of the civil list, to pay off arrears. In 1775 100,000*l.* were voted for the same purpose. In 1776, the growing incumbrances of his majesty became great, and another application to parliament became necessary, and 618,340*l.* were granted to relieve his majesty from the difficulties and pressure upon the civil list. In 1784, 60,000*l.* and in 1786, 210,000*l.* The whole amount of these aids to the civil list, up to this time, was 1,501,851*l.* The grant to his present majesty, on his accession, precluded him from the advantage enjoyed by his predecessors; that of applying any excess which certain revenues might produce beyond the 800,000*l.* for he had no means whatever beyond that sum. Nor could the revenue of his majesty's predecessors be less than 800,000*l.* although part of it depended



depended on the produce of certain duties, because parliament engaged to make up that sum, whatever the deficiency of the produce might be. Now, he would ask, whether, in the opinion of the committee, the sums granted to his majesty, at different periods, from his accession up to the year 1786, considering the circumstances of his majesty's family, the progressive increase in the price of all the articles of life, and above all, considering the rapid increase of the wealth of the nation, from the accession to the year 1786, was such as to require 1,500,000*l.* as it appeared it did by the votes of parliament? Whether, by these votes, his majesty's revenue was made more than equal to those of his predecessors, as most assuredly it was not, certainly not equal to his three predecessors upon the throne. Then he would ask, whether there ought to be an aid granted for the deficiency which had attended the civil list, from the last period it was aided to the present moment?

The chancellor of the exchequer then examined the particulars of expenditure as shewn on the face of the report, demonstrating that they were all necessary and laudable in their nature, and in their amount inevitable. With respect to the restriction laid on the excess of expenditure by Mr. Burke's act, he observed that statute was so loosely worded, that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to attach to it any precise or definite meaning in many of its parts. It was indeed said, that the whole burthen of the arrears was to fall on the last class therein stated. That could not be so, for, according to that construction, there were many offices to

which no salaries whatever were annexed. He had indeed some good reasons for apprehending that the true construction of Mr. Burke's bill was, that which the practice under it required. The instances in practice were numerous, and precisely as they had been lately. These instances occurred in the time of the author of the bill, and while he was a vigilant observer of the conduct of the executive government, and not disposed to spare his observations in the House of Commons, when any thing in such conduct appeared to him improper; and yet while these instances occurred, that right honourable gentleman had not once observed that the spirit of his bill was departed from, by the practice of government.

Having made these observations, he recapitulated the particulars of which the arrears consisted; they amounted to 990,053*l.* a sum which, it was impossible to contemplate without regret; but no part of it was owing to profusion, none of it had been corruptly employed, and it appeared from the report, what a vast portion of the whole of this went to the necessary purposes of the civil government, and was not at all appropriated, as some had most erroneously supposed, for his majesty's personal use, or for his own household establishment. Had we seen any thing but what was to be esteemed a necessary splendour on the part of the royal family? Certainly none. We had seen one sort of abundance on the part of the chief magistrate of the community in which we had the happiness to live. Every virtue that belonged to that character abounded in him; but with respect to outward splendour,



dour, the loyal feelings of the people would have gone much further, if desired, than they had hitherto been called upon to do; and he would venture to say, that the people had rather been disappointed for want of more, than satiated with too much of that splendour. The sum advanced for the discharge of the arrears of the civil list for the same period, in another reign, was more than was now required. And he wished to know, whether there was any reason for supposing that, although 1,400,000*l.* were justly granted at a former period, there ought not to be 900,000*l.* granted now? In the present case, although it was not his intention to propose any permanent addition now to the civil list, yet he had no difficulty in saying it would, in the present condition of things, be impossible to maintain, without farther aid, the necessary splendour of the crown, and to support the necessary expenditure of the royal family: and therefore, he hoped, that some relief would be afforded to the civil list hereafter, by taking away from it some charges which at present it bore, and which, in his opinion, did not belong to it, and laying them on the consolidated fund. He moved, that a sum not exceeding 990,053*l.* be granted to his majesty, to discharge arrears and debts due and owing on the civil list, on the 18th of January, 1802.

Mr. Fox controverted the statements of the chancellor of the exchequer, by adverting to the difference between ancient times, when the expences of war and peace were defrayed out of the hereditary revenue, and the present, when parliament provided funds for all great expences, and had, at the Revolu-

tion, settled the civil list, obliging themselves to supply the greater expenditures, to which the hereditary revenues had before been applied. He then reviewed the circumstances of the civil list, and the sums occasionally granted for its relief during the last five reigns; and insisted that when, at the beginning of the present reign the civil list was settled at 800,000*l.* the sum could not have been deemed too small, considering that the Duke of Newcastle was then at the head of the treasury, supported by the reputation, experience, and steady family attachment which had been formed in the course of a long political life; and had as colleagues, the Earl of Chatham and the Earl of Bute, a particular confidant of his majesty. Nine years after this establishment however, parliament had paid arrears to the amount of 550,000*l.* In eight years more, a new arrear of 600,000*l.* was contracted, and notwithstanding the opposition of men so respectable as Sir George Savile, Lord J. Cavendish, Mr. Burke, and several more, the House unwisely discharged it. Not only was the arrear paid off, but the sum of 900,000*l.* was voted as the amount of the civil list—a sum, as was said by Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker, in his address to his majesty on the occasion, a sum “great beyond example, great beyond his majesty’s utmost wants,” bestowed too at a time, Sir Fletcher said, when the people were labouring under burdens almost too grievous to be borne. And if the burdens of the state could be so described in 1777, what character could be given to those of the present day?

“About



“About this period,” Mr. Fox proceeded, “Mr. Burke, a man of the greatest abilities, of the most eminent services, a man for whom, notwithstanding latter differences, I have always retained the greatest veneration, brought forward a bill, the principle of which was, that the debts of the civil list were criminal; that when parliament had settled what the expenditure should be, any excess was disobedience; that it was the duty of the king’s ministers to square the expences of the civil list by what parliament had fixed, not the business of parliament to keep pace with the extravagance of the king’s ministers. Such unquestionably was the spirit of Mr. Burke’s Bill, and that bill clearly lays down, that such a mode of payment shall be adopted as that the salary of the highest class shall not be paid till that of the class immediately below is paid. I know that in the courts below an act must explain itself, but here we may reason upon the spirit and intent of the legislature; and, indeed, I cannot perceive that the act is so loosely worded as the right honourable gentleman argues; far less can I admit the position, that the violation of it being never complained of in this House, constitutes an argument that none has ever taken place. If omission or silence were to be construed into acquiescence and approbation, not a principle of the constitution would remain intire, or an abuse at one time or other without justification. So much was Mr. Burke convinced that his bill would produce the effect I have mentioned, that he boasted, as one of the advantages of it, that henceforth no arrear in the civil list could ever take place. But not-

withstanding, if Mr. Burke’s bill has not produced all the good he intended, what are we to do in regard to the arrear that has accumulated? I adhere to the practice of our ancestors, and to the principles on which they fixed the civil list as a measure essential to the existence of the monarchy. But why, as a friend to the monarchy, do I conceive that we ought not to acquiesce in the payment of this arrear? It is because it is essential to the monarchy that the king should, by a fixed revenue, be enabled to pay his civil list expences, independent of parliament.” Mr. Fox dwelt some time on this argument, insisting that ministers were bound in duty to restrain the expence within the sum voted by parliament, or if an arrear was incurred, to restrict the expenditure till it was paid off. With what face could they come to parliament and say, “you fixed the annual expence of the civil list at 900,000*l.* but we have actually made it 950,000*l.* You made one law, we have acted on another. You must obey us—it is not for us to obey you?”

The civil list, Mr. Fox contended, had received a relief from Mr. Burke’s bill, which abolished places to the amount of 30,000*l.* per annum; but ministers had created other offices to be paid from it. He instanced that of a third secretary of state, and the appointment of extra ministers to some foreign courts, all which expences were incurred without any sufficient reason. Even had the office of a third secretary been wanting, ministers should have considered their means of paying the expences of the old establishment before they increased it with new. The civil list (to personify it)



should have reasoned like an individual: "I wish for this or the other thing, but can I pay for it?" Thus the civil list: "I wish to have a new secretary of state."—"But have you the means to pay him?"—"No; but the House of Commons will pay cheerfully. I have good friends there."—"But ask your friends first."—"O, no, it is not necessary; I can use freedom; I know my friends very well. They will be quite delighted with the opportunity. They have brothers and cousins to provide for. Never fear; let the expence be incurred. Say nothing about the matter at present; the House of Commons will pay the money, and ask no questions."—Thus, without the least necessity, and amid increasing debts, new modes of expence are employed without decency, to be sanctioned without murmur. Mr. Fox, from these reasonings concluded that the House ought to reject the motion, and address his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to confine the expence of the civil list within 900,000*l.* and *pro tempore*, establish such savings and reforms as would create a sinking fund to pay off the debt contracted by the misconduct of his ministers.

In illustration of this proposition, Mr. Fox cited the case of the Prince of Wales, and argued that the influence of the crown would not be much diminished. That influence had increased so much, that a temporary reform in its means of expence could be attended with no abridgment of its authority. Formerly the crown had more to give with smaller burdens. Its influence now arises from the enormous naval and mi-

litary establishments, which the wars of Europe, and our relations with other powers, have produced. In these there is ample compensation for any suspension of inferior officers connected with the civil list. Mr. Fox also objected to the statement that some of the arrears were occasioned by increased law charges. He had on former occasions had opportunity to discuss the merits of these prosecutions. He was satisfied, that on no occasion, did acquittals ever better establish the innocence of parties accused than it did in these cases. Some were tried, some were confined without trial. Let gentlemen put themselves in the situation (the only way of judging of the hardship) of persons so tried and confined. Must not the feelings of these men towards ministers prompt them to exclaim, "You put us in confinement; you passed bills of indemnity to prevent our having redress against you who treated us with injustice; and now you come to squeeze from us a penny to pay our share of the expence of those law proceedings of which we were the victims." He concluded in these terms. "I can truly affirm that it is my wish to contribute every exertion of mine, by every legitimate means, to promote the happiness and glory of the sovereign: but there is a duty I owe to my constituents and the country, not inferior to the respect I owe to the monarchy. I wish to address the throne in language different from the language of servility. Courtiers may flatter kings by telling them that parliament will pay whatever they think proper to spend. A different language is more seasonable, more consonant to  
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the principles which placed his majesty on the throne. I would recommend this House to address his majesty, with due respect, to suggest to him, that he ought to reject the insidious advice of his courtiers, that he should distrust the ministers who misled him into unnecessary expence; that it is his duty in all matters of finance to comply with the restrictions of parliament, and that it will be for the dignity of the crown, and for the prosperity of his people, to quadruple his expences by the rules which the wisdom of parliament has prescribed."

Mr. Pitt would not, after the very able and distinct manner in which his right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, had introduced this subject to the committee, trespass long on the attention of the House. He first directed his attention to what he termed the burst and *tirade* of eloquence, introduced toward the conclusion of Mr. Fox's speech, on the subject of law charges. Whether the honourable gentleman's object was to excite compassion for those men whom the security of the state had rendered it necessary to prosecute, or whether it was his intention to discuss the question, whether those persons who had been confined, and were now liberated, ought to pay any portion of the sum which it was now proposed to vote, he could not determine. Those who had felt as the House had always felt during the whole of the eventful period which we had passed, would agree with him in thinking, that if there was reason to believe that the spirit of treason, both in this country and in Ireland, had gone to so dangerous a length, as to render legal

proceedings necessary for the security of the state, and if the expences attending those proceedings were greater than in ordinary times; it would not be consistent with justice to throw the whole burthen of that expence upon the crown. There was, however, something whimsical in the compassion which the honourable gentleman manifested for those persons, for he did not propose a remedy for those whom he conceived to be injured; but in speaking upon this subject he seemed to think that all the persons who had been accused had been acquitted: there were several persons convicted, and certainly there was one conviction which ought not to have escaped the recollection of the honourable gentleman, and those who sat near him. But what was the great hardship of which the honourable gentleman had so pathetically complained? It was, that this sum of 900,000*l.* which would be defrayed by so many millions of his majesty's subjects, would fall particularly heavy upon certain United Irishmen, and persons of a similar description. Now, in all the discussions which had taken place on this subject, it could not be forgotten that one of the strongest arguments urged to shew the impossibility of any treasonable plots existing, and an argument which had been repeatedly urged with great humour by an honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Sheridan), was the extreme poverty of the persons accused. But now the argument had been completely changed; and those men whose poverty was urged as a proof of their innocence, were represented as likely to suffer severely by paying their portion of this 900,000*l.* in



common with so many millions of his majesty's subjects.

On the general matter, all that the honourable gentleman had said resolved itself into two points: the first was, that it was inconsistent with the duty of parliament, and contrary to the system upon which the civil list was granted to the crown for life, in any case to pay a debt contracted upon that civil list; the other question was with respect to the meaning of Mr. Burke's bill. In arguing upon this, and indeed upon almost every other subject, the honourable gentleman had always shewn himself fonder of quoting any other times than his own, from any ministers rather than those whom he had opposed, and from any parliament rather than those of which he himself had formed a part; but he had been rather unfortunate in his precedents upon this occasion, for there was not one of them that was not an exception to the conclusion which he wished to draw: because the honourable gentleman had not been able to shew a single instance in which, upon a case stated, the debt had not been paid; and he was sure he could not point out any case in which all the circumstances had been so fully explained, and all the facts so clearly laid before the House, one which lay in so simple and narrow a compass, one so completely free from every kind of suspicion, as the one then before the committee. He would not enter into a discussion of the civil list, nor would he occupy the time of the committee by arguing much upon the construction of Mr. Burke's bill, by which the honourable gentleman had contended that no debt upon the civil list could legally

exist. With regard to this construction of the bill, he could only say, that it was one which he never acted upon. If the honourable gentleman would turn to the journals, he would find that the first excess upon the civil list, after Mr. Burke's bill, arose in the year ending the 5th of April, 1784; at that time he (Mr. Pitt) had been three months in office, and the other nine months of the year, the honourable gentleman himself was secretary of state, Mr. Burke was paymaster, and Lord John Cavendish was chancellor of the exchequer. It appeared distinctly upon the journals, that during the three last quarters of the year 1783, when those gentlemen were in office, there was an exceeding upon the civil list to the same amount as in the first quarter of the year 1784. This excess was laid before parliament, and was voted without any objection of this kind being urged against it; therefore it was evident, that the construction now contended for was not then considered as the real construction of the bill. In 1786, the subject was again brought under the notice of parliament, and although he did not like to revert to accounts of debates, which were often incorrect, yet certainly Mr. Burke did not, on that occasion, make any such objection; and the motion passed without a division, though at that time, very few questions passed without long discussions and divisions. If the construction which the honourable gentleman now contended for, had been at that time considered as the true construction of the bill, he would ask any candid man, whether it was likely in the state of parties at that day, to have been given up without  
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any comment, and without notice?

Mr. Pitt urged this point at considerable length, and vindicated the embassies of which Mr. Fox had complained, as well as the appointment of a third secretary of state, by arguments of prudence and propriety. As to the manner in which the civil list had been applied, Mr. Pitt said, many of the expences could not have been foreseen when the estimates were made; but when he saw that the pension list had been kept within its bounds, when he saw that the salaries had been diminished in general, and when he saw that the increase which had taken place was in articles the least liable to suspicion; he owned he felt great gratification in thinking that no application had ever been made to parliament, the explanation of which was more simple, or lay in a more narrow compass, or one that came with a better grace than the one now under consideration. Although the civil list was once granted to the crown to be disposed of, generally speaking, without the interference of parliament, it was, at the same time, true, that it was not only the right, but the duty of parliament, to inquire, whenever they saw any grounds for suspicion of prodigality or corruption, and especially whenever there was any application made to them for relief. The honourable gentleman had spoken of the expences in former reigns, but he wished he would take into consideration the grants to the crown and the debt in the three reigns preceding that of his present majesty, and he would find that in the first sixty years of the last century, the average expenditure was

794,000*l.* per annum. Now, allowing for all the sums which had been granted in aid of the civil list, for the last forty years, the expenditure upon an average, was not above 918,000*l.* a year. He appealed to the committee, whether this increase in the proportion of from eight to nine, (he was not talking of the revenue only, but of the revenue and debt together) taking all the circumstances of the times into consideration, and particularly the great increase in the price of provisions, deserved the language which had been applied to it by the honourable gentleman? Look at the great change in the valuation of money during the period of which he had been speaking. It had varied in proportion of from two to three, and the variation in the expenditure of the civil list was only as nine to eight. It would also be fair to look at the state of the hereditary revenue: the average amount of that revenue during his majesty's reign was 1,200,000*l.* a year, and in the year 1800 it amounted to no less than 1,800,000*l.* and this great increase of these revenues was an additional proof of the increased prosperity and wealth which the people had acquired during his majesty's reign.

Mr. Tierney could not agree with Mr. Fox that no instance could occur in which a motion for the payment of arrears on the civil list could be constitutionally entertained by the House. Still less, however, could he agree with Mr. Pitt that the mere circumstance of the debt having accrued, was any ground for the House agreeing to its liquidation without a previous inquiry into its nature; and a satisfactory statement that it was the



result of unavoidable causes. He wished the chairman to leave the chair, to report progress, and ask leave to sit again. It would then be in his power to move that the subject be referred again to a committee, with instructions to them to investigate carefully the character of the several accounts, and to report their opinion to the House as to those parts out of the whole charge, which they conceived ought in justice to be paid. When he proposed this, he begged it to be understood that he gave the right honourable gentleman who had submitted the motion to the House, full credit for the manner in which the subject had been brought under consideration, and was ready to allow that more detailed information had been presented on the present than any former occasion of a similar kind. He stated many objections to the particulars in the account of expenditure, and among others instanced the state trials in 1794, in which he said fifteen counsel had been retained for the crown.

Dr. Laurence strongly denied that Mr. Burke had ever been convinced of the insufficiency of his bill, or ever changed his opinion of its expediency and propriety. That great man, whose death all concurred in lamenting, had in retirement continued unshaken in his sentiments, and if, before he quitted public life, he had entertained any doubts on the subject, he would have fairly and openly have made them known to the House and to the public.

The House divided on Mr. Tierney's motion for the chairman to leave the chair, for which the numbers were in the affirmative 46, in the negative 228. Another divi-

sion took place on the original question, when the numbers for granting the supply were 226, against it 51.

On the ensuing day, March 31. Mr. Manners Sutton again appealed to the House on the claims of the Prince of Wales. His motion was, that a select committee be appointed to inquire what sums of money were due to his royal highness from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; by whom, and by what authority, its revenues had been received from the birth of his royal highness till he attained the age of 21, and how these sums had been applied. Also to inquire what sums of money had been advanced to his royal highness from the time he came of age, till the 27th of June 1795, for the discharge of his royal highness's debts. The speech by which this motion was introduced was full of historical and legal knowledge, and the whole debate was distinguished by great research and learning. It was contended, on behalf of his royal highness, that his right to the duchy of Cornwall commenced from his birth, and that consequently, he had a right to all the revenues derived from it, and to an account of them from that period. On the other side, the claims of the prince were not admitted in the same latitude, but without pretending to decide a point which was deemed unfit for parliament, and properly to be referred to the courts below, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day. This proposition, after a debate of which no abstract can give an adequate outline, was carried by a majority of 57 only; the numbers being for the order of the day 160, against it 103. The Prince of Wales, in  
con-



consequence of this determination, expressed by one of his officers, his resolution to appeal to the court of Chancery, which he afterward did, by the process called a petition of right. It is but fit to say that in this whole transaction, the proper, respectful, and dutiful language held by the prince's officers and friends, and declared to be the purport of his sentiments toward his royal parent, were highly gratifying to all classes of the people.

April 27. In a subsequent period of the session, the king sent to parliament a message stating his anxiety to make a provision for their royal highnesses the Dukes of Suffex and Cambridge, but finding the civil list unequal to bear the additional burthen of such a provision, he required the assistance of his faithful commons, trusting that, on this, as on all former occasions, they would shew their attachment to his family. This message being referred to a committee of supply, it was resolved to settle on each of the royal dukes 12,000*l.* a year, and a bill framed to that effect, passed through both Houses without opposition.

These were the principal measures of finance affecting Great Britain. Some other topics were occasionally touched on, and made the subjects of slight motions, as the subsidy to Portugal, the consolidation of the land tax redemption laws, and some other minute objects. It may also be fit to mention, though it is by no means worth while to enter into particulars, that two or three most undignified and useless discussions were generated in the House of Commons, by an assertion of Mr. Robson, that the government was in a state of insolvency, a bill for less

than 20*l.* having been dishonoured at one of the public offices.

The financial regulations for Ireland occasioned several discussions, but none of particular interest: the chief point in debate was the apportionment of taxation to each country, conformably to the act of union. One of the most interesting of these discussions occurred on the motion March 16. for a second reading of the bill for continuing the Irish duties. The measure was opposed by Mr. Foster, and ably vindicated by Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland, who besides defending the plan he had proposed, described in terms of confidence the advancing prosperity of Ireland under the administration of its excellent chief governor Lord Hardwicke. That the commerce and internal interests of the country were not neglected in parliament, will appear by the following items extracted from among many others voted in the committee.

	£.
For civil buildings in Dublin - - -	15,692
To the secretary of the commissioners for managing the application of charitable requests -	276
To the Dublin society for promoting husbandry	3,870
To buildings for a botanical garden - - -	3,115
To the incorporated society for supporting English Protestant schools -	13,505
To the Foundling hospital	12,696
To the Hibernian Marine society - - -	1,532
To the society for educating soldier's children -	3,240
To the Roman Catholic seminary - - -	5,538
The	



May 12. The general state of Ireland with respect to finance was stated by Mr. Corry when he laid his agreement for a loan before the House of Commons in the following terms. The interest of the debt of Ireland, the permanent grants, and the votes of that House, for the service of Ireland, amounted to 4,641,000*l*. The ways and means to cover these supplies, consisted of the revenues of Ireland, and the loan of Great Britain, and the profits of the lottery. These sums together amounted to 4,366,000*l*. So that the ways and means were exceeded by the supplies by some hundred thousand pounds. He had now to state, as further ways and means, a loan for 1,660,000*l*. Against the excess which this would create on the side of the ways and means, he begged leave to observe, that there remained to be provided for, the army-establishment for that country, for six months, and as that would amount to a considerable sum, that, he hoped, would appear to be a sufficient foundation for the loan. As to the terms upon which that loan had been contracted for, he had great satisfaction in stating that they were even better than those upon which the loan had been made in this country. They were more advantageous, not only than any former loan in that, but in this or any other country. It was an additional proof of the prosperity of both countries. It was, perhaps, rather insidious to enter into comparisons upon such a subject, but the interest of this loan amounted to no

more than 3*l*. 16*s*. 3*d*. per cent. whereas the interest of the late loan made for Great Britain amounted to 3*l*. 18*s*. 3*d*. per cent. It was not his intention, unless called upon by the committee, or by any honourable gentleman, to enter more at large into the subject, unless to observe, that this loan was made in the 3½ per cent. stock. The amount of the capital created, above the money received, was little more than 8*l*. on every hundred, or an increase in the whole of only about 14,000*l*. At the time that the Irish loan was advertised to be bid for, the price of the only 3½ per cent. stock in this country, viz. south sea stock, was 82. But the gentlemen who went from this country to bid for the loan, leaving the English 3½ per cent. stock, at 82, and finding the Irish 3½ per cent. stock 90¼, had nevertheless the spirit to bid 91*l*. 15*s*. 11*d*. a price higher than that of the four per cents. in this country at that time.

In concluding this chapter, it may be fit to mention, that an act was passed, introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, for further restraining, till the first of March 1803, the bank of England from making payments in money. The bill did not pass through parliament without considerable animadversion, but the debates were of little interest. A similar measure was adopted for the bank of Ireland, by which payments in cash were prohibited until three months after the restriction on the Bank of England should have expired.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Miscellaneous proceedings in Parliament. Non-residence of the clergy; observations of Mr. Dickenson on the act for suspending prosecutions on this*



*this subject; the act renewed. Sir William Scott moves for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Statute of Henry VIII.; his speech; leave given to bring in a bill; its progress; objections against it by Mr. Simeon, and Mr. M. A. Taylor; answered; but the bill does not pass; observations on the state of the clergy by Lord Grenville. Thanks voted to the army, navy, marines, militia and volunteers; annuity settled on Lord Hutchinson. Scheme for new-modelling the militia, proposed by the Secretary at War; the bill passes the House of Commons; is objected to in the Lords, by Earl Fitzwilliam; the Earl of Caernarvon; and Lord Romney; they are answered by the Marquis of Buckingham; Lord Clifton; the Earl of Radnor, and Lord Pelham; the bill is amended in a Committee; conference; it passes. Acts passed for improving the militia in Scotland and Ireland; the King enabled to accept the services of volunteer corps. Proceedings on the subject of provisions. Stale bread act repealed; Sir William Curtis brings in a bill respecting the assize of bread, which is lost; other measures; returns of population laid on the table. Measures for relief of the poor; repeal of a Statute of William III. proposed, but fails; other acts passed, particularly one relating to parish apprentices. Mr. Dent brings in a bill for suppressing bull-baiting; debate on the second reading; speech of Sir Richard Hill; Mr. Windham; Mr. Courtenay; Mr. Wilberforce; Mr. Frankland; and Mr. Sheridan; the bill lost. Remunerations voted to Dr. Jenner, for the discovery of vaccine inoculation; to Mr. Greathead for the invention of the life-boat; and to Dr. Carmichael Smith for the nitrous acid fumigation. Relief afforded to some sufferers in the West Indies. Alien Law modified. Measures adopted respecting elections. Close of the Session; King's Speech. Dissolution of Parliament.*

**A**MONG the subjects of parliamentary discussion, the affairs of the East India Company held a distinguished place; but as the state of that body is materially connected with the narrative of previous events in India, the whole statement will find place in a future volume.

It was mentioned in the account of the last session of parliament, that Mr. Dickenson procured the passing of a temporary act, to relieve certain of the clergy from the vexatious suits instituted against them by common informers for non-residence\*. At an early period in the present session, the same gentleman again called the attention of the

House to the subject, declaring, it was by no means his intention, in bringing forward that act, to encourage the non-residence of the clergy; and if the subject should not be taken up by some person more competent, he gave notice, that he should, immediately after the recess, propose to the House a revision of the statute of Henry VIII. with a view to enforce the residence of the clergy in their proper districts.

Before the respite allowed by act of the former March 4. session expired, he brought in a bill to extend it, and, at the same time, intimated that the subject of the residence of the clergy, in a more

\* See Annual Register for 1801, P. 194.



general view, had been taken up by a gentleman of high character, and great ability, from whose exertions every thing was to be expected. The bill introduced by Mr. Dickenson went through both Houses, not intirely unopposed, but without any great difficulty.

The individual to whom Mr. Dickenson alluded with such merited eulogium, was Sir April 7. William Scott. That learned civilian had indeed applied to the subject, with his accustomed industry and ability, and on moving the House for leave to bring in a bill to amend the statute of Henry VIII. made a speech replete with information, and distinguished for soundness of reasoning. The object, he observed, was to review some of the provisions of the statute of Henry VIII. The prosecutions recently brought in great numbers, and in different parts of the kingdom upon that statute, had imposed, upon the legislature an admitted necessity of reconsidering it. Admitted, because the legislature under a sense of that necessity, had already agreed to suspend its operation. The statute on which these prosecutions were founded, was one applying to important subjects immediately connected with the religion and morals of the country; but a statute made three hundred years ago, in a state of religion and manners very different from the present. It enforced its operation by money penalties, but those penalties were prescribed under a very different valuation of money from that which obtains at present. It was admitted by Lord Coke, one hundred and fifty years ago, that "It then required alterations and additions, although ex-

cellent for its time." Lord Hobart had described it as a "most wise and politic statute."

Venturing to express a doubt whether these panegyrics might not have been too liberally conferred, Sir William Scott said, "It is impossible not to advert a little to the times in which it was produced, and the motives which, in part at least, operated in producing it. The times were times of great fervour and irritation, the corruptions of the church collected during the grossness of the darker ages, and which that church, by neglecting the favourable opportunity of reforming, has entailed upon itself the unhappy necessity of perpetuating and defending, had provoked great popular resentments; but, as was naturally to be expected, resentments not always directed to their right objects, nor very exactly proportioned in their measure. They overflowed upon the whole body of the clergy, deserving and undeserving (for unquestionably there were many of the first description), and upon all clerical claims, just and unjust, (for it is equally unquestionable that there are both.) In short, the times were exactly those which are the least fitted in any country for a happy exercise of deliberative wisdom, lying in that precise juncture, when ancient opinions and maxims have become the objects of contempt and aversion, and the new and improved system had not yet settled itself in a firm, sober and correct possession of mens' minds. The history of those times abounds with instances of the general animosity, that then prevailed against the clergy. A familiar anecdote in every body's mouth, is the observation made by the then Bishop of



of London, in a letter respecting an idle and malicious charge of murder brought against his chancellor, that a London jury was, at that time, so prejudiced against the clergy, that where a clergyman was concerned, *they were ready to find Abel guilty of the murder of Cain.* A more singular demonstration of the general prevalence of that sort of inveteracy, is recorded by one of the most exact inquirers into our national history, (particularly the ecclesiastical parts of it) Mr. H. Wharton, in his remarks on Strype's Memorials of the Reformation. "Crimes of incontinence," he says, "were then, as now, cognizable only in the ecclesiastical courts; but rapes were then, as now, triable at the common law; and of this the laity took such malicious advantage in times immediately before the reformation, that they were wont to pretend all acts, and even indications of incontinence in ecclesiastics to be so many rapes, and to indict them as such; insomuch, that scarcely any assizes passed at that time, wherein several clergymen were not indicted of rapes, and a jury of laymen impannelled to try them, who would be sure not to incur the guilt of shewing too much favour in their verdicts." There is reason enough to suppose, that parliament was sufficiently tainted with the popular prejudice of the times. It had its particular resentments against that great minister and churchman, Cardinal Wolsey: a man of great talents! *qui nihil humilè aut sensit aut dixit!* but, who who had likewise that pride and confidence of great talents, which, in a state of coarse manners, is with difficulty kept free from betraying itself in an oppressive insolence of

language and demeanour. "They hated him because he hated parliaments," says Lord Coke, "and had been the mean that no parliament was holden in the realm but one, for the space of fourteen years;" and it could not well be forgotten, that in that one parliament, the very one which immediately preceded the parliament which made this statute, he had come into this room in all the pomp of the most ostentatious prelacy, and seating himself by the speaker's chair, had demanded "to know the reason of those members who opposed the king's highness' subsidy, in order that he might confer with them thereon." It is not out of our historical recollection, how severely an intrusion of the like kind cost the sovereign of this country in the following century. As to the king, he had other passions, besides resentment to animate him in these measures; he had, two years before, begun the business of his divorce; it proceeded much too tardily for the impatience of such a lover; he had quarrelled with Wolsey on account of the delay, and was determined to menace the pope into a compliance. "The king," says Bishop Burnet, "set the bills forward, and they were agreed to, and had the royal assent. The king intended by this to let the pope see what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his parliament would concur with him, if he went on to extremities." Under this ferment of passions, was this statute conceived; and if it did come into the world with the characters of wisdom and propriety appearing in its constitution, it would add one more instance to the number, which the experience of mankind



kind has certainly furnished, of good effects produced by questionable and mixed causes.

Having thus described the state of the times in which this statute originated, Sir William Scott questioned the propriety of submitting the punishment of clergymen for non-residence to any but the ecclesiastical courts, citing, in support of his opinion, very cogent authorities, drawn from times subsequent, as well as antecedent, to the reformation. The statute, he contended, (without any inconvenience to the superior tribunals of the country) had produced much practical injustice and inconvenience. This he shewed, by animadverting on the construction it had received in the courts of law, where residence was required in the parsonage house, and no excuse admitted, save three. 1st. Imprisonment elsewhere; 2d. Infirmary of body; and 3d. want of habitation; but this last plea, was only admitted when the parson could prove that he took the nearest residence possible to his cure. He also descanted on the clumsy policy, to say the least of it, of dethroning the bishop from his ecclesiastical authority, and placing in his stead, the common informer. "Of that personage, however," said Sir William Scott, "I shall take care to speak with all due caution, because I perceive, that although he is a very abhorred man, when he is blowing up a conspiracy against the state; not very gracious in enforcing a tax; yet, he is received with some degree of kind acceptance, when he betakes himself to the employment of privateering upon the church." As another absurdity in the statute, he pointed out its requiring mere personal residence,

while the ecclesiastical law required residence and service; thus, by the change, if a man did but sleep in his parsonage bed, he might sleep there from month's end to month's end; he might live in the most slovenly disregard, or, in the most insolent defiance, of every obligation of duty; and yet, as far as this statute reached him, he might go utterly unwhipt of public justice. The residence, which the statute secured to the public, might be a parish nuisance, and a parish scandal, and nothing better. "If such provisions," he added, "are really what they have been sometimes called, the first fruits of the reformation, they are fruits collected in a state of great acerbity; harsh, and crude, and unmellowed, much fitter to ferment than to compose the passions of mankind."

After some further remarks on the hardship imposed by this law on clergymen, in preventing them from holding leases even though they came to them by descent, and many other of its enactments, and observing, that the best proof of its inutility was the disuse into which it had fallen, being rarely heard of, but as a postscript to some tythe cause, till within the last two years, when it was made the commercial bank of two or three trading attornies, Sir William Scott noticed the incongruity and injustice introduced into its operations by the change of times and manners since it was enacted. In the first place the inequality of the penalties. In some livings, a penalty or two would absorb the whole annual produce, while in others, the penalty for a whole year, would amount only to an income tax. Next he noticed the change of manners: when the  
act



act passed, the clergy were, for the most part unmarried; now, clergymen, being invited by the reformation to marry, formed new family connexions which again produced calls of a similar nature; and no reasonable man would wish that they should be deaf to such calls, and should turn their backs on the happy intercourses of family kindness. They might have family property in other parts of the country; they might be called to the capital for the transaction of family concerns; they might be called to attend to the declining health of a wife or child, by a temporary change of air and situation; and, without pleading the cause of dissipation and extravagance, it might be observed, that they had families of young persons, who were not without their claims to reasonable indulgences for the purposes of health, of education, of improvement, and, even of innocent curiosity and relaxation. He then noticed the change in circumstances arising from the improved state of agriculture in the country, and the consequent insufficiency of the glebe lands to answer any useful purpose, and, on this point, he read a letter from a respectable clergyman in the west of England, recommending, among other things, that which he hardly hoped would meet the sanction of the House, the removal of all restraint from the agricultural pursuits of the clergy.

“But” he proceeded “what above all creates a necessity for new moulding this statute is, the extremely depauperated state of many of the churches and parochial clergy of this kingdom. The statute makes one uniform demand of universal residence, under one uniform pe-

nalty; and universal residence cannot be had without universal competency. If all the benefices in the kingdom were equal and competent, an equal obligation, enforced by an equal penalty, might be applied to them all universally. But the fact is, that the inequality is great, and has greatly increased since the passing of this act; since it is certain, that if many benefices have increased in value, many have been comparatively depauperated by the reformation.” The appropriation of church revenues to monasteries had greatly injured the clergy, but yet they had many resources. In market-towns, they had a variety of small devotional offices to perform for individuals, for which they were paid. In the country they farmed from the monks the glebe and tythes which they formerly possessed; but their grand resource was in the authority of their bishops, who had a power, and occasionally exercised it, to compel the monks to raise their stipends, as the times required. Temporary vicars, who answer to modern curates, had been raised successively up to ten marks, *considerata temporum qualitate*, which Spelman computes, to be equal to 60*l.* a year, and the perpetual vicar was raised to twelve marks, equal to 70*l.* a year. This to single men, of small wants, was a sufficient support; but the statute now in question, which prevented their farming, followed as it was by the reformation, which abridged their other benefits, deprived them of their best sources of emolument. From the observations of Selden, and Bacon, he proved, that justice as well as policy required that the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, instead of being



being applied as they were to glut the rapacity of favourites, should have been devoted to the maintenance of the clergy, and he shewed that their complaints of penury had been well founded, uninterrupted and unrelieved, till the splendid benefaction of the first fruits and tenths made by Queen Anne; on which occasion, her majesty observed, "that she had taken into her princely consideration, the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom;" and the parliament in the preamble to the act, recited, "that a sufficient settled provision for the clergy, in many parts of this kingdom, had never yet been made."

"This fund," he proceeded, "has now been in operation for near a century, under the administration of a Board, composed of persons of high station, both in church and state. The number of livings returned, certified to this Board and to the Exchequer, were; not exceeding

Per Annum.		Livings.
£.10	- -	1071
20	- -	1467
30	- -	1126
40	- -	1049
50	- -	844
Total Livings under		—
50l. per annum.	-	5557

"Since the first returns, many hundred cures have been returned as of small value; some not more than twenty or forty shillings, so that, there being about eleven thousand seven-hundred and odd livings in the kingdom, about one moiety of the whole were under

fifty pounds a year, and upon an average less than twenty-three pounds a year. Private benefactions and accidental improvements have aided the operation of Queen Anne's charity; the two lowest classes have all received an actual augmentation from it; and a third class is now receiving the same benefit; but by a paper from the secretary of that board, which I hold in my hand, it appears, that "if we compute the number of livings under 50l. per annum to be as above, about six thousand, a moiety of which are actually under 30l. per annum; and if we reckon that they have been since improved by the governors, and by other means, upon an average, two thirds, which is a very liberal allowance indeed; it follows that there are now six thousand livings in England and Wales, that do not exceed upon an average 85l. per annum, and that a very great proportion of them are, at this time, not 30l. per annum, and so progressively from 30l. to 40l. and from 40l. to 50l." In support of these statements, he cited some facts from peculiar information, particularly from the Archdeacon of Salop; and rectified an error of Sir John Sinclair, respecting the application of Queen Anne's bounty. To the mischiefs arising from the extreme poverty of many parochial benefices, he had heard it suggested in parliament as a cure, that there should be an equalization; but he deprecated such a proposition, with great force and justice of argument. "Equalize all the clergy," he said, "and you in effect degrade them all; for it is the grossest of all



all mistakes, that the parochial church of England is amply endowed. It is demonstrated by a very exact inquirer upon these subjects, Mr. Cove, that if even all the preferments of every species, belonging to the church of England, were moulded into one common mass; and thence distributed; if the venerable fabrick of the hierarchy was dissolved, (a matter not to be effected without a convulsion and laceration of the civil state of the country, of which no man can foretel the consequences), and its funds parcelled out amongst the parochial clergy, the maximum of an English benefice would be not more than 167*l*. a year; an income by no means adequate, in the present state of the world, to the demands which society makes upon that profession, in point of education, of attainments, of manners, of general appearance in life. As the revenues at present are distributed, the clergy, as a profession, find an easy and an independent access to every gradation of society, and maintain a fair equality, as they ought to do, with the other liberal professions; and the elevation of the highest ranks gives something of dignity to the lowest: alter the mode of distribution, and you run the risk of producing a body of clergy, resembling only the lower orders of society, in their conversation, in their manners, and their habits; and it is well, if they are not infected with a popular fondness for some or other species of a gross, a factious, and a fanatical religion.

Having enforced these topics with extraordinary ability, he said.

“ Upon the different grounds I

have stated, a necessity exists of revising the statute. What I have to offer, I desire to propose as merely a provisional or interim bill; for I never can repeat too frequently, that till the situation of the lower clergy is improved with respect to their incomes, their parsonage houses, and other circumstances, which I trust will soon become the subjects of parliamentary attention, nothing radical, nothing permanent, can be projected.” He then stated the principles on which the legislature ought to proceed in framing such a bill. First; not to recede from ancient foundations, not to attempt reformatations, particularly in the present disordered state of the church finances, upon high, *à priori*, notions of a theoretical perfection, but to use and apply the existing means in the constitution, in order to obtain such a quantity of good effect, as is really attainable; to keep to that, which, considering the familiarity of ancient usage, the attachment of habit, and the uniformity of general system, promises to be practically the most commodious; to give confidence, and to allow discretion where the constitution has vested discretion, and required confidence; and to guard, by reasonable caution, against the perils of a blind confidence, and an abused discretion. Secondly, not to look to a petty harassing system of regulations, that is to be dogging and hunting men in every hour of their lives, and at every turn of their steps, for no sufficient purpose of respectable utility, but to a substantial, *bonâ fide*, enforcement of substantial, *bonâ fide*, duties, that the public may not be told there is



nobody responsible. In the third place, that this enforcement of duties should be framed with as little vexation to its objects, as is consistent with its efficacy; without any unnecessary harshness or restraint; still less with disrespect and degradations; with all decent attention to the situation of the order in the state, and to the personal convenience of individuals. Whether these principles," he proceeded, "on which I have endeavoured to construct this bill, are just, or the provisions well adapted to carry them into effect, is for the House to judge. I shall state briefly its general provisions, both on the part of the public, and on the part of the clergy. On the part of the public, I propose to guard against what the House appeared to consider as the abuses of the clergyman's farming, and to enforce the duty of residence, in a double manner more effectually, by enabling the Bishops to exert the authority, which the constitution has given them, and by giving the common prosecutor, where he is permitted to act, an increased reward of his diligence. On the part of the clergy, there is offered: 1st. An entire amnesty for past neglect, where no prosecution had been commenced; and, 2ndly, Where there had been, an exemption from further prosecution, on payment of costs already incurred. 3dly. On the matter of farming, a liberty given in the cases where they were injuriously prohibited by the ancient statute. 4thly. On the matter of residence, to give a fair and reasonable allowance of time, to the clergyman for the occasions of private life, free from the doggings of any informer,

though still subject to the superintendence of his proper superior; to allow an *ipso facto* exemption from all penalties, for clergymen bearing certain offices, during the times required for the duties of those offices; to restore the power to Bishops to grant licences for absence, in certain enumerated and expressed cases; which licences shall protect from the common prosecutor; and in other cases, which cannot be specifically foreseen, or provided for, to allow the concurrence and consent of the metropolitan to have that effect.

Leave was given to introduce the Bill, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the attorney and solicitor general, the members for the two Universities of England, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Gregor, Dr. Duigenan, and Dr. Laurence, were ordered to prepare and bring it in.

The Bill went through its regular stages, so far as to receive several amendments in a committee. On a motion May 31. by Sir William Scott, to recommit it for the purpose of some further alterations, it was opposed by Mr. Simeon, and Mr. M.A. Taylor. This act, they contended, would not only destroy all former statutes, but also would entirely change the constitution of the church, by lodging an enormous power in the hands of the bishops. They did not think it right to take from juries, what had been in their hands for so long a period, and to give the power which they exercised wholly to the bishops. Many prelates were pious and excellent men, but it was not merely to the present, but to future bishops, that this authority was



to be given, and no set of men ought to possess the power which was intended to be conferred by the present bill. The statute of Henry VIII. had been approved by the most eminent characters; Lord Coke among others. After it had reformed the abuses it had been framed to check, it was always looked upon as an excellent preventative of their recurrence. Its rigour had been complained of; but this had been gradually abating, and the lapse of time had intirely thrown its influence into the scale of the offenders. It was in fact, even at first, a mitigation of the canon law, which, under the severest penalties, prohibited pluralities, and enjoined residence. The new bill provided a very good remedy against severity, but this was joined to a degree of power placed in the hands of the bishops, which ought to be strenuously resisted. It subjected the inferior clergy, if not to actual slavery, at least to a very improper degree of influence. It was stated to be a *bonus* to the clergy; but on the contrary, it was very unpopular amongst that body: who had rather that the statute of Henry VIII. should have been amended, than that they should be compelled to go to a bishop for a licence of non-residence. The clause in the bill, which allowed a greater degree of latitude to clergymen in the article of farming, would, if it were adopted, directly tend to secularize the clergy. By the existing statute, they were allowed to cultivate a glebe, and likewise a farm, under certain restrictions; and this was as much as could be allowed, consistently with the institutions of the church, which

were founded on the gospel. But the provision held forth in the bill as an enlargement of their privileges, was, in reality, an abridgment of them. It took away from them the right they formerly possessed of cultivating their glebe, and allowed them, in place of this right, a licence from the bishop. The licence might, indeed, be more extended, if the bishop chose it, than their right had been; but there was a great difference between an independent right, and a dependent licence. The clause which allowed a greater latitude of non-residence, was far from being a proper remedy for the distresses of the inferior clergy. As soon as the finances of the state would allow it, a large addition should be made to Queen Anne's bounty, in order to rescue a learned, worthy, and laborious class of men from poverty. But if an increase of pluralities and a greater latitude of non-residence were allowed, what would become of religion? A sermon on Sunday was far from comprehending the whole duties of a clergyman: he was also still more bound to instruct the ignorant in the principles of religion; to comfort the unfortunate in the hour of affliction; to raise the desponding heart at the approach of death; and to promote the interests of morality and religion, by the example of his life and conversation.

These arguments were fully answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Attorney General, and Mr. Windham, of whom several contended, that the principal fault in the Bill before the House was, that it attempted to modify,  
[T] 2 instead



instead of repealing altogether the statute of Henry VIII. The Bill was proceeded in, but did not, in the present session pass into a law.

Perhaps this delay was in part produced by some observations, made by Lord Grenville in the upper House. The established clergy of the country, he said, constituted its greatest support, and without them, our fleets and armies would not long be able to protect us; they were the great supporters of the religion and morality of the state; the virtue of the people, which was essential to their happiness, and to their very existence, depended on the conduct of the members of the established church; and it was therefore of the utmost importance, that these should so far enjoy the protection of government, as to be free, not only from vexatious prosecutions, but that they should be supported in that style of competence and independence, to which, from their rank and situation in life, they were intitled. His majesty's late government, considering the subject to comprehend the great and important interests of morality and religion, could not but regard it as of the first magnitude: as such, it was well intitled to the utmost attention that could be given to it. Under that impression, they had long and assiduously employed all their faculties in endeavouring to adjust it on such a foundation as should be most likely to serve the interests of the religious establishment of the country, while it should operate to promote and encourage the morals of the people. Their effort had been to accomplish this upon a large and comprehensive

plan, of which enforcing the residence of the clergy was by no means the whole, but only a single part; their system was extensive and involved in it a great variety of considerations, all relative to one great point, and provided to answer a most essential purpose. From the attention he had himself paid to the subject, he was enabled, in the first instance, to declare, that no plan could be formed without having a preliminary matter settled and established for its basis, viz. the creation of a fund appropriated to the augmentation of the incomes of the inferior clergy, and that in a considerable degree. He was well aware of the financial situation of the country, but surely the finances were not in such a state as to disable government from adequately remunerating those, with whose conduct and services the morality and religion of the country were so essentially connected. It was, therefore, absolutely impossible to do any thing effectual upon the subject without first providing, at the public expence, an efficient and adequate fund, and that a large one, to furnish an augmentation to the incomes of the inferior clergy. His majesty's late government had matured a plan, and ascertained from whence such a fund should be taken. With regard to the bill, now in progress in the other House, relative to the residence of the clergy, he feared, considering the advanced period of the session, that if it passed the commons, it could not be brought up to that House in time to allow of the degree of investigation and discussion, which a bill of such magnitude and importance would necessarily call for; but especially



in the absence of almost all the prelates, who were already occupied at a distance; the visitations having commenced. He should hope, that the bill would undergo a full discussion, and receive every amendment in the House of Commons, and then it might be printed in as perfect a shape as possible, and lay over till the next session. Then if it was thought advisable to proceed in it, their lordships might take it into their deliberate discussion. He could not, however, but again observe, that a measure of so much magnitude ought to be brought forward by the king's servants as a measure of government; and they might either adopt the system and plan which they would find had been formed by the late ministers, or any other of their own.

The execution of the definitive treaty enabled government to add to the particular motions which gratitude had procured to distinguished military bodies and individuals, a general vote of thanks to the officers and privates of the army, navy, marines, militia, yeomanry and volunteer corps.

April 6. These thanks were moved on the same day by Lord Hobart in the upper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the lower House, and carried in both without the slightest opposition. The same success

June 11. attended a bill brought in, pursuant to a royal message, for settling on General Hutchinson, raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Hutchinson of Alexandria, a pension of 2000*l.* per annum, to be enjoyed by him and his two next heirs in succession.

The constitutional defence of

the realm in time of peace, by means of a militia also engaged the attention of government. The plan, which April 13. they had arranged, was opened to parliament by the secretary at war. In consequence of the conclusion of the definitive treaty, he said, we were now called upon to form our defensive system, and he agreed, that the best way to preserve peace was by a wise mixture of conciliation and firmness. While we were anxious for the continuance of peace, it was no less our duty to put ourselves into a complete posture of defence. In doing this we had to consider the accession, not merely of territory, but of strength, which our most powerful neighbour had acquired, as well as the grand principle of the French government, which was essentially military. There was thus imposed on us the necessity of cultivating a military spirit, for we were to be viewed with the eyes of soldiers. We had, in the first place, to take care that our navy was kept on a footing which might afford us that protection, which it was so well fitted to bestow. We had not merely to attend to a proper degree of economy, but it behoved us to see, not only that a sufficient number of effective officers and men were retained, but that the necessary habits of discipline were preserved. A similar degree of caution was essential in regulating the state of our army on a peace establishment. In contemplating the state of our army, there was great ground for satisfaction. Never, he was convinced, did we possess a greater number of brave and skilful officers, than had been bred up during the course



course of the late war, and never at any former period, was the general state of the army more favourable, either in point of discipline or of numbers. In forming the peace establishment of the army, we could not, however, come to any final arrangement without having agreed upon a previous organization of our militia forces. With so much sea coast as we had to defend, and taking into view the immense expence of a large regular army, putting all constitutional considerations out of the question, the militia was to be looked to as a most important part of our defensive establishment. The plan he intended to submit, contained no principle which was new, but was founded on the basis of the former militia laws, with such additions and amendments as subsequent experience had shewn to be necessary. The objects he had in view were three, the consolidation of the existing laws, the augmentation of the present number of the militia, and the amendment of existing regulations. On the necessity of the consolidation of the existing laws, it was superfluous for him to take up the time of the House. It was sufficient for his purpose to state, that since the 26th of the king, no less than eighteen acts had passed for regulating the militia forces in England, and five for those of Scotland. In the American war, when an augmentation of the numbers of the militia was judged necessary, an act had passed for that purpose. In the late war, so early as the year 1794, an augmentation was thought expedient, but he did not recollect precisely what was the amount of the increase.

At a subsequent period, when the danger which threatened the country became more imminent, no less than sixty thousand additional militia forces were called out, forming altogether a body of ninety thousand men, of which not less than eighty thousand were actually embodied, armed and disciplined. The effect of this system was, however, unfavourable; it led to interference with the regular recruiting service, at a time when supplies for the regular army were perhaps most wanted, and from the sudden manner in which the men were to be raised, additional expence was incurred, while new means of fraud were presented. When the defensive system was now therefore to be taken up, the nearest adequate number ought to be ascertained. From all the consideration he had bestowed on the insular situation of Great Britain, and the numerous points that required to be defended, it appeared to him that, on the commencement of a war, we ought to be able to put not less than 100,000 men under arms. Of our militia forces, he thought that the number should not be less than 70,000, and on this part of the subject he had great pleasure in stating, that the northern part of the island would be willing to furnish ten or twelve thousand for their proportion. This could not fail to be heard with peculiar satisfaction, for though the northern part of the kingdom had furnished many hardy and excellent soldiers, it was only within a few years, that the system of the militia establishment had been introduced. Of the 70,000, according to this plan, 60,000 would be furnished by England,  
and



and the remaining 10,000 by Scotland. The next question came to be, whether this number was to be raised at once, or only a part, vesting in his majesty a power to summon the services of the remainder in case of any sudden emergency. In the event of a war, the advantage of raising them at one time was obvious; but, on the other hand, this plan, while it would, in the first instance, impose a very heavy burthen on the counties, would be attended with a very considerable expence. This expence, he was convinced, would not be less than 230,000*l.* a year; under this consideration, it was the object of his plan, that instead of 60,000 only 40,000 should, in the first instance, be raised, and that his majesty should have the power, by proclamation, of calling for the services of the 20,000, when the situation of the country should appear to render their services necessary. In Scotland 9,000 might in the first instance be raised, leaving from three to four thousand to be raised on any emergency which might occur. Such was to be the basis of that part of the plan which regarded the augmentation. The amendments in the regulations were comprized under a variety of heads: they referred to the qualifications of the officers, to the quota to be furnished by the counties, to the mode of exercise and training, to the enrolment, to their organization, to the forming of the regimental staff, and to embodying of the forces when raised. On each of these points he entered into sufficient details. It was the opinion of some individuals, he observed, that the services of the militia should be

extended to Ireland as those of Ireland ought to be to this country. He was not insensible to the advantages of this arrangement, but, besides that it would totally alter the terms of the militia service, it might be attended with inconvenience. Experience had already shewn that in cases of emergency we might safely trust the extension of their services to the militia themselves, and he was convinced, that, if ever the same necessity recurred, a similar spirit would be displayed. With respect to substitutes, they were, as far as could be effected, to be of the same county as those for whom they served.

The plan thus clearly proposed, was warmly applauded by Mr. Sheridan, who, however, expressed great disapprobation of the method pursued during the last war, of drafting the privates from the militia into the regulars, and thus reducing the officers under whom they acquired discipline, to mere drill serjeants; and he proposed some regulations for relief of persons in various situations in the army and navy.

The bill introduced by the secretary at war May 20. passed the lower House without any material objection; but in the House of Lords it occasioned a considerable discussion. May 26. Its principles having been explained by Lord Hobart, Earl Fitzwilliam expressed his disapprobation of the proposal so largely to augment the militia. In all circumstances a requisitionary army was an establishment which, to a certain degree, trenched on the liberty of the subject, and was only to be justified by considerations of national good. It was, at all times,



times, an establishment attended with a certain degree of jealousy, and its numbers were never to be increased beyond what the emergencies of the case required. It was on this general, constitutional principle, that he objected to the proposed augmentation of the militia; because he saw no emergency to justify a measure which would be severely felt by the people. From this general argument his lordship passed to another objection, drawn from the great inequality with which the bill operated. There was a very large proportion of the community, who, by their age, were exempted from service, who, nevertheless, had as great an interest as any other citizen in every thing which the militia establishment was intended to promote. There were many who, from their profession, or their connexion with a particular order, were not liable to be balloted. There was a very numerous class of useful and industrious citizens, whose situations in life did not admit of their actual service, while all the wealthy part of the public had ample means of purchasing exemption. What was the consequence? Substitutes were rendered essential, and the service of the militia was converted into a levy on the poor. This was an annual tax on the lower orders of people from which the rich were generally exempt. The greatest lord in this country paid no more towards raising the militia than the poorest farmer on his estate, nor did the richest merchant contribute more than the porter who carried out parcels from a shop. This was a system of great inequality and injustice. The present bill went to increase it to a very great extent,

and, for that reason, it should meet with his opposition. He moved that the second reading be postponed for three months.

These arguments were enforced by the Earl of Caernarvon, who insisted that the ancient constitution of the militia was utterly changed by the predecessors of the present ministers, while the bill before the House tended to consolidate all the mischief that had been done. Its object was clearly, not to improve the system of a constitutional militia, but to obtain a very great increase of men, at less expence of the public purse, (whatever it may cost individuals) under the name of militia, and to trust to future contingencies for its conversion into an army. He treated the proposed augmentation as impracticable, owing in a great degree, to the numerous exemptions, or at least a source of oppression and vexation to those who must take the labour or bear the burthen. "The expence of the militia levy," he observed, "falls, as a tax, not with equal distribution on those interested in the public defence, but with notorious inequality; all peers, all women, and minors (be they ever so rich), the whole body of clergy, the universities, the dock yards, the army and navy, for even these last should not be exempted from any tax to levy a militia for the public service, more than the militia from any taxes supplying the pay and levy of the army and navy; add to these exemptions the long list of volunteers to parade once a week at their own doors. All these exemptions reduce the numbers on whom the expence of finding substitutes exclusively falls, so that the burthen is felt most heavily; and this unequal burthen



burthen is now to be doubled, without a shadow of justice." In these sentiments Lord Romney also concurred.

The bill was defended by the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Clifton, the Earl of Radnor, and Lord Pelham. Some of the arguments used against the augmentation of the militia, formed, it was said, the strongest reasons that could be selected for agreeing to the measure. The menacing attitude of France rendered it peculiarly proper on the part of this country to augment her means of defence in the event of a sudden renewal of the war. It was particularly incumbent on government to place the military peace establishment upon an infinitely larger scale than at the close of the American war. If the raising a militia was to be deemed an incroachment on the constitutional liberty of the subject, still the raising a home force, commanded by men of property in the kingdom, was certainly preferable to the having a large standing army in time of peace, and, as they were less subject to the influence of the crown, they were a more secure guard against any stretch of the prerogative of the king, and more likely to preserve the freedom of the people, than any other species of military that could be proposed. If hereafter the appearance of affairs should change, and the necessity for so large a militia should cease, parliament would at any time have the power of withholding the supplies for such a number as were to be sanctioned by the present bill. The militia was certainly a desirable constitutional force, and all men indiscriminately, the rich as well as the poor, the high as well as the

low, were liable to be drawn for it, but as there were clubs, by which, on paying half a guinea, a poor man could have a substitute provided for him, he would be a gainer rather than a loser, by being drawn.

The House divided; in favour of the bill, 22; against it, 6.

In the committee several amendments were proposed; some of them being carried, a conference between the two Houses became necessary, and in consequence the bill proceeded, and received the royal assent. May 31.  
June 22.

When the English militia bill was introduced to the House of Commons, Mr. Foster expressed great approbation of its salutary regulations, and hoped to see them extended to Ireland; he was assured that the matter had not escaped the attention of government; and acts were afterwards passed for fixing and regulating the militia, both in Ireland and Scotland, and one for enabling his majesty to accept the services of certain yeomanry and volunteer corps on certain terms. Thus it was conceived, a sufficient and respectable force was provided for the internal security of the nation, even if there should arise a sudden necessity to engage again in hostilities.

The blessings of a plentiful season permitted the attention of the legislature to be directed to many objects connected with the supply of necessaries. At the beginning of the session, an act of the preceding year, which forbade bakers to expose bread to sale until it had been manufactured four and twenty hours was repealed, and offenders against it were indemnified. Sir William Curtis brought in a bill for



for amending the regulations with respect to the assize of bread, but when he had pursued it with great diligence to a forward stage, it was found that the subject involved too many difficulties to be yet determined, and it was dropped. Some other measures relative to grain occasioned numerous debates, and were the subjects of beneficial regulation. Among the principal of these were the resumption of distilling from wheat and barley in Great Britain and Ireland; the importation of starch and manufacture of it from other substances beside wheat, as rice and potatoes, the importation of grain, and the regulation of that article between Great Britain and Ireland. Besides these the attention of parliament was directed to several other articles of subsistence and comfort, as various kinds of fresh and salt water fish and coals; and in all the proceedings of the legislature, a proper disposition was shewn to prevent, as far as human sagacity can prevent, the return of that visitation which for two years had so grievously afflicted the country, or at least to mitigate its effects. It may be mentioned in connexion with this subject, (for no legislator can devise means for the subsistence of a people whose numbers are undefined) that a most instructive and important document, prepared in pursuance of an act of the last session was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed. It was a copious and well-digested view of the population of Great Britain, not perfect indeed, but as nearly so as circumstances would permit, and more so than rational expectation could have hoped. It formed an excel-

lent basis of local and statistical knowledge, and proved the progressive advancement of the kingdom in wealth and strength, so far as can be judged from their best evidence, and surest foundations, men and their dwellings.

In the course of the session, several measures were attempted and carried into effect for the general relief and comfort of the poor; for improvement of morals, and for rewarding those who had made useful discoveries. A bill was brought in by Mr. Newbolt to explain and amend so much of statute eight and nine William III. c. 30, as enables churchwardens and overseers to impose a badge on certain of the poor to whom they give relief, and denounce a penalty against them if they continue such relief to paupers who have not worn the badge. The bill occasioned several debates, and underwent many amendments, but its principles being highly approved by the leading members of the House of Commons, it passed, and was transmitted to the Lords. In the upper House it was read twice, and ordered to be committed, but afterward no further progress was made. Some other acts were however passed for the comfort and relief of the poor, applying particularly to those who are bound apprentices. Some attempts were also made to relieve insolvent debtors, both by a temporary act, and by a permanent alteration in the law relating to debtor and creditor, but, although much discussed, neither measure was carried into effect.

Under the notion of improving the morals of the people, by prohibiting a practice which he termed barbarous and inhuman, Mr. Dent gave



gave notice before the Christmas recess, that he should renew a bill, which in a former session he had lost only by a majority of one vote; a bill for preventing bull-baiting. While this bill was pending, petitions in its favour were presented from three places; Wolverhampton, and Walsal in Staffordshire, and from the town of Coventry. Considering the small importance of this matter in comparison with the momentous concerns already described as having engaged the attention of the legislature, it might suffice to state in general terms, the fate of the bill, but the wit and ingenuity displayed in the debate on a motion for the second reading, would render it inexcusable to withhold some account of that celebrated and interesting discussion.

May 29. Mr. Dent having moved the order of the day, Sir Richard Hill, in rising to second the motion, professed himself the advocate of a race of poor friendless beings, who cannot speak for themselves. If the voice of common sense, common humanity, and uncommon distress and misery, could not be heard, all he could say would be of no avail. The baronet, instead of detailing his own opinions, proposed to state some facts taken from different provincial newspapers, which, he hoped, would prove the means of setting forth the savage and barbarous custom of bull-baiting in its true light. He began with one from the Bury paper, mentioning the shocking cruelties which had been inflicted on a poor animal, in order to make him furious enough to afford diversion, as it was called, to his brutal tormentors; but the tortured creature soon becoming what

was thought too outrageous, he was entangled with ropes, his hoofs cut off, and baited again, whilst he feebly sustained and defended himself on his stumps. He then cited the opinions of Sir Matthew Hale and King Solomon against cruelty to brutes, and read and referred to letters from clergymen against the practice. He had also many petitions to have presented in favour of the bill, but they happened to be informally drawn, being addressed to the British instead of the imperial parliament. Indeed he thought such petitions, if altered, would only have been an insult to the House of Commons, constituted as it now is by such an acquisition of abilities, good sense, and virtue, from our sister kingdom, in which he was happy to hear, that an act had passed, without one dissentient voice, for the entire abolition of bull-baiting; and as the Irish gentlemen had been so favourable to their own *bulls*, he was sure they would not be less indulgent to ours. The ladies too, he observed, were friendly to the bill, and the amiable sex were surely, on all occasions, friendly to humanity. There might, indeed, be some exceptions even among the females; but where should we find them? Perhaps staggering out of a gin-shop in St. Giles's: perhaps sitting over an oyster tub, or riding in a cinder cart, but it could not strictly be said of any one of these ladies, "Grace is in all her steps. Heaven in her eye, in all her gestures dignity and love." Having thus disposed of the ladies, Sir Richard mentioned the case of Balaam's ass, who, by divine permission, had been enabled to reproach the cruelty of his owner; read some passages from a  
sermon





sermon by Mr. Leigh Richmond, and apologized for any expressions in his speech which might seem ludicrous; the bill before the House having been truly described as, at once, the most serious and most ludicrous business that ever engaged attention.

Mr. Windham observed that the evil complained of was not one which had grown with our growth, or strengthened with our strength. It was one which, from year to year, had been gradually decaying, and which, without any legislative interference, seemed fast approaching to dissolution. Decreasing as the practice was, all over the country, he could not but think the discussion of paltry local complaints wholly unworthy the legislature of a great nation. No law could be desirable which would be attended with no national advantage, and this advantage ought to be well weighed before a legislative enactment was required. A law, in all cases, necessarily involved a certain degree of restraint; and it was also to be taken into the account, that it could not be carried into effect without vesting in those who were to enforce its provisions, a considerable degree of discretion. If such a law as that now called for, were to be passed, it could not act by a silent operation, but would be enforced by those who principally exerted themselves for the observance of the game laws, and who, in enforcing its provisions, could not possibly escape a large share of public odium. To procure the discussion of such subjects, it was necessary to resort to canvass and intrigue. Members, whose attendance was induced by local considerations, in most cases of this de-

scription, were present; the discussion, if any took place, was managed by the friends of the measure, and the decision of the House was, perhaps, ultimately a matter of mere chance. On this general principle, then, he was disposed to oppose the discussion of the subject as totally unworthy of the dignity of the House. But he had, in the next place, to object to the manner in which the subject of bull-baiting had been considered. Its effects had been defined, not from a general view of the subject, but from a few insulated examples. The friends of the bill took a view of the practice complained of, merely as exhibited on a minute scale, and from them consequences were drawn. They put the bull and the dog, as exhibited in a few instances, into the eye of their microscope, and through this confined medium they desired the House to contemplate the general practice. The cruelties alone were held up to observation, and every thing else was kept out of view. But if this mode of considering the subject was to be adopted, he saw no reason why all other sports should not be contemplated in a similar manner. If the cruelty of bull-baiting was thus to be held up to the attention of the House in such glaring colours, why were not hunting, shooting, fishing, and all other amusements of a similar description, to be judged of by similar principles. If the effects of the one were to be viewed through the medium of a microscope, why were not the consequences of the other to be scrutinized with equal severity? Such attacks as the present on the amusements of the people struck him in no other light than as a first step to a reform of the man-  
ners



ners of the lower orders. Those who, when young men had formed projects for the reformation of parliament, finding themselves disappointed, now formed the design of reforming the manners of the people. In their desires to accomplish this object there were two great parties united, the Jacobins and the Methodists, though the objects they had in view by this change were essentially different. This was a design which he should ever think it his duty strenuously to oppose. For though he wished that the people might become more virtuous, more attentive to the duties of religion, better fathers, better husbands, better children, he could never agree that, for this purpose, their social habits should be changed; that they should prove more austere, more unsocial, and more self-conceited than they now were. In this work, indeed, the two parties mutually over-reached each other. The party of the Methodists invited the people to read, and, in the first instance, they might peruse a few jacobinical productions that they might read with greater advantage their fanatical productions at a future period. In the same way the Jacobins wished to divert the people from every social pursuit; reading they strenuously recommended, and though a few methodistical books were, in the first instance, not wholly proscribed, they were allowed only to fit the mind for the reception of their poisonous tenets. Out of the whole number of the disaffected, he questioned if a single bull-baiter could be found, or if a single sportsman had distinguished himself in the corresponding society. The hunting for which they reserved themselves

was of a noble kind; they disdained the low pursuits of ordinary sportsmen, the game against which their efforts were directed was of no less a quality than kings. In proof of these remarks Mr. Windham noticed Mr. Capel Lofft's preface to Bloomfield's poem of the "Farmer's Boy," in which it is mentioned, that the poet was in the habit of spending his time in reading in his garret, or attending a debating society, which the editor recommends, as a much more worthy mode of employing himself, than if he had been occupied with gambling, drinking, or fighting. He paid some very handsome compliments to the originality of many of the thoughts of this poet, to his natural simplicity, and unaffected elegance of language; but censured the attempt of the editor to encourage ideas of literary profit or renown in those who had been bred to a useful trade. In particular instances it might not be prejudicial, but to inculcate such notions as those contained in the passage to which he had referred, could tend only to a mischievous purpose. He also noticed a sermon in which the cruelty of bull-baiting is described in very strong terms, and the man who would encourage the practice is represented as a person who would not hesitate to sheathe a blade in the bowels of his fellow-creatures. That the practice of sports, even when they were of a cruel kind, tended to render mankind cruel, he denied, and he founded his assertion on the history of all ages and countries. The most elegant scholars, and the finest poets in ancient or modern times, were loud in the praises of many of those sports which, with equal justice,



tice, might be called cruel, as that which had been so loudly condemned. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, that which is despised and reprobated as the amusement only of the lowest of the people, was an amusement courted by all ranks. Since that period bull-baiting had declined, and hunting had usurped its room. The one had become the favourite amusement of the great, and the other had sunk in dignity till it was, in a great measure, annihilated, and yet it was at such a moment as this that the House was called upon, and urged to put it down by a legislative enactment. But the riots and confusion which the practice of bull-baiting occasioned were urged as another reason for the necessity of the interference of the legislature. This was a favourite argument on a former occasion, with an honourable friend of his (Mr. Wilberforce) member for Yorkshire. In this instance the conduct of his honourable friend put him in mind of the story of the butcher who ran about seeking his knife while it was in his teeth; for he was searching every quarter in quest of objects of reform, while those in his own neighbourhood were totally overlooked! When he condemned the excesses to which bull-baiting gave rise, had he forgotten all the confusion and riot which horse-racing produced? To horse-racing he was himself personally no more an enemy than he was to boxing, though in making this observation he was far from meaning to disparage boxing so far, as to put them on an equal footing, or to insinuate that so poor, mean, wretched an amusement as the one, was at all to vie in importance with the other,

which was connected with ideas of personal merit, and individual dignity. But, in point of fact, he was confident, that as to any effect on the morals of the people, the influence of horse-racing was infinitely more pernicious than any which bull-baiting could produce. What, he desired the House to consider, did a horse-race consist of? What was the description of persons whom it encouraged to assemble? They consisted of all the riff raff from every part of the country. There were to be seen collected all the black legs of the metropolis, the markers at billiard tables, apprentices who had embezzled the property of their masters, and who are afterwards obliged to resort to gaming to cover their fraud, gingerbread venders, strolling gamblers, in a word infamous characters of every description. Such was the mass of individuals whom horse-racing assembled. Now what was the object which such an amusement had in view? He confessed himself unable to view it in any other light than as a species of gambling. It did not seem to him to give exercise to one generous feeling. He returned to the inexpediency of abridging the amusements of the lower orders at the present moment. There was a very numerous class of pleasures from which their circumstances in life excluded them. To the pleasures of intellect, that source of the purest delights of humanity, their situation denied them access. To the accommodations of social life, so far as a change of situation and place was concerned, they were strangers. The rich had their feasts, their assemblies, their parties of pleasure, their *pic nics*, every thing in



in short which could afford them gratification. From amusements of this kind the lower orders were excluded by their poverty. But there was another class of pleasure from which they were in a great measure excluded by the rigour of the law. The authority of the magistrate was often interposed to counteract even their harmless pleasures. To dance at all out of season, was to draw on one's head the rigour of unrelenting justice. The great might gratify themselves in a thousand different ways, and the magistrate did not conceive it within his sphere to interrupt their amusements. But it was known, that an organ did not sound more harshly in the ears of a puritan, than did the notes of a fiddle in those of a magistrate, when he himself was not of the party. At a moment like the present to heap up restraints on the amusements of the lower orders was contrary to every dictate of expediency and of policy. It was to force them to take refuge in an ale-house or the tabernacle, both destructive of their best habits. As to the cruelty of the practice; a true game bull, to use the sporting language of bull-baiters, took his post with composure, faced his enemies with courage, and even seemed to take pleasure in the contest. This practice in many parts of the country, had been bequeathed as a legacy of hostility to puritanical principles, and it had answered the end proposed. Attachment to bull-baiting had been the bond of enmity to fanaticism, nor had it encouraged any principles inconsistent with loyalty. He ridiculed in a fine strain of humour the manner in which he supposed many petitions against the practice had originated. He drew

a picture of a lady of the chief of a corporation relating to her dear, the cruelties of bull-baiting; beseeching him to convene the common council to take steps against so odious a practice, and calling on him to request the member for the borough to support their petition in parliament. To refute the pretence that the practice made men more than usually savage, he referred to the state of the counties in which it is most prevalent, and shewed that they afforded the best men in our army. To the regiment of Stafford militia, bull dogs were attached, and the men had most probably seen bulls baited; yet were they distinguished by their excellent conduct, and that they were not uncommonly barbarous it was sufficient to mention that they had been selected to attend on the person of the sovereign.

Mr. Courtenay made some facetious remarks on the leading topics adduced by Mr. Windham; complimented him on having proved that every amiable virtue of the people, all those noble feelings, which were the support of the church and the state, had their origin in bull-baiting; on having shewn the union between jacobinism and methodism to put down the practice; that reform had been prevented, and the constitution preserved by bull-baiting; and that the best soldiers were found in those quarters where this practice most prevailed. The liking of the sport, which the bull was said to entertain, Mr. Courtenay humorously accounted for, on Mr. Locke's principle of the association of ideas, and considered the notion of a microscopic inspection of vulgar sports, as a plagiarism from the account given



given by Gulliver of the disgust, with which he viewed the Brobdignag beauty. Good God, he exclaimed, were this preliminary treaty of peace signed between the dogs and the bulls, to be sanctioned by the House, the constitution would be totally ruined. Now that there was no war on the continent, no longer any bloody battles by sea or land, what would ex-ministers do to amuse themselves, were it not for bull-baiting? If this abominable bill should, in spite of all opposition pass, he hoped, at least, a clause would be introduced, setting apart some sacred spot in Norfolk or Buckinghamshire, for perpetuating a practice so beneficial, and which young students might attend as a lyceum. Bull-baiting was anciently a royal sport, and so was lion-baiting. James I. baited a lion with three bull-dogs, in the Tower. This lion-baiting was so much of a royal sport that perhaps, no king ever disliked it, except Henry VII. He indeed seemed to consider, that there was something like jacobinism in the amusement, and could not brook that a dirty bull-dog should attack the king of beasts. There was another very important circumstance, which ought not to be overlooked. These bull-dogs were distinguished by a gruff, surly aspect, expressive of the very character of John Bull himself. What would become of us were the breed to be lost?

“Butchers would weep who never wept before.”

So great was the value put upon bull-dogs by our ancestors, that Norwich was made a corporation by Richard III. on the condition

of presenting three of these animals to the king. This was probably still in the charter. The qualities of the bull-dog were celebrated by Ælian, Appian, and Claudian. Grotius makes an eulogium on the English bull-dogs:—

—Atque ipsos libeat penetrare Britannos!

O quanta est merces et quantum impendia supra!

Si non ad speciem mentitaresque decores, Protinus: hæc una est catulis jactura Britannis, &c.

Thus his honourable friend had more than one classical authority for his admiration of the bull-dog. Now if the Lyceum he had suggested should be established, might not, for the sake of improving the sport, a Corsican bull be procured, which, no offence to the first consul, might be very properly named Bonaparte? The enemies of the peace would then find some very pretty amusement in baiting this bull, and in imitation of the Spanish bull fighters might assume titles for the occasion. For instance, one might call himself *Don Plumbosa Lumbago, the knight of the leaden Spear*. Another might call himself the *knight of the sorrowful countenance*; a third, the *knight of the gilded helmet*, and so on. He could not withhold his support from a practice which was the chief support of our glorious constitution.

Colonel Grosvenor and General Gascoyne opposed the bill; the former as unworthy the attention of the House; the latter because the practice increased population, and favoured recruiting.

Mr. Wilberforce objected to the levity with which the subject had been treated. Every argument employed



employed to defend the practice had been merely palliative. Mere opinions had been stated to prove that it was nowise hurtful to morality; but for his own part, he thought it fostered every bad and barbarous principle of our nature. No one who had inquired diligently into the subject, could defend a practice which could be proved to degrade human nature to a level with the most ferocious brutes. His evidence was derived from respectable magistrates, and other testimony, into the validity of which he had minutely inquired, and found it unexceptionable. From such evidence he had derived a variety of facts, which were too long and almost too horrid to detail to the House. A bull, that honest, harmless, useful animal, was forcibly tied to a stake, and a number of bull dogs set upon him. If his natural want of ferocity prevented him from being sufficiently roused by the pain of their attacks, the most barbarous expedients were fallen upon to awake in him that fury which was necessary to the amusement of the inhuman spectators. One instance he could state from the best authority: a bull had been bought for the sole purpose of being baited; but upon being fixed to the stake, he was found of so mild a nature, that all the attacks of the dogs were found insufficient to excite him to the requisite degree of fury; upon which those who had bought him, refused to pay the price to the original owner, unless he could be made to serve this purpose. The owner, after numberless expedients, at last sawed off his horns, and poured into them a poignant sort of liquid,

that quickly excited the animal, to the wished for degree of fury. This was not the most savage expedient, that had often been practised. When the bulls were bought merely for the purpose of being baited, the people who bought them, wished to have as much diversion (if diversion such cruelty could be called) as possible for their money. The consequence was, that every art, even fire had been employed to rouse the exhausted animal to fresh exertions, till there were instances where he had expired in protracted agonies amidst the flames. It had been said, that it would be wrong to deprive the lower orders of their amusements; of the only cordial drop of life which supports them under their complicated burthens. "Wretched indeed," said Mr. Wilberforce, "must be the condition of the common people of England, if we suppose that their whole happiness consists in the practice of such barbarity. It was by no means proper to place the diversions of shooting and horse racing, on a footing with bull-baiting. Shooting affords exercise to the body, and the birds who fall by it are subject to no pain beyond immediate privation of life. In horse-racing, two generous animals, without almost any compulsion, exert their speed against each other, and return from the course with small abatement of spirits or vigour. But bull-baiting not only excites the natural passions of the animal, for the amusement of the spectators, but also subjects it to the most inhuman cruelties, till it sinks under the pressure of its complicated miseries."

Mr. W. Smith spoke with much



asperity of Mr. Windham, and both he and Mr. Newbolt were decidedly in favour of the bill.

Mr. Frankland was against it, and vindicated bull-baiting, by comparing it with other sports. In some points of view, horse-racing might be termed cruel; there was not a year in which numbers were not killed in that sport; but as horses were a lively and spirited animal, he was inclined to think the amusement in no sense a cruel one. So might it be said of that most magnificent of all sports of the field, stag-hunting; the animal, in that case, was fed and pampered previous to the chase, not with a reference to its future torture, but that it might yield the greater sport, the animal often, necessarily, lost his life in the chase; its heart was what was called broken: did gentlemen think such a process could take place without great agony? The hounds often fastened on his chest, and tore him to pieces: and yet, such a practice intirely escaped the humanity of the legislature. This was not all, the practice was even regulated by legislative provisions, by the operation of some parts of the game laws. With respect to the various petitions which had been presented, many of those he had seen were verbatim the same, and there appeared to him a great similarity in the rest; and among the signatures, was a profusion of Mollys and Jennies. How these, whom the honourable Baronet called the angel part of the species, came so to interest themselves, he could not tell, but he hoped no persons had so unmannered, or so unfixed themselves as to assume those characters. The penalties

held forth by the bill, were too rigorous. All that could favourably be said of them was, that the punishment was not capital; indefinite fine, and imprisonment, however, were provided. The first time the legislature interfered with the sports of the country, was in the days of Henry VIII. in consequence of which the people addicted themselves to sedentary and unmanly pursuits, which in after times, the legislature thought it proper to decry. So would it be in the present instance, the liberal and rational sports chuck-farthing and turnpenny would be adopted, and to these the people would be advised to give their days and nights.

Mr. Sheridan animadverted on the last and some preceding speeches, and with respect to that of Mr. Windham, expressed surprise, that if he thought the subject so low, so trifling, as to be utterly unworthy of the interference of the legislature, he should have deemed it necessary to oppose the bill in a very long and elaborate speech, a speech which, in his mind, had rather been prepared for the occasion: in more points than one of it, the lamp was to be smelt. It was rather extraordinary, that though the right honourable gentleman denied the subject to be of importance, yet he considered the measure to proceed from the combined effects of jacobinism and methodism, to overthrow the constitution of the country; and another gentleman seemed to be of opinion, that if the lower orders of the people were not indulged in the joyous and jovial practice of bull-baiting, the constitution must eventually be over-



overturned. Another point respected the amusements of these classes. With respect to these, nothing could give him greater pleasure, than that they could be effectually revised and reduced to a salutary system, founded on just and rational principles. To the argument, that if this custom was suppressed, we should not know where to stop, and that the amusements of hunting, shooting, and fishing, would become the next objects of suppression; he could shortly answer, that these amusements had no more analogy to the barbarous practice in question, than any thing the most opposite in their natures could have. But it was said, the object was, not to torture the animal, that cruelty was not inflicted for the sake of cruelty: where was the difference in the effect, or in the tortures of the wretched animal, when the cruelty proceeded only from sport? He could conceive different sources of passion, from which cruelty might arise, as wrath, malice, fear, cowardice, and worse than these was it when proceeding from beastly appetite, from the effect of gluttony; but certainly worse than any, or than all put together, was the nature of inflicting cruelty merely for sport. What had been said of our deriving useful instructions from animals, was in a great degree well founded; but then it must be from animals in a free state of nature; in circumstances wherein, as the poet happily expresses it, you may

“ Learn from the little Nautilus to sail:”

but not from animals in a state of coercion or torture. He expatiated with great feeling, ani-

mation and effect, on the custom of bull-baiting, as not only producing the most inconceivable tortures to the wretched animal, and often to the instruments of his torment, but tending to deaden the feelings of humanity in, and to brutalize the minds of the beholders, and at such fights women and children were often present: of this he stated some facts in illustration; among others, that of a brutal bull-baiter, who possessing an old bull bitch, that lately had a large litter of puppies, was willing to shew the staunchness of her blood, and the extent of her prowess: he set the bitch at a bull, she pinned, and fastened on him, and in that situation, he literally cut her to pieces, the animal still keeping her hold. He then sold the puppies for five guineas a piece; after this he took out his knife, and in climax of brutality, cut the bitch's throat. These facts shewed the diabolical and malignant spirit with which such sports were conducted, and encouraging those, instead of making a people manly and generous, would, by inuring them to acts of cruelty, render them base, and fit to submit to the yoke of tyranny, and to bow to a vigour beyond the law. To encourage them in such acts of barbarism, would also render the people barbarous and tyrannical in their turn, it would teach them to oppress the weak, by rioting in the blood and tortures of dumb and unoffending animals, and on all occasions, as a sure result, to bow the neck to the yoke of power. Such practices surely called for the interference of the legislature; they degraded the national character, as well as



brutalized the people, and had incontrovertibly extended to the length of *contra bonus mores*. Those bold and bare-faced practices, which exhibit their sanguinary details to the eye of day, should certainly be put down. It was a question, whether the existing laws might not be sufficient to remedy the evil, by the interference of the magistrates; however that might be, the old law seemed to be worn out; its teeth could not be fixed upon the evil; it was the object of the present bill to remedy this defect, and to render the law efficacious.

Mr. Dent replied, and on a division, the bill was lost.

With greater unanimity of intention, though with some difference of opinion with respect to amount, parliament concurred in voting a remuneration to Dr. Jenner, for his discovery of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to eradicate that destructive disorder, the small-pox.

March 17. Admiral Berkeley introduced the petition with his majesty's recommendation, and Mr. Wilberforce expressed his hope that the discovery would check the progress or mitigate the effects of the small-pox, to which, in the metropolis alone, 4000 persons were annually victims. The petition having been referred to a committee, and their report printed, Admiral Berkeley moved

June 2. that 10,000*l.* should be given to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation. Mr. Banks alone objected to a remuneration being given, insisting that as guardians of the public

purse, the House ought not so to dispose of the public money. Dr. Jenner had the means of remunerating himself, and if it was to be once contended, that every discovery of public utility ought to be remunerated by the House, the public purse would not be large enough to satisfy all the claimants. This opinion made no impression; the only difference which arose was between those who maintained that 20,000*l.* or at least 15,000*l.* ought to be voted, and those who were for conforming to the original proposition. The smaller sum was fixed on, by a majority of three only, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer by a subsequent vote, added 500*l.* to defray the fees of the House, so that the whole sum might be received by Dr. Jenner, without defalcation.

On the motion of Mr. Burdon, after a petition had been presented, and a report made, a reward of 1200*l.* was voted to Mr. Greathead, for the invention of the life boat, by which it was said, the lives of 500 seamen were saved in one year. Another sum of 5000*l.* on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, was voted to Dr. James Carmichael Smith, for his labour and attention in the discovery of the nitrous fumigation, for preventing the progress of contagious disorders, a process which had been introduced with the most beneficial effect, into the army, the navy, and their respective hospitals.

In the course of the session, some relief was afforded to sufferers in various parts of the West Indies, and particularly those who had sustained losses by the evacuation



June 27. of Saint Domingo. On the subject of the cultivation of Trinidad; Mr. Canning, after a long speech on the immense importation of slaves from Africa, which the possession of that island must require, if it were to be all cultivated, and on the necessity of abolishing that traffic, moved an address to the king requesting that he would not authorize any grants or sales of new lands in the island of Trinidad, without express condition (under penalty of forfeiture, and making void such grants or sales) that no negro to be henceforth imported from Africa, should be employed upon the said lands, until opportunity should have been afforded to parliament, to make such provision as the circumstances of the case might be found to require, for the protection, limitation, or regulation of the importation of negroes from Africa into the said island, and for some other objects. This motion, however, he withdrew, on an assurance from the Chancellor of Exchequer, that the subject would be taken up early in the next session, and that in the mean time no lands would be granted.

Several measures were adopted for the regulation of foreign commerce; but it was found expedient only to relax, and not intirely to abrogate the law made in 1793, respecting the removal of aliens from this country.

The attention of the legislature was also directed to several matters connected with elections in both parts of the united kingdom. The law respecting the peers of Ireland, the mode of supplying their places in parliament, their rights of voting, and their privi-

leges, were after several debates, explained and settled. A bill for amending the statute of William III. commonly called the treating act, was lost in the House of Lords; but an act was passed for improving that commonly called the Grenville act; calculated to expedite the proceedings.

From these circumstances, as well as the period of its duration, it was generally believed, that parliament would be speedily dissolved. This intention was fully announced in June 28. the king's speech from the throne, in closing the session. He said, "as I think it expedient that the election of a new parliament should take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for dissolving the present, and for calling a new parliament. In communicating to you this intention, I cannot suppress those sentiments of intire approbation, with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct, since I first met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our situation required the utmost efforts of that wisdom and fortitude which you so eminently displayed in contending with them, and by which they have been so happily surmounted. From your judicious and salutary measures during the last year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the severest dispensations of providence. And it was by the spirit and determination which uniformly animated your councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operation of my people, that I was enabled to prosecute

with



with success, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous contest in which we have been engaged. The same sense of public duty, the same solicitude for the welfare of your country, will now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage, by all the means in your power, the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace. My endeavours will never be wanting

to preserve the blessings by which we are so eminently distinguished, and to prove that the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my faithful subjects, are the objects which are always the nearest to my heart."

On the following day, June 29. a proclamation was issued accordingly, and the parliament was dissolved.

### C H A P. XVII.

*Speculations on the State of Saint Domingo, and the French expedition; Progress and arrival of the squadrons; state of Guadaloupe and Saint Domingo; Toussaint professes friendly intentions; not credited; distribution of the fleet and Army at Saint Domingo; a frigate sent in fired at; message sent by the black General Christophe, Answer of Le Clerc; Bonaparte's proclamation; his letter to Toussaint; use made of Toussaint's children; Christophe prevents the proclamation from being published; Cesar Telemaque and other friends of the French go on board the fleet; they return and publish the proclamation; Le Clerc disembarks at Limbé; a landing also effected at Mancenille; the negroes burn the town of Cape François; Le Clerc forms a new municipality; the French troops well received at the town of Santo Domingo; the French resisted at Port-au-Prince; but gain possession of the town, and of Port-de-Paix; defection of Clerveaux, a negro chief; many people of colour join Le Clerc. Views and hopes of Toussaint; his interview with his children; he refuses to submit. Angry proclamation of Le Clerc, putting Toussaint and Christophe out of the protection of the law. Force and description of Toussaint's troops. Le Clerc receives supplies of men and money from the Spaniards. His application to the British Admiral at Jamaica; Answer. Measures taken to prevent the negroes from obtaining supplies from America. Proceedings of the French army; difficulties attending their first movements; they negotiate with the negroes; defection of Dumefnel, and of La Plume; distress of Toussaint; battle of the Ravine-à-Couleuvre; defection of General Maurepas; La Plume publishes a letter written by Toussaint. Le Clerc removes to Port-au-Prince; siege of La Crête à Pierrot; it is taken after a long resistance. Injudicious Proclamation of Le Clerc. Toussaint makes an incursion into the northern province; commits great devastation, and retires. Conduct of Rigaud, a mulatto chief; he is sent prisoner to France. Confidence of Le Clerc; he issues a new proclamation; which produces a great defection of the followers of Toussaint; Christophe negotiates, and obtains a pardon; Toussaint also surrenders, and is banished to an estate of his own at Gonaïves. Le Clerc goes to Tortuga for his health; he*



he issues frivolous and oppressive orders; his proceedings injurious to liberty and commerce; many dissatisfied; Toussaint seized, and sent prisoner to France; many of his friends executed; he arrives in France and is closely imprisoned, in a place separate from his family; an intention professed to bring him to trial; no documents transmitted; Le Clerc establishes military law; general dissatisfaction; prevalence of disease. Transactions in Guadalupe. A party of insurgents headed by a mulatto named Pelage; they seize and banish the French governor La Croix; he is landed at Dominica, and issues a proclamation; proceedings of the mulattoes; they massacre the whites; arrival of the French expedition; the command of the troops in Guadalupe given to General Richpanse; they disembark, and are joyfully received; Pelage promises the submission of the whole island; but Ignace, another coloured general, refuses to submit; Richpanse reembarks his troops, and goes to Basseterre; his landing opposed; he defeats the negroes at the river Des Peres; takes Fort Charles; the negroes pursued by Generals Joubert and Gobert, and constantly defeated; attack on the Parc and Matoubas, which are taken, and the negroes there destroyed; the residue offer to surrender on terms, which are refused; the negroes reduced to submission. Observations; death of Richpanse; further observations; France re-establishes the Slave-trade. State of the British islands; black troops; insurrection in Tobago; suppressed by General Carmichael. Mutiny of a black regiment in Dominica; Colonel Cochrane Johnstone marches against them; they resist; but are quickly subdued. Succours sent to Jamaica; application of the lieutenant-governor to the legislature of the island to pay 5000 troops; refused by the assembly; the governor requires a discretionary power with respect to the barrack department, which is refused. Observations. Affairs of Sierra Leone. Retrospective view of the Colony; settlers from Nova Scotia introduced; misfortunes of the settlement; exertions of the colonists; they send an expedition to the interior; establish a factory; are obliged to contract their operations; bad conduct of the Nova Scotia negroes; state of their affairs in 1798; insurrection of the people from Nova Scotia; the colony reinforced; aids granted by Parliament; the Maroons from Jamaica received at Sierra Leone; they assist in suppressing an insurrection of the Nova Scotians; some of whom instigate the natives to attack the Colony; they are repulsed; second attack, also defeated. Application to Parliament for relief; ten thousand pounds granted.

THE expedition fitted out in France to reduce to subjection the people of colour in Saint Domingo, was regarded with great interest and anxiety, not in France alone, but also in England. As hope or fear directed, speculation assumed a different aspect. Some were of opinion that the success of the French in their attempt, must

be eminently prejudicial to the commercial interests of Great Britain, by giving to that overgrown power the enormous accession of such a valuable island, not divided as formerly with the Spaniards, and the portion of the island ceded by them, not being injured by the excesses of the liberated negroes. Many who



reasoned in this manner, considered the French armament far too large for its pretended purpose, and surmised the most treacherous views against the English colonies. Even if Toussaint and his whole force were to unite in resistance, it was said, their efforts would be vain against a much smaller body of French troops well disciplined, and led to useful enterprize; but from Toussaint's proclamation, it was evident that he intended no opposition to the government of the mother country, and that consequently, the greater portion of the European, and of the negro force would be left free to engage in attempts hostile to England, among which, the capture of Jamaica was deemed one of the most probable. On the other hand, many considered it impossible that any French force, of whatever magnitude, should conquer and retain the island from the negroes. Their mode of warfare, it was said, would set at defiance the tactics which had been so successful in Europe; their woods and impenetrable retreats would baffle the skill of generals, and render useless the courage of armies, while the climate, that sure ally of the natives, would speedily thin the number of the invaders. But all this tended to the alarming example of the establishment of a free republic of revolted negroes; an example which the slaves in British colonies would not fail to imitate, and which would end in the total ruin of all property in the West Indies. Both these opinions were supported by reasonings of great apparent force, but for the present, the event of the contest did not absolutely justify either.

The fleet under Villaret Joyeuse, after some delay from adverse winds, and some slight accidents, arrived, after a voyage of forty-six days off Cape Jan. 29. Samana, where the squadrons from Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, and that under the Spanish admiral Gravina, were united. This expedition had not been undertaken without a cautious regard to the means of securing submission, by emissaries and secret agents, who were at once to give information to the commanders of the French force, and to use their influence in negotiations with the Blacks. From some of these, such intelligence was obtained with respect to the efforts at resistance in Guadaloupe, as convinced the French commanders of the necessity of making a speedy impression on St. Domingo. In this island some civil officers among the people of colour, and many of the whites, who hoped to regain their lands and slaves, were prepared, on a favourable opportunity, to join the French. Toussaint had not, however been negligent in preparing means of resistance, and had also trusty agents, and subalterns in whom he thought he could confide, at all points which could be considered insecure. Jan. 30. The day after their arrival off Cape Samana, the commander in chief received on board, pilots from Monte Christi, who informed him of the determination of Toussaint, to receive the French in a friendly manner; but not relying intirely on these intentions, he formed the fleet and troops into three divisions. The first, under the orders of rear-admiral Latouche, was intended to disembark at



at Port-au-Prince a body of troops, the command of which the general in chief gave to General Boudet. The second was destined, under the orders of Captain Magen, to disembark at the Bay of Mance-nille the division of General Rochambeau, and to second his attack on fort Dauphin. Villaret conducted the rest of the fleet, and the forces which General Leclerc had reserved to take possession of the Cape town, and the neighbouring quarters, the most important points in the colony. The preparations for these disembarkations being arranged, private signals were made to the shore; but these not being answered, and the buoys being removed from the road, it was considered necessary to send in two light frigates to reconnoitre; Feb. 3. a service which was effected by one of them, although she grounded, and was fired at with red-hot-balls.

At this period, Toussaint was absent from Cape François, but Christophe, who was left in command, sent the port captain, a mulatto, named Sangos, to inform General Le Clerc of this circumstance, adding that it was necessary to wait the return of a courier he had dispatched to Toussaint, previous to any steps for the disembarkation of a military force; on a refusal of this delay, he should consider the white people in his district as hostages for the conduct of the French; and the consequence of an attack on any place, would be its immediate conflagration. This intimation checked, for a while, the proceeding of the French general. He considered it prudent to allow time for his friends to unite and shew themselves; and

to increase their number by acts of apparent conciliation; to which, however, he added the imperious tones of menace and command. In answer to the message of Christophe, he sent a letter, expressing indignation at his refusal to receive the French squadron and army. France, having made peace with England, had sent a fleet sufficiently strong to crush rebels, and it would give him pain to consider Christophe among the number. He therefore gave him notice, that if he did not that day, deliver up possession of forts Piccolet and Belair, with all the batteries on the coast, on the morrow at day-break, 15,000 men should be disembarked; and that 4000 were already landing at Port Dauphin, and 8000 at Port-au-Prince.

This letter was accompanied with a proclamation from Bonaparte to the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, inviting them to peace and submission, and assuring them of their liberty. The first consul had also written to Toussaint, with a view to prevail on him to submit, in which terms of blandishment and assurances of favour were employed with great profusion and address. "We have conceived," he said, "an esteem for you, and we feel a pleasure in acknowledging and proclaiming the great services which you have rendered to the French people. If its colours wave in Saint Domingo, it is owing to you, and your brave blacks. Called by your talents, and the force of circumstances to the chief command, you have extinguished civil war, imposed a restraint on the persecution of some ferocious men, restored to its proper



proper rank, religion, and the worship of a God from whom all things emanate. The constitution you have made, includes many good things, but contains also others, contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which Saint Domingo is only a portion. Assist the Captain-General with your advice, your influence, and your talents. Do you wish for the freedom of the Blacks? You know well, that in every country where we have been, we have conferred it on those people who before were not in possession of it. Do you wish for rank, honours, and fortune? After the services you have rendered, and which it is now in your power, in the present conjuncture, to effect, and with the personal estimation which we entertain for you, you need not doubt of the consideration, the fortune, and the honours which attend you."

These artful solicitations were accompanied with an appeal still more forcible to the feelings of the sable chief, whom it was determined to circumvent or subdue. His children had been sent to France for education, and they with their tutor were put on board the fleet to be used as occasion might serve; either to act on the sensibility of the parent at a prepared interview, or to excite his fears by being detained as hostages. "We have made known to your children," said Bonaparte, "and to their tutor, the sentiments by which we are governed. We return them to you."

The effect of these papers was for a while suspended by the care and vigilance of Christophe, who

would not suffer the proclamation to be published; and his answer to Le Clerc only repeated in more positive terms the message before sent by Sangos. Some persons devoted to the French, contrived, however, to get on board the frigate which had worked into the road, and that vessel making her way back to the fleet without difficulty, they were conveyed to Le Clerc. At the head of them was Cesar Telemaque, a negro, who had been appointed mayor of the town, but was attached to, and accompanied by a party of whites, anxious to overthrow the power of Toussaint. They represented to Le Clerc the positive orders issued by Christophe, on the first signal of a disembarkation, to fire the city and adjoining estates, and massacre the white people, and they entreated the General to take into consideration their unhappy condition. Le Clerc sent them back with directions to read, in the most public manner, the proclamation of the first consul, and to declare his good intentions toward the people; an order which was obeyed with great punctuality, and probably with much latent, though little apparent, effect.

Considering further delay useless, the French general effected his disembarkation at the Bay of Limbé, distant several leagues from the Cape, with the intention of marching to the heights behind the Cape, while General Rochambeau gained the heights of St. Sauzanne, Dondon, and Grande Rivière. The intent of this measure was to save the beautiful plantations which surround the Cape, and perhaps the city itself. The landing of Le Clerc was not  
vigo.



vigorously opposed; one ineffective discharge of artillery from a single battery, was the only resistance he encountered; and, as he marched forward, he found the settlements deserted, all the planters having fled. In the mean time another division of troops had been landed at the Bay of Mancenille, and proceeded to fort Dauphin; they were also resisted, but in a feeble manner; the most material circumstance recorded, being, that the negroes exclaimed, "No Whites! No French!" In these positions the natives were unable or unwilling to execute the orders of Christophe, which were to defend themselves against the French to the last extremity, and to sink their ships; but at the Cape his instructions were better obeyed. The fleet under Villaret, forcing its way into the road, sustained an obstinate, though not very injurious fire, from forts Belair and St. Michel, and when Le Clerc approached the city, he beheld it in a general conflagration. The progress of the flames was resisted by the efforts of the fleet and of the army, but the destruction was of alarming extent.

Having thus obtained possession of Cape François, Le Clerc formed a municipality, conformable to his views, placing at its head, Cesar Telemaque, who had already shewn so much devotion to the cause of France, and who had fortunately escaped the resentment of his betrayed countrymen and associates. The expeditions ordered by Le Clerc to other parts, were equally prosperous. At the town of Santo Domingo, the Spaniards received the French troops, with acclamations of joy.

The general of division Boudet, had been Feb. 4. detached to occupy Port-au-Prince, and on his arrival, he sent his Aid-de-Camp with letters to the civil and military officers. This officer was received by General Age in a suitable manner; but the black and mulatto chiefs soon beginning to suspect General Age, who was a white, rose upon him and demanded that he should detain General Boudet's aid-de-camp, the ship's boat, and all the sailors that were in it. Age caused Boudet to be told that his authority was misunderstood, and requested him not to attempt a disembarkation by force, as this would be the signal for the massacre of the whites, and the burning of the town. Notwithstanding this intimation, the next day, 5th. about ten in the morning, Boudet made a landing on the one side of Lamantin, without encountering any obstacle; and proceeded with his advanced guard upon Fort Birotton, where the commanding officer perceiving that this column was French, and composed of republican troops, conjured them to wait the orders of General Dessalines; but in this interval the officers and garrison came to join the French, and Fort Birotton was occupied by their troops. They then began their march for Port-au-Prince; and found drawn up before the gate Léogane, near 4000 blacks. The parleys that took place producing no agreement, the negroes began to cry out that orders had arrived to receive the French army; but a battalion advanced, being received by a shower of balls and bullets, the signal of attack was given; the



the gate of Léogane forced, and the city secured; the conflict was not attended with great effusion of blood, and the city was uninjured. Humbert also <sup>12th</sup> succeeded, after encountering some resistance, in obtaining possession of Port de Paix, and pushed his division three leagues beyond it; a negro chief named Clervaux joined the French, and by the distribution of proclamations, and other acts, many people of colour were induced to enrol themselves in the army of Le Clerc.

These proceedings were not regarded with indifference by Toussaint, nor was he awed into dependence, or unprepared for resistance. His wish appears to have been to submit to the general authority of France, provided he could obtain for himself and his associates their freedom, and that which they termed (and certainly with a right which no man in power in France could controvert) their property. He was desirous also, that the system of social regulation he had formed, should have its effect, and not be superseded for the vague promises, and general propositions which might be contained in a proclamation. These advantages Le Clerc had no inclination, if he had power, to concede. Although abundantly confident in the sufficiency of the army he led, he was desirous to spare them the pain and danger of penetrating into the interior, by inducing the negro chief to submit, and with this view transmitted to him the letter of Bonaparte, already noticed, and planned an attack on his paternal feelings, by means of an interview with his children. The execution of this plan was confided to Coisson, the tutor of the

young men, a confidential agent in the expedition; and the children of Toussaint had been prepared before they quitted France, to influence the mind of their parent in favour of the views of Bonaparte. Accompanied by Coisson, they repaired to a plantation of Toussaint's, called Ennery, distant about ten leagues from the Cape, at a period when his speedy return was expected. Their mother, who received them, and was transported with joy at their return, is said to have readily joined in their views, and added her influence to theirs in endeavouring to procure the submission of her husband, reserving only such terms as might be beneficial to himself. Their united arguments and solicitations had, however, no effect on Toussaint; he surmounted the danger of this trying interview, but fearing his own want of firmness, should it be renewed, set out two hours afterward for his camp, and the children were taken back to the Cape. Some correspondence ensued, which however produced no effect.

Irritated at the failure of this plan, and rendered Feb. 17. confident by past success, and by the arrival of a reinforcement brought by Gantheaume, Le Clerc disdained all further appearance of pacific intention, and issued a proclamation expressive of his disappointment and his anger. Accusing Toussaint of a deliberate plan, though veiled by hypocritical pretences, to separate the colony from France, and of intending to amuse him by crafty and perfidious promises, General Le Clerc disclosed his intention immediately to advance into the interior, to manifest to this rebel, this insensible monster, the



the force of the French government. He therefore ordered that Touffaint and Christophe should be put out of the protection of the law, and pursued by all citizens as rebels to the republic, and the same treatment should await those who obeyed any orders, save those issued by the French commander. Deserters were to be received into the French army; and as an earnest, and specimen of encouragement, General Clervaux was formally continued in possession of his rank and command.

To carry on the war thus sternly denounced against him, Touffaint was supposed to have about his person, 12,000 regular troops, besides those under the command of his general officers, and an expectation of insurrections in his favour to an incalculable extent. Expert as all the black troops were, the author of a history of these events has observed, those surrounding the person of Touffaint were uncommonly so, being disciplined with inconceivable correctness. Though formed into regular divisions, the soldiers of the one were trained to the duties of the other, and all understood the management of artillery with the greatest accuracy. Their chief dexterity, however, was in the use of the bayonet. With that dreadful weapon, fixed on muskets of extraordinary length, in their hands, neither cavalry nor artillery could subdue infantry, although of unequal proportion; but when they were attacked in their defiles, no power could overcome them. Infinitely more skilful than the Maroons of Jamaica in their cock pits, though not more favoured by nature, they found means to place whole lines in ambush, continuing

sometimes from one post to another, and sometimes stretching from their camps, in the form of a horse shoe. With these lines artillery was not used, to prevent their being burthened, or the chance of loss; but the surrounding heights of every camp were well fortified, according to the experience and judgment of different European engineers, with ordnance of the best kind, in proper directions. The protection afforded by these outworks, encouraged the blacks to every exertion of skill or courage; while the alertness, constantly displayed embarrassed the enemy, who, frequently irritated, or worn out with fatigue, flew in disorder to the attack, or retreated with difficulty. Sometimes a regular battle or skirmish ensued, to seduce the enemy to a confidence in their own superiority, when, in a moment, reinforcements arose from an ambush in the vicinity, and turned the fortune of the day. If black troops, in the pay of the enemy, were dispatched to reconnoitre when an ambush was probable, and were discovered, not a man returned; such was the hatred which their perfidy had inspired; nor could an officer venture without the lines with impunity. With this force Touffaint prepared to defend the northern province, confiding in the sagacity of his own precautions with respect to the distant points, relying on the fidelity of those whom he had entrusted with their defence, and little alarmed at the success of the invaders which, vaunted as it was, extended only to the occupation of a few points on the sea coast, while their numbers were not supposed sufficient to allow them to undertake enterprises in various directions.

With



With all the succours he had received from France, and which continued to arrive very frequently, Le Clerc was exposed to several wants, and money was among the number. A supply was however derived from the Spaniards, who had a vast treasure accumulated at the Havannah, and readily contributed a portion to their ally. They were also required to furnish ships and men, and sent, of each, as many as they could spare. To prevent the transmission of any supplies to Toussaint, the French admiral, wrote to the British commander in chief on the Jamaica station, apprizing him of the proceedings in the island, and exhorting him by the peace just concluded, and the known honour of the British character, to maintain with him pacific communications worthy of the two nations, and soliciting, if it could be afforded, a supply of provisions for the French troops. Admiral Sir John Duckworth received the officer who brought this dispatch with the utmost kindness and distinction, and Feb. 19. in his answer gave every assurance of his intention to treat the French nation with all possible respect. He could not promise provisions, on account of the arrival of a great naval and military force at Jamaica, and of the limited state of his own resources. That Toussaint might not derive ammunition or supplies from the North American States, the French minister in America notified, that Cape François and Port-au-Prince were the only two ports into which merchant ships, of any kind, were allowed to enter, and that it was necessary for American ships, bound even to those ports, to have, from

him or his agents, a certificate or passport, importing that the intention of the navigator was not to supply the rebels. It had already been noticed, with some apparent chagrin, in the early dispatches, that the muskets taken from the negroes were all of American manufacture.

Having adopted Feb. 18th. these precautions, Le Clerc opened the campaign, putting his forces in motion in various directions. The division of General Desfourneaux advanced to Limbé; that of General Hardy to the great Boucan and to the Mornes, while that of General Rochambeau proceeded to the Tannerie, and to the Bois de L'ance. A small force, composed of the garrisons of the Cape and of Fort Dauphin, marched towards St. Suzanne, Trou, and Velliere. They all succeeded in taking the positions assigned to them, though not without encountering considerable opposition, and being made sensible of the difficulty of advancing in such a country if they were at all resisted. "One must be acquainted with the country," says Le Clerc, in his dispatch, "to form a competent idea of the difficulties that are to be struggled with in every encounter. I experienced nothing in the Alps to be compared with them." The French relied, however, on other means besides those merely military for the attainment of their object. Every commander of a body of forces was empowered to negotiate with his opponent the terms of submission, and the honours conferred on Telemaque, and the rewards bestowed on Clervaux for their attachment to the French, were examples likely to operate most prejudicially



officially to the cause of Touffaint.

<sup>20th</sup> The division of Desfourneaux advanced unopposed to Plaisance, in which district Dumefnel was commander with 200 cavalry and 300 infantry. He sought a parley with the French general, and speedily yielded into his power, uninjured, the territory he had been instructed to defend, or if defence were hopeless, to destroy. For several succeeding days, the French pushed their operations in various directions, with undissembled difficulty and doubtful success. They found themselves sometimes checked in their efforts to proceed, and at others circumvented by the sagacity of their opponents; but at length, a negotiation which had been pressed with equal assiduity and secrecy, terminated favourably, and La Plume, a general in whom Touffaint placed the highest confidence, and to whom he had intrusted the intire command of the southern district, revolted to the enemy. Still Touffaint was strong in the field, but distracted by doubts whether his orders would be obeyed, or whether in trusting any one with authority, he was not furnishing arms to be used against himself.

<sup>25th</sup> Where he and the troops immediately commanded by him were engaged, the French did not obtain an easy victory, on the contrary, in the battle of the Ravine à Couleuvre, they allow that the negroes fought, hand to hand, with the greatest determination, and did not retire from the field till 800 of them were killed. His whole corps then engaged, was stated not to exceed 3100 men, and he was attacked by Rochambeau at the head of a much greater force. Nor does it appear that the victory was deci-

sive, for, while Touffaint retreated to Trois Rivières, the French general also fell back to Gonaïves. This doubtful victory was compensated by an advantage of a more decisive nature. Generals Debelle and Boudet were employed against General Maurepas, in the neighbourhood of Gros Morne. They were completely held in check, and even obliged to send to the commander in chief and to Rochambeau for succours, when Maurepas gave ear to the alluring proposals held out to him, and consented to join the French, on condition <sup>27th</sup> that he and his officers should retain their rank.

The attention of the French commanders was now almost exclusively directed against Touffaint, whom they hoped to subdue by force, and endeavoured still more to weaken by diminishing the attachment and number of his followers. To effect this purpose they published a letter which Touffaint had written to one of his subordinate officers, with which they were furnished by La Plume, and in which were these expressions, "Distrust the whites, they will betray you if they can; their desire, evidently manifested, is the restoration of slavery. I therefore give you a *carte blanche* for your conduct. All which you shall do will be well done. Raise the cultivators in mass, and convince them of this truth, that they must place no confidence in those artful agents who may have secretly received the proclamations of the white men from France, and would circulate them clandestinely, in order to seduce the friends of liberty. I have ordered the general of brigade, La Plume, to burn the town of Cayes, and every



every other town and plain in the district, should they be unable to resist the enemy's force."

Le Clerc now changed his headquarters to Port-au-Prince, to which place his lady was conveyed by sea. This abode was far more comfortable than Cape François, as it had not been injured by the retreating negroes, but the next town in the South, Leogane, was destroyed by Dessalines, and every place that was likely to aid a passage to that quarter. Desfourneaux was left at Plaisance to protect the north, while Hardy, Rochambeau, Boudet, and Debelle, proceeded to the Spanish border of the western district. La Crête à Pierrot, a post rather advantageously situated, between St. Marc and Port-au-Prince, which had been a dépôt of the blacks, and lately their apparent headquarters, was the first object of the French; but in this attack they are considered as having been principally allured by the hope of booty, and the negroes contributed all in their power to this delusion, wishing them to waste their time and strength in this exploit. In the beginning of March, the divisions of Hardy, Rochambeau, Boudet, and Debelle, marched against different posts in the vicinity of their grand object, with the hope of preventing the retreat of an enemy of whose reduction they considered themselves certain. Rochambeau first attacked a village called Cahouffe, from whose few inoffensive inhabitants he met no opposition; but General Hardy, with a considerable force, surrounded 600 blacks in the Coupe de L'Inde, who bravely attempting to cut their way to Trianon, were all taken, and killed on the spot; and a chief

of battalion, Henin, with a part of the same force, attacked the position Trianon, and carried it with the bayonet. Enraged by such unexampled warfare, Dessalines made a sortie from the fort, and advancing as far as La Petite Riviere, met General Debelle on his march to Verettes, whom supposing a part of the cruel perpetrators of the late excesses, he drove before him to La Crête à Pierrot; and retiring into the fort, discharged a volley of grape shot among them, by which, Debelle and a considerable number were wounded. The commandant of artillery, Pambour, took the command of the division, and Debelle fell back into the rear. General Boudet now passed the Artibonité, for the purpose of blockading La Crête à Pierrot, but had scarcely come within sight of the glacis, when he received a wound which compelled him to return, and his men were thrown into disorder. General Dugua advancing with a battalion of the 19th light troops, and the 74th regiment of the line, to form the blockade, was also dangerously wounded, and his party completely routed. To avenge this loss, Le Clerc, who had a narrow escape, a shot having hit the center of his sash, and carried part of it away, hastened a portion of his artillery from Port-au-Prince, and Rochambeau spread fire and sword through every village in his way. General Salines, likewise, with a large body, contrived to surround a small camp of the blacks, and put every man to the sword. Rochambeau March 22. attempted to erect a battery of seven pieces of heavy artillery on a rising ground, but in vain, the fire of a redoubt bearing upon



upon him, swept away all his men. He therefore marched to attack the redoubt, but found it so secured by a projection of logwood, that it was impossible to be carried. In the mean time, every thing being prepared for evacuating the fort, Dessalines, with a part of his force, sallied forth in the night, and falling in with Desplanques, who commanded General Hardy's advanced guard, a skirmish ensued, which, nevertheless, did not prevent his departure. The absence of Dessalines inspired the besiegers with new hopes, and for the three successive days they bombarded the fort with great activity, frequently setting fire to it. On the evening of the last day, the commander of the black forces remaining at La Crete, made a vigorous sally, to force the French lines; a small part only accomplished this measure, and passed the Artibonité, the remainder were surrounded, and immediately put to the sword. Thus ended the siege and blockade, which had cost the French army much, by the loss of some of her best generals and finest troops: they succeeded in the main exploit, although without gaining the booty so anxiously expected.

Elated by this success, and convinced perhaps that the power and influence of Toussaint were now annihilated, Le Clerc published an order in direct violation of his own proclamations, directing proprietors or their attornies, to resume their ancient authority over the negroes; and took several other measures injurious to trade and subversive of freedom. But, in the mean while, Toussaint, who had noticed the neglected situation in which the northern province was left, by

withdrawing the whole of the French force to the recent siege, resolved to avail himself of it. When, therefore, Le Clerc had dispatched General Rochambeau to sack Les Gonaives, which at one time had been the black head quarters, Toussaint effected a junction with Christophe in the mountains, and poured down an accumulated force on the plain of the Cape. Reaching Plaisance by a mountain road, he routed the forces of General Desfourneaux; passed on without molestation through Dondon and Marmelade, raising the cultivators in his way, and halted within a mile and a half of the city of Cape François. An universal consternation followed. Dispatches were sent, requiring the aid of the victorious generals, and Le Clerc was obliged to take a hasty passage by sea to the Cape. From the concourse of people in and about the city, a dreadful contagion began to shew itself. General Boyer, endeavoured to oppose Toussaint, with his whole force, including the marines and sailors from the fleet, and was quickly driven back, under the very hospital; and the blacks, having laid the whole plain of the Cape in ruins, in defiance of the captain-general, commanding in the town, and of Generals Hardy and Rochambeau, who arrived by forced marches, retired to the mountains of Hincha.

The proceedings of the French were also embarrassed by another obstacle. Among the means devised for counteracting the authority of Toussaint, was the re-introduction into the colony of Rigaud, a mulatto chief, his ancient political opponent, who had been for some time banished to Cuba. His presence,



it was suggested by some of his friends, might attach his former party to the French arms, but this Le Clerc considered an expedient too dangerous to risque. Rigaud, who expected an immediate restoration of his property and command, finding himself continued in concealment, at a distance from his native province, began to contemplate means of re-inflating himself. No sooner, therefore, was the captain general called to the Cape, than he attempted a correspondence on the subject of a visit to his friends, with General La Plume, who immediately communicated his letter to Le Clerc. Enraged at what he considered perfidy at so critical a moment, the french general immediately ordered the unfortunate chief, with his family, to be sent on board a frigate, and conveyed to France, as one whose principles could not "contribute to the re-establishment of the colony of St. Domingo." This was a circumstance, however, disagreeable to many powerful persons, and Le Clerc adds to Rigaud's offences, that he had "sent emissaries into the south to stop cultivation, and alarm the peaceable citizens with terrors."

In the banishment of Rigaud, Le Clerc shewed his determination not to permit the leaders of the people of colour, even if friendly to the French government, to assume any political importance, or form any close connexion among themselves. The disposition shewn by several of them to submit, gave him the most flattering hopes of ultimate success, and he considered the partial success of Toussaint's late irruption, rather owing to the unexpected manner in which it was undertaken, and to the non arrival

of supplies expected from Havre and Flushing, than to any vigour in the conception, or force in the execution of the plan. The expected supplies soon arrived, and Le Clerc once again thought it necessary to appeal to the hopes, and to the fickleness of his antagonists, by a proclamation, tending, though not in direct and unequivocal terms, to appease the alarm excited by his intention to re-establish slavery. In this proclamation, he said, "The basis of the provisional organization which I shall give to the colony, but which shall not be definitive till approved of by the French government, is liberty and equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, without regard to colour;" and he said he had given orders to the generals of the south and west divisions, to select for each of these departments seven citizens, proprietors and merchants (without regard to colour) who, with eight more, whom he should choose for the department of the north, were to assemble at the Cape, to impart their observations to him on the plans then to be submitted to their consideration. The citizens thus chosen being honest and enlightened men, to them he would communicate his views; they would make their observations upon them, and would be able to impress on the minds of their fellow citizens the liberal ideas with which the government was animated. "Let those, then," he concluded, "who are thus to be called together, consider this appointment as a flattering proof of my consideration for them. Let them consider that for want of their counsels and advice, I might pursue measures disastrous to the colony, which would ultimately



mately fall upon themselves. Let them consider this, and they will find no difficulty in leaving, for some time, their private avocations."

This proclamation holding forth a view of tranquil, and even beneficial adjustment, produced a rapid defection of the followers of Toussaint, who could no longer hope, for any considerable time, to maintain his opposition to the French. His troops totally cut off from the sea, could not expect to obtain any military supplies, and they were said to be without magazines, without powder, and reduced to live on Bananas. Under these circumstances, Christophe, who had hitherto been immovable in his fidelity to Toussaint, commenced a correspondence with Le Clerc, declaring that he had always been a friend to the whites, whom he admired; that all the Europeans who had been at St. Domingo could attest his principles and his conduct; that imperious circumstances, which often decide the conduct of public men, had not left him at liberty to pursue that line of conduct which he wished; and, he desired to know if there was still any safety for him? The answer of the French general was favourable, though it held out no positive promises; Christophe still hesitated, but seeing military preparations accumulating around him, he solicited orders from Le Clerc, and when they were communicated, obeyed them without delay. The commands he received were, to repair alone to the Cape; to send thither all the cultivators who were still with him, and to assemble all the troops who were under his orders. His magazines and artillery were delivered up to

the French, and of about 1,200 soldiers who were under his command, a part was disarmed and sent to cultivate the fields, while the residue were retained in the French service.

Toussaint was now May 8. without resource and without hope. He employed, says Le Clerc, all means to inform me of the unfortunate situation in which he found himself, and how much he saw with pain, that he was continuing a war without object, and without end. He added, that circumstances, the most unfortunate, had already occasioned many evils, but that notwithstanding the force of the French army, he was still strong enough to ravage and destroy the country, and to sell dearly a life, which had been sometimes useful to the mother country. As his submission would terminate the war, his communication was most gladly received. Toussaint was directed to repair to the Cape, with an express promise of pardon, and he there swore fidelity to the French government. It does not appear that by this resistance to the force of the mother country, the leaders of the people of colour gained any point beyond their own safety. The freedom of their associates was not established by any compact, and for themselves they obtained neither acknowledgment of their rank, nor any political consideration. Toussaint was banished to an estate of his own, named L'Ouverture, situate at Gonaives, and Dessalines, who alone had not entered into any treaty, was fixed at a plantation near St. Marc.

Thus successful in every quarter, Le Clerc had now only to apply himself to the task of tranquilizing,



and regulating, in the most beneficial manner, the affairs of the colony. The prevalence of the fever at the Cape obliged him to make a temporary retreat to the little island of Tortuga, where he issued orders for establishing an official gazette, in Saint Domingo, and some others of small consideration. He also attempted some regulations favourable to commerce, but on the whole, his measures of government seem to have been rash, weak, and tyrannical. Of reconciling, or gaining the affections of the people of colour, he seems to have entertained neither hope nor desire, but to have considered that their subjection in the field left them no right to refuse the yoke of slavery which he was determined to impose. He therefore, on his return from Tortuga, issued orders for setting them to work on the various plantations, and was guilty of many acts of violence toward the native planters, and of injustice toward those who came to trade. Against the Americans in particular, he seems to have entertained a most determined hostility, considering them guilty in having sold military stores to the adherents of Toussaint; and he actually caused a vessel of that nation which arrived after the pacification of the colony, to be confiscated, under pretence that she came for the purpose of selling them similar supplies.

Besides these, Le Clerc, rendered confident and daring by the daily expectation of an augmentation of his force from France, proceeded in so many acts of vexation, tyranny and cruelty, that dissatisfaction rapidly gained ground, and some who had been used to regard Toussaint as their protector in all cases of in-

justice and oppression, again besought his good offices. Whether the circumstances of the country aroused the ambitious hopes of this man, and he really meditated some new enterprize, or whether some unimportant writing or expression intercepted by government, or repeated by a spy, furnished a pretext against him, is unknown; but in a most sudden manner, before the expiration of the June 9. first month of his retirement, in the dead of the night, the Creole frigate, escorted by the Hero, a 74 gun ship from Cape François, stood in close to the shore of Gonaïves; troops were landed from several boats, who surrounded the dwelling of Toussaint, where his family lay asleep unconscious of their impending fate. Brunet, chief of brigade, and Ferrari, an aid-de-camp of Le Clerc, entered Toussaint's chamber with a file of grenadiers, and demanded his immediate surrender. Toussaint declared himself indifferent as to his own fate, but remonstrated with regard to his family. "I shall not resist the power you have obtained over me," he said, "but, my wife is feeble, and my children can do no harm. Suffer them, then, to remain at home." This request was not complied with: the guard was increased, and before the neighbourhood became alarmed, they were on board the vessel, and under sail. Two negro leaders, who were roused, attacked the French, but they were seized, and afterwards shot. About 100 persons who had shared the intimacy of Toussaint were also apprehended, and being put on board ship, under pretence of being conveyed to the Mediterranean, were heard of no more. It will be sufficient



cient in this volume to pursue the history of Toussaint only till his arrival in France. During the voyage he was not permitted to see his family, and a guard was placed at the door of his cabin. On his July arrival at Brest, he was indulged with a transient parting interview, and then hurried away, under a strong escort of cavalry, to the castle of Joux in Normandy, with a single attendant, who was also confined and prevented from any other communication. From Joux he was removed to Besançon, and kept in a damp prison, without the comfort of a single friend, without trial or even examination. His wife and family remained in strict charge at Brest for two months; and were then removed to Bayonne, in the same province with their unhappy relative, where they long continued unnoticed, and in ignorance of his fate.

It was for some time reported, and believed, that Bonaparte intended to bring this man to trial, but if he ever entertained such an intention, Le Clerc does not appear to have furnished him with the means. No document was ever published, nor even a narrative framed to shew that Toussaint was guilty of the crimes imputed to him; they were only alleged in a proclamation published by Le Clerc on the occasion, which adverted to an intercepted letter written to one Fontaine; accused him of waiting only for the result of disease among the troops, and termed him a deeply perfidious man, who with so much hypocrisy, had done so much mischief. Indeed Le Clerc seemed less solicitous to justify his conduct than to confirm his power, and to make it as despotic as possible. He

assumed, in addition to his title of captain general, that of general in chief, issued orders that every officer, manager, or proprietor of a plantation found in arms should be shot, and directed that the whole commune of Ennery should be disarmed. Finally, to suppress every appearance of freedom, he June 22 issued an edict for the complete establishment of martial law in the French part of the island. The administration of the quarters and communes, was confided to military commandants and councils of notables; the commandants to have the jurisdiction of police in their respective districts, and the chief command of the Gendarmerie; the councils of notables to be composed of proprietors or merchants. The military commandants were charged with the delivery (*gratis*) of passports for travelling in the colony, the suppression of vagabondage, the care of the police, the maintenance of cleanliness and health, the care of citizens newly arrived, the police of the prisons, and the verification of weights and measures, in concurrence with the council of notables.

Consternation and surprise, kept the people of Saint Domingo for some time in a state of stupor, which Le Clerc appears to have mistaken for tranquil submission. His letters to government, for a short period, spoke of the quiet and good order of the colony; but his assurances, accompanied as they were with demands of fresh succours, did not denote a confident mind, or prognosticate a secure dominion. Disease too, prevailed in an alarming degree among the forces, and preyed on Le Clerc himself. The black troops who



had joined his army were regarded with jealousy and apprehension, and many foretold that Toussaint would have a successor, although, in a reverse of fortune, the whites might want, that which in him they had always found, a protector, benefactor, and friend.

While these important transactions were taking place at Saint Domingo, a petty war of insurrection, not altogether devoid of interest was carried on in Guadaloupe. The exertions of Lacrosse, mentioned in a former chapter, were calculated to give pain and offence chiefly to the Jacobins and free people of colour, whose excesses he had on former occasions aided and instigated, and from them arose the great opposition to his government. A free mulatto named Pelage, was at the head of a party of insurgents. He had formerly been a slave at Martinique; in 1792, when La Crosse excited the slaves to rise against their masters, Pelage, by murdering his mistress, acquired a portion of her property; he afterward obtained the command of a company of people of colour, and assisted in expelling the British forces from Guadaloupe. In November, 1801, this man and his faction, composed of Mulattoes, seized La Crosse as he was visiting some outposts, and placing him on board a Danish vessel, ordered the captain to land him at Copenhagen. Fortunately for the banished governor, he was met at sea by a British frigate which gave him protection, and carried him into Dominica, from which place, he in conjunction with Lescallier, the colonial prefect, and Coster, the commissary of justice, who had just ar-

rived from France, issued a manifesto, protesting against all acts done by the rebellious usurpers of Guadaloupe, and exhorting all governments to forbid, under the severest penalties, all persons supplying them with arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or provisions. With this request the British ships were well disposed to comply, for one of them having gone in with a flag of truce to announce the signature of the preliminaries of peace, the insurgents, disbelieving, or affecting to disbelieve, the intelligence, maltreated the commander.

As an immediate consequence of their success, the mulattoes dismissed all white persons from public employ; re-established all the municipalities which La Crosse had abolished; placed at the head of every department mulattoes; disorganized the army, and placed also at the head of the troops people of their own description. They not only refused to assimilate with the whites, but would have an empire over, and command them. The British trade being injured by their violences, the commanders of ships on that station co-operated with the French in preventing the approach to the island of vessels of any nation whatever, and a line of ships was stationed round the whole coast, for the purpose of enforcing the prohibition of trade with them. As the certainty of the approach of the French armament occasioned an increased agitation among the mulattoes, they carried into effect the desperately atrocious vengeance of a massacre of the whites, although the number of their victims was not great, few having been induced to return during the government of La Crosse,



Crosse, and several having found means to escape since the assumption of power by Pelage.

Still it does not appear that the mulattoes, or at least their leader, had any hope of retaining the island against the force dispatched by France. When the expedition arrived in the West Indies, the portion of troops destined to act against Guadaloupe, was placed under the command of General Richepanse, and he was supported by some ships under Rear-Admiral Bonnet. At Desirade, they took on board the prefect Lescallier, and immediately presented themselves before Point à Pitre in Guadaloupe. May 7. Fearless of the slight resistance they might experience from a few corps of negroes and mulattoes, some companies of grenadiers and chasseurs, notwithstanding a violent wind and great swell of the sea, effected a disembarkation at Point à Pitre and at Gosier. They were immediately ordered to march upon the Morne Mascatte, in order to take the fort Fleur d'Epée, in the rear, and cut off its communication with the redoubts Bimbridge and Stivenfon. The troops disembarked at the port of the Point, were to march to the river Salée, to take possession of the fort de La Victoire, and then of the Fort L'Union. All these dispositions were however, useless, the negroes were expecting the French on the quay, where they received them with cries of "*Vive la Republique! Vive Bonaparte!*" — The troops formed themselves on the Place de la Victoire, where Richepanse found Pelage, who assured him of the entire submission of the whole island. The general ordered him to deliver up all his posts at the Forts of Fleur

d'Epée, Union, and La Victoire, and also the redoubts Bimbridge and Stivenfon. He promised that he would give orders to that effect, and also assemble under the redoubt Stivenfon all his troops in this part of the island, and for the purpose of meeting them, and receiving their submission, the general appointed the same evening. He soon learnt, that Pelage had over rated his own influence, for although the French troops were assembled on the place la Victoire under a fort of the same name, Ignace, the coloured commandant, would not suffer them to enter. They rushed in, however at the *pas de charge*, intending to make Ignace and his troops prisoners, but they had escaped at the opposite gate.

Richepanse then proceeded with the rest of the troops under Fort Stivenfon, the rendezvous assigned for the assembling of the black troops. The day had disappeared, and, in spite of the obscurity of the night, he perceived that a great number of black troops were spread about the country under arms. These circumstances made him suspect treachery on the part of Pelage, but at the place of rendezvous, that mulatto with a few followers, informed the general that many of his officers, and a great number of his soldiers had deserted him. The general harangued those he found assembled, but with so little hope of being able by their means to pursue the conquest of that part of the island, that he embarked his own followers in the night, declaring his intention that they should accompany him to Basseterre, the capital of the island. He sent on the following day six hundred men by land toward Les trois



Rivieres, and re-embarked 1500 men in the frigates, but owing to difficulties in the navigation, was obliged to reland them, and pass them over to the ships anchored off Gosier, in which they did not reach Basseterre till the 10th at noon.

May 10. At this place the resistance appeared more determined than at Point à Pitre. The ships were received with discharges of cannon; Richepanse sent an officer in a canoe with a letter to Pelage, but as he did not speedily return, the troops, which were placed in the chaloupes, in readiness to effect a disembarkation, rowed towards the shore, and landed a little beyond the mouth of the river Dupleffis, under the fire of the batteries and musquetry, and it was not without great labour, that, during the day, they gained the right bank of the river des Peres. During the night all the troops assembled on this bank, and the following day attacked the negroes, 11th who had taken an excellent position on the other side; but it was forced in a short time, and a part threw themselves into Fort Charles, while another part gained the morues, or deep ravines on the left of the French, who pursued them toward Galion, and the bridge de Nosiere. Richepanse, being joined by General Serisia from Grande terre, and the cannon being disembarked from the ships, prepared for the attack of Fort Charles, but such were the difficulties of dragging the artillery up the mountains, that ten days were spent before a battery of three pieces could be formed. This labour was soon repaid by complete 22d success, the negroes being obliged to evacuate the fort, and being pursued by the French as a

mere mob, incapable of effectual resistance. The French stated the loss in the attack on Basseterre to have been 100 killed, and 300 wounded, but probably many more were destroyed. The chiefs who directed the motions of the insurgents were, Delgresse, Massuteau, Ignace, Gedeon, Palerme, Kiroanne and a few others. The pursuit of them was intrusted to General Joubert, with 700 men, and to General Gobert with 400. Their operations continued at intervals, during two months. Joubert attacked a considerable body at Dollet, who were hemmed in and destroyed. Gobert, encamped at Petit Bourg, attacked a large number, and killed 150. He afterward encountered a party in the woods, under the command of Ignace; the negroes in despair set fire to a powder magazine, by which many of them were blown up, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Ignace contrived, however, with 400 men, to get possession of Fort Bembridge, in which he was attacked in vain by the troops from Grande terre, and Point à Pitre. Gobert arriving with 300 men, just at the time when the negroes had also received a reinforcement, another assault was made and the fort carried: a horrible carnage ensued, and Ignace terminated his own existence with a pistol. In this action it would seem that Pelage was employed against the insurgents, as in Richepanse's dispatch it is said that "the chief of brigade, Pelage, continued, during this action, to give proof of a courage bordering on heroism." The French then directed their attention toward the Parc and Ma-

onbas,



troubas, excellent retreats of the insurgents, where the additions they had made to the natural defences, appeared to enable them to refuse any disadvantageous contest, and to spread themselves, by sudden irruptions, through every part of Basse Terre. This place the negroes seemed resolved to defend to the last extremity. They had their advanced post in front of the habitation of Grichard, at the top of the angle formed by the Black River, and the River des Pères, the banks of which are steep, and more than fifty feet deep. Their mass being placed at the vast habitation of Anglemont, defended by rivers and fortified by parapets, armed with cannon and palisades, an attack in front was soon seen to be impossible.

8th The French having divided their force, and yet made arrangements for a combined attack, a part set off from Legret, and by roads on dreadful precipices, they cleared the Mornes Houel, Colin, and the habitation of Lasaile, whence they drove the enemy, and arrived, in pursuing them, at Presbytere. Another party ascended by the Morne Louis, came up with the enemy, drove them before them, and gained the Fife-Macieux, defended with artillery which they destroyed. A third division under Delacroix, crossed the river of Peres, and reached, after a long train of obstacles surmounted, the position of Presbytere, constantly driving the enemy upon his centre at Anglemont. After a moment's rest, these battalions marched with mutual emulation in columns, against Anglemont. They braved, for a quarter of an hour, a shower of balls and bullets without being able to return the fire. Several had al-

ready entered the entrenchments, when the negroes, pushed to extremity, set fire to their powder and blew themselves up, to the number of three hundred, among whom was Delgresse. This scene was shocking. Each party stood stupified for a moment, but the French, to use their own expression, soon thought of taking advantage of the disorder which such an event always occasions, and the day terminated by the entire destruction of all the negroes who escaped the explosion.

From this time, Gobert observes, the fate of Guadaloupe was decided, and the remainder of the insurgents retired into the woods, and were to be considered in the same light as the ancient Maroon negroes, who only appeared in the night for the purposes of plunder. The residue of the actions in which they were engaged may be briefly given in this general's own words. "They were, however," he proceeds, "so annoyed by our patrols, that their chief offered, that all the blacks should return to their duty, if some advantages were granted to them. On the 14th of June, I proposed to General Richepanse to terminate the war in this manner; but as he was not accustomed to resistance, he would not listen to the proposals. On the 27th of June they attacked the post of Bananier, but were repulsed with loss. On the 31st of July I had certain information that the negroes had assembled in the woods of Goyave. They were entirely dispersed, and all their forces destroyed, with great slaughter.—Six hundred blacks, and five of the most formidable chiefs, were soon afterward induced to return to their duty.—Another assemblage of brigands was attacked in the woods of Capesterre,



Capesterre, and intirely dispersed. The wreck of this party took refuge in an old camp of the Blacks, called Mondongues, which had existed for more than ten years. This camp was attacked on the 3d of August, and the last refuge of the Brigands destroyed. At present almost all the Blacks have returned to their labour, and the inhabitants may rest without fear. Almost all the chiefs, and above all, those who are most feared, are in our hands."

The negroes in Guadaloupe seem, on the whole, to have struggled with more spirit and unanimity of intention than those in St. Domingo, while the French generals seem to have proceeded on principles diametrically opposite. Le Clerc invited submission, and promised amnesty and employment to those who would yield to his arms. He even proposed to let the people of colour share in the administration of government. Richepanse, on the contrary, was, from the first, determined to shew no favour to the people of colour. He did not, even for purposes of delusion, assure them of their freedom; he considered, he said, in one of his dispatches, as a fortunate event for the regeneration of the colony, the resolution of the people of colour to oppose the disembarkation of the army. "They flew to arms from a suspicion that the object of my mission was to reduce the whole body of the black troops, and to compel a part of them to submit again to the labours of cultivation. They were likewise animated with a hope, that Toussaint would be able to maintain his authority in St. Domingo." In pursuance of the

bent of his disposition, he declined their submission on moderate terms, when offered through Gobert, and when his ascendancy was secured, sent to France all the members of the provincial council established the preceding year, and extended their fate to a great many inhabitants of the colony, who although they did not take so conspicuous a part in the late events, had yet been very active. Finally, he reduced the negro armed force, which he did not esteem, and no longer considered necessary, and whose habits of idleness and pillage he considered dangerous: 15000 of them were returned to their habitations, where, as he expressed it, they would be subjected to a just and severe discipline. In other words, after being allured into vice and idleness by decrees and declamations holding out to their minds the illusion of freedom, they were replaced in their old condition of slavery, under a continual guard of watchfulness and cruelty. The extermination of those who continued refractory was pursued with unabated activity, but Richepanse did not long enjoy the sweets of a government formed by himself, and congenial to all his views, for in the course of the autumn, he fell a victim to disease.

In all the transactions of the French government, relative to the slaves in the West Indies, nothing consolatory to man, or honourable to human nature can be discovered. They who first advocated the cause of general emancipation took for their avowed guide, the Abbé Raynal, who, while he claims freedom for the people of colour, invites them to bloody



bloody and ferocious revenge. Pursuing the system of their leader, they who first obtained decrees, abolishing slavery, encouraged these unhappy people in violences disgraceful to human nature. In consequence of their massacres and other revolutionary proceedings, however, the freed men of colour acquired property, which they certainly held by as good a title as any of those who had been enriched by the revolution in France. Arms had been put into their hands to defend the property which France itself was unable to protect, and they received repeated acknowledgments from the mother country, of the value and extent of their services. At length, through the conflicts of factions at home, all authority in the colonies was lost, and the people of colour, resigned to their own impulses, were obliged to legislate and establish authorities for themselves. But when peace with England gave the French government the means of consulting its own interest and dignity in these parts, a new and violent system is suddenly adopted; all authority is to be taken from the negroes; the property they have acquired is to be rendered doubtful by the recal of the original proprietors; slavery is re-established in some islands, and freedom is not expressly guaranteed in any. The negroes resist; they are pursued to extermination, or after yielding are subject to a new course of persecution, arising from fear and suspicion, and pursued in an inflexible spirit of vindictive cruelty. Even the slave trade, the object of so many silly declamations, is revived by France in its utmost extent, and not confined

to those islands in which it was lately declared, that slavery alone should be allowed. Under such circumstances, few expected that the resumed authority of the French in their islands would be prosperous or durable. In Guadaloupe the chances of renewed insurrection were but small; but St. Domingo was expected to produce abundant scenes of resistance, when the people of colour should recover from their present stupor, and resort to the ample means which they possessed, to gain the objects most dear to them, liberty and revenge.

While the French in their West India islands, were thus alternately inflicting and suffering the evils arising out of the crimes and errors of those who founded the revolution, the British settlements were not exempt from, though less severely visited by, the bad consequences of the same system. The mode of warfare adopted by the French, had compelled the British government to arm vast numbers of people of colour; and the growing confidence of this race, arising from their number, and the experienced success of their resistance to the authority of the whites in some islands, rendered the task of restraining and controuling them, extremely difficult.

In Tobago, when intelligence arrived Dec. 1801. that the island was to be restored to France, the people of colour flew to arms. They mustered some thousands, and determined to attack the British troops under Brigadier General Carmichael, who had under his command only 200 men. He had the good fortune to gain intelligence of the plot, and seized thirty of the ringleaders.

The



The following day, he hung one of them on the signal staff at the fort, and gave orders that his body thus suspended, should be lowered and hoisted about thirty times, firing each time a signal gun. The negroes who saw the process from a distance, considered each new elevation of the body as a separate execution, and concluding that almost all their chiefs had suffered the penalty due to their offence, gave up their project in despair, and tranquillity was restored. The ringleaders who were taken, acknowledged that their intention was indiscriminate carnage; nor did they state any particular grievance as inciting them to particular exertion, but only a general, vague notion of recovering liberty; and to this they had resolved to sacrifice, not only the whites, who had treated them with much kindness, but also, those of their own colour who did not join in their enterprize. The

Feb. 23. legislature of the island, in acknowledgment of the services of Brigadier General Carmichael, voted him their thanks and a sword.

Oct. 24. When, in consequence of the treaty of peace, the French took possession of this island, they also encountered the opposition of a few insurgents, aided by refugees from Guadaloupe, but a prompt display of vigorous resistance dispelled the insurrection before any mischief had been effected.

April 9. In Dominica, an alarm still more serious was excited, by the mutiny of an intire regiment of Blacks: the 8th West India regiment. These men presented no complaint to their officers, but their alleged grievances, as

afterward discovered, were, the task of collecting wood which they were obliged to fulfil, as they were taught to apprehend, for the profit of their officers; some deficiencies in their food, and some delays in settling their accounts; but principally the duty imposed on them of draining a morass, at which they had already laboured two days, and which was still expected to occupy a considerable time; and they were further instigated by a false and malicious report, that they were to be sold for slaves. In the first transport of their ill judging fury, they put to death in an inhuman manner, captain Cameron, lieutenant Mackay, lieutenant Wastnays, commissary Laing, and quarter master Mc. Kay. They also dangerously wounded two other officers. The honourable Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, who was colonel of the regiment, as well as governor of the island, immediately collected all the militia and European troops he could muster, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, which was the scene of the insurrection. Some ships of war being fortunately in the bay, the marines landed, to co-operate with the governor in reducing the mutineers. He found them drawn up, at their usual place of parade, with two of their officers, whose lives they had spared, in front. They were prepared for, and determined on, resistance, having manned the several batteries commanding the approach to the port, and refusing to ground their arms when ordered by the governor. They were immediately fired on, and from the batteries returned several volleys of grape, beside the fire of their own musketry.



musketry. They also fired from the fort on the men of war, but from their ignorance in the use of artillery, did more injury to themselves by the explosion of their own cartridges, than to those against whom they intended the effect. It was observed that with their muskets they took particular aim at Colonel Cochrane Johnstone; he had a horse shot under him, as had Mr. Holmes who commanded the militia. The conflict was not of long duration; the mutineers were quickly defeated, and so judicious were the arrangements of the governor, that they were all killed or made prisoners, except about forty grenadiers who fled to the woods. Their loss in killed exceeded 60; the prisoners including 40 wounded, were 370, of whom it was determined to try, and punish some of the principal offenders. The loss of the white troops was four killed, and twenty-

four severely wounded. April 27. In announcing these events, and the execution of some of the offenders to the other West India regiments, the adjutant general expressed the unaltered confidence of the commander in chief in their fidelity; he believed, it was said, that the soldiers of the West India regiments would consider with abhorrence the cruel murders committed by those of the 8th regiment, and he would continue surrounded and guarded by those troops with the most entire confidence in their fidelity and good conduct. Such sentiments were honourable to the individual on whose behalf they were uttered, but it must ever be lamented, that the circumstances of the war should have been such

as to oblige government to resort to the dangerous practice of putting arms into such hands.

While the French possessed so great a force in Saint Domingo, some alarm must necessarily be felt by government for the safety of Jamaica; at least, no confidence in the good intentions of the French would have justified the British government, after the many warnings they received in Parliament, had they omitted any precaution for the safety of that most valuable colony. It has already been mentioned, March that ministers provided for the protection of the island by sending out a strong fleet, and in the course of the spring, a considerable reinforcement of troops was sent, drawn from the German legion, and the dutch-artillery-men. A succour of this kind was the more necessary for Jamaica, as government had, in order to quiet the apprehensions of the inhabitants, sent away from the island the second West India regiment, and consented that in future, the wishes of their legislature should be complied with, and no force of that description employed in the colony without their concurrence. Under these and some other circumstances, it was thought expedient that the island should tax itself for the support of a large military establishment, and accordingly the lieutenant governor having convened the council and assembly, made a speech expressing the reluctance he felt at being obliged to call them together at such an unusual season; but trusted the importance of the object would point out the necessity of the measure. He hoped they would,



would, with their usual patriotism and liberality, take into consideration the peculiar circumstances in which the island was placed, and make full provision for the exigencies accordingly.

In explanation of his speech, his honour, on the same day, transmitted to the House of assembly, a message, accompanied with three letters, one being from Lord Hobart, recommending them to the serious attention of the House, and explaining the propriety and necessity of the measure he wished to be adopted in consequence. He assigned as motives for their compliance, the immense debt, which the mother country had incurred in the prosecution of the war, and for the security of the British possessions, and the absolute necessity of her resorting to some extraordinary means, for enabling her to support the increased naval and military establishments, so imperiously required in all parts of the empire, but more particularly in her West India colonies, from the melancholy and alarming state of some of the neighbouring islands; the mutual harmony and thorough confidence between the British government and the island of Jamaica, which would naturally follow so liberal and just a proceeding on the part of the assembly: the minds of the proprietors and inhabitants of the island, being set at rest upon the question of the employment of black troops as a part of their defence: the colonies being relieved from the expence of maintaining the 20th regiment of dragoons as a permanent part of its establishment, which might be more than equal to the pay of

1,000 infantry: and the pledge given by the assembly to pay 2,000 white troops at a much less critical period than the present, which, for very obvious reasons, required full 5,000 regular infantry, together with the whole militia of the island placed upon an improved footing, to render her secure against invasion and insurrection. These were the reasons assigned for recommending the proposal sent out by government, by which the island was required to maintain the effective numbers upon the returns of the several corps upon their establishment, not exceeding 5,000 men, numbers which would probably be reduced at a future period, by the restoration of good order and submission in the French islands. The opening and the rapid improvement of the interior country, the message proceeded, by constructing barracks therein, and the consequent increased means of maintaining the expence of 5,000 infantry, or such a part of that number as it may be requisite hereafter to station in Jamaica; the great prospect of a much more ready and extensive sale for the produce of the colony, from new markets being opened to its commerce by the blessings of peace; the advantages attending the placing of the barrack department under the direction and controul of the commander in chief, and the formation of a corps of black artificers, with white master artificers and foremen at their head, under the immediate direction of the island engineer, which would diminish in a great degree the expence of that branch of the public service, and do away altogether



together the present difficulties attending contracts for the necessary works, so improvident and ineffectual a system for the objects in view; were assigned as additional reasons which had impressed themselves so forcibly, and with such thorough conviction, upon his honour's mind, that he had given directions for the embarkation of the 20th regiment of dragoons, and the 2d West India regiment.

June 21. This requisition did not find acceptance in the House of assembly. The committee to whom the consideration of it was referred, drew up a long report, in which they stated that, although his majesty's subjects in that island, in the full confidence of their having an equal right to protection, for defence and security, as his majesty's subjects resident in Great Britain, had at all times progressively contributed their full proportion for defraying the expences of the empire at large, they had uniformly resisted applications made by his majesty's ministers, tending to burthen the country with the British pay of such troops, as had been sent there for its protection; and although from existing circumstances the assembly did, on some occasions, depart from a principle which they considered to be an inherent right, the House did, on such occasions, strongly remonstrate against the conditions insisted on by his majesty's ministers, when they conceded to the wishes of the country, as being equally unconstitutional and unjust. They had always provided an island maintenance for the troops, but that was always a voluntary act. When his majesty was solicited to add a regiment of cavalry to the force

then stationed in the island, and the 20th regiment of light dragoons was raised and sent out, it was not considered as a permanent establishment, but an experiment resorted to, when the situation of St. Domingo caused the greatest alarm and terror for the safety of Jamaica. When the assembly agreed to give British pay to 2000 men, the measure was held out as a substitute to avert the evils and imminent danger, at that time apprehended by the inhabitants at large, from having black troops raised or sent there, or in other language, armed slaves to defend and protect the rights, the liberties, and properties, not only of free men, but of British subjects; a measure not only considered to proceed from ignorance of the local circumstances, laws, and constitution of the island, but viewed with that abhorrence and indignation which it could not fail to excite. In the substitute offered by the assembly, to pay and subsist 2000 white troops at the sole expence of the country, it was expressly stipulated that no black military establishment should be raised in or sent to the island. Yet the Duke of Portland, in a dispatch to the late commander in chief, had declared in the strongest terms, the intention of resuming the establishment of the black troops, and did actually send the second West India regiment to the island, in direct violation of the condition agreed to in respect to that measure, and the contract entered into by the assembly for the British pay and subsistence of 2000 men, was thereby made void to all intents and purposes. From these considerations, the House

deemed



deemed it to be their duty, not to comply with the requisition signified in Lord Hobart's dispatches. If they could be induced to depart from their duty by an inclination to comply with the minister's requisition, the circumstances in which the country was involved, from the great depression in the prices of its various staples and articles of commerce; the exorbitant rise in all articles of British and Irish merchandize and provisions imported; the advanced price of every article necessary for cultivation and subsistence; the injurious regulations and restrictions on its produce in the British markets; the ruinous and oppressive duties existing, and likely to be increased, on its imports from, and exports to Great Britain; the difficulties attending its commercial intercourse with the American states, from whence many most essential articles necessary for carrying on cultivation, and subsistence of the inhabitants of all descriptions, could alone be obtained, arising from the prohibition, to export any article of their staple productions, except rum and molasses in American bottoms; and the pressure of a very heavy debt, for which a high rate of interest was paid, would render it altogether totally impossible for the people to pay such an enormous amount of additional taxes, as would be necessarily required to support such an expensive establishment.

In the House it was attempted to engraft on this declaration an amendment, promising to comply in a certain degree with the wishes of government, by making the usual provision of subsistence and accommodation for the intended

augmented force of 2000 effective men from year to year, so long as circumstances might render such a number, or any part thereof, necessary for protection and defence, in addition to the 3000, for which the island was already pledged to provide; but on a division this accommodating proposition was rejected by 24 to 6.

The same day the Lieutenant governor's first message was thus dismissed, he sent a second, laying before the House an estimate of the expence of forming a corps of black artificers, with contingent charges, and as he found it impossible to station the troops, or to carry on the necessary works, with any advantage to the public, or the service in general, without having the direction and control of the barrack department, he requested the House to sacrifice their private convenience to the public exigency of this very material object, by intrusting the management thereof to him, and to pass an act accordingly. To June 22. this message an answer was returned, importing, that as the message embraced objects of very considerable importance, and would lead to investigations and discussions, which, by occasioning a further duration of the present session at that season of the year, would prove highly inconvenient; they requested that he would permit them to postpone the consideration of his message until the usual period of meeting for the dispatch of public business. This motion was carried only by a majority of four, the numbers being 15 to 11.

Such was the termination of a memorable dispute, or rather difference of opinion, between the executive



entive and legislative powers in this important colony. The resistance made by the assembly, is the more remarkable, as it shews that the people of Jamaica did not entertain all those alarms on the peace, and on the transactions in St. Domingo, which some persons in England felt for them. Had they really been agitated by those apprehensions, they would not have refused, on any terms, the defence offered them, but accepted it, for the present, at least, guarding the constitutional principle they contended for by the strongest protests they could have devised; nor would they, under such circumstances, have hesitated to invest the lieutenant governor with the moderate temporary powers he required, since nothing in their compliance could have given him a permanent or renewable authority, and they might also have prevented their act from being drawn into a precedent.

As in some degree connected with, although not absolutely arising out of the affairs of the West Indies, it may be proper in this place to mention the state of the colony of Sierra Leone, which in the course of the session engaged the attention of Parliament. This settlement was formed in pursuance of an act of Parliament passed in 1791\*, at a place where a similar attempt had been made a few years before, but with such bad success that not a trace of the settlers remained. The scheme was promoted by those who hoped, by civilizing Africa, to effect the abolition of the slave trade. The settlement was under the direction of a com-

pany who began their operations with a capital of 230,000*l.* the produce of shares of 50*l.* each. The intent of the establishment was to introduce civilization into Africa, by means of a secure factory at Sierra Leone, with a view to a new trade in produce, chiefly with the interior. The undertaking was never prosperous, those who opposed it from the beginning maintained, that it never could be so, but its patrons ascribed its failure to other causes. One of these was the introduction into the settlement of 1200 blacks from Nova Scotia. These were slaves from different parts of America, who in the American war adhered to the British interests, and being declared free, were, after the termination of that contest, placed in the province of Nova Scotia. They had often complained of the unfavourable climate in that settlement, and were therefore in March 1792, removed to the more genial temperature of Sierra Leone. Soon after the period of their arrival, the hot and rainy season setting in, retarded those operations from which the subsistence and further advantages of the colony were to be derived. In February 1793, the war broke out, which not only diminished their prospects of commercial prosperity, but rendered great additional expences necessary; and in October 1794, the colony was attacked and taken by a French squadron. All the moveable property of the company was either carried off or destroyed; several ships were captured, and every building belonging to the company

\* See Annual Register. Vol. xxxiii. p. 155.



was burnt. Their loss on this occasion was estimated at 52,000*l.*; besides which, their expences in the first two years exceeded 111,000*l.*; so that the capital originally subscribed was nearly sunk, and the 50*l.* shares were at a nominal estimate of 5*l.* each, though in fact, worth nothing.

In this period, the colonists had not been deficient in exertion. An expedition was made into the interior in 1794, by two of their people, who travelled three-hundred miles inland, as far as Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom; and in consequence, a deputation of chiefs came from the king of that country to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of opening a trading communication with the company. The town of Teembo has about eight-thousand inhabitants, and another town near it contains about 4000. The people of that part are far more civilized than those on the coast. The children learn to read and write Arabic. A factory was in consequence established by the company in the higher part of a river leading to the Foulah's country; but, partly through disturbances which afterward arose in that kingdom, and partly through other causes, the intercourse with the interior was checked. The attack on the colony by the French, combined with other circumstances so greatly diminished the company's funds, as to lay them under a necessity of contracting their trade, and reducing considerably the scale of their establishment, which had been at all times very limited. The Nova Scotia negroes too, instead of a benefit were found to be materially injurious to the settlement. They

brought with them all the bad habits of freed slaves; laziness, drunkenness, and proud mutinous spirits. These vices added to the ills felt by the colony, and augmented the difficulty of obtaining Europeans of good character to settle among them. Yet they pursued their original plan with all possible industry, and in 1798 the following was the state of their circumstances.

Freetown, their chiefabode, consisted of about 300 houses laid out with regularity, and of many public buildings. One principal wharf had been erected by the company, and two others by individuals. The inhabitants of the colony were about 1200. The heads of families were about 300. Of these about one half were supported by their farms, many were mechanics, about fifteen were retail shop-keepers, twenty or twenty-five followed the business of fishing, ten or fifteen traded in small vessels of their own, four were employed as school-masters, twelve or fifteen as seamen, and about twenty as labourers under the company. A few Nova Scotians resided among the natives, and a few acted as servants or mechanics at slave factories. The number of Europeans residing in the colony was from twenty to thirty. At that period, about three or four-hundred native labourers, called Grumettas, worked in the settlement for hire, chiefly on the farms, which were increasing rapidly; some in the service of Europeans, some in that of the Nova Scotians. These native labourers were free men, who came from neighbouring parts. They received monthly wages, the whole of which was their own. It was usual



usual for most of them to return home for a short time, after remaining five or six months in the colony; but the place of those who went, was always supplied by a succession of other labourers. These Grumettas improved greatly in their dress; and scarcely any of the money which they earned was expended in the purchase of spirits, to the use of which both the Africans in general and many of the settlers were much addicted. Freetown was at this time a place of considerable resort. It was estimated that from one to two hundred natives visited the settlement every day, for the sake chiefly of exchanging articles of African produce for British manufactures. Many of these natives came in canoes, some of them from a distance of eighty or one-hundred miles. The company's government had also succeeded in some degree in extending its influence among the natives, whose confidence was strongly indicated by many circumstances, but particularly by the readiness with which they sent some of their children to the colony, and even to this country, for education.

The Nova Scotians began in an early period of the settlement, to manifest a great spirit of turbulence and insubordination; and a party of them had on one occasion made an attempt on the life of the governor. This spirit received a considerable check by the defeat of the attempt; but it again revived, and continued to increase so rapidly, as to threaten the overthrow of the colony. The directors, anxious to repress the growing evil, obtained from the crown in the year 1800, a charter of

justice; and a captain of one of his majesty's ships of war, was charged with the delivery of it. Directions were also given, that a small force should be detached from Goree for the purpose of being stationed in the colony of Sierra Leone, and the commandant of Goree received instructions to extend such farther assistance as might be asked by the governor of Sierra Leone, and could properly be afforded to this colony.

Parliament had at different times voted 29,000*l.* for the benefit of the colony, when in 1800, the directors undertook to receive under their protection the Maroons from Jamaica. They at first expressed a wish to decline receiving them, chiefly in consequence of their experience of the difficulty of governing the Nova Scotians. They were, however, led to consent, partly by an inclination to comply with the wishes of government, partly by an idea that the Maroons might form some counterpoise to the Nova Scotians, (for which reason the directors were very desirous of planting them in a somewhat distant town), and partly by an opinion, that the Maroons and their children, if placed under the company's care, would have a better chance of civilization, than if landed, as they were otherwise likely to be, in some part of Africa which was independent of the company. The Maroons arrived in October 1800, and assisted in quelling an insurrection of the Nova Scotians, who understanding that means were about to be taken for establishing the company's authority, had endeavoured to possess themselves of the government. Several of the insurgents were



killed in this conflict; many were taken and tried, of whom three were executed and several were banished. Some of the ring-leaders escaped among the natives.

The governor and council employed their new power and authority in introducing a system of order, and were beginning to witness the happy effects of it, when a sudden and unexpected blow was aimed at the very existence of the settlement by some native chiefs in the neighbourhood, who had previously evinced no hostile intentions, nor alleged any cause of complaint against the colony. About day-break on the morning of the 18th of November, 1801, a body of natives, headed by two of the Nova Scotia insurgents, who had effected their escape after the insurrection of the former year, made an assault on the unfinished fort in which the government-house was situated. After some loss of men had been sustained on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and forced to withdraw from the situation they occupied in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony. A truce was afterwards concluded, but it was conceived that the chiefs engaged in the attack, who were intirely of the Timmaney nation, were endeavouring to gain over people of other nations to their cause, by exciting among them an apprehension of the consequences of the growing power of the Sierra Leone settlement.

In consequence of this danger, a small reinforcement was obtained from Gorce; and it was not long before their utility was demonstrated. At a time April 10. when it was imagined

that tranquillity was perfectly restored, and that no dispute remained between the settlement and the natives, a party of the latter, in number about 300, just after the firing of the morning gun, attacked the fort in which were only sixty men, and after shooting the patrolling centinel, forced a gate, and twelve of them had gained an entrance, when they were charged, and forced to retreat. They rallied again and were beaten back; they then kept up a smart fire on the outside, for about twenty minutes, but being flanked by a bastion on one side, and a large block-house on the other, they were obliged to retreat, leaving seventeen men dead under the fort. In the meantime a large party had kept up a heavy fire on the town, but when they perceived their friends running from the fort they fled also, but were pursued three miles, and several shot. Four pound guns loaded with grape, were fired on them in their retreat from a block-house, which annoyed them greatly. Fortunately the garrison, though surprized, were not unprepared, for had the assailants succeeded, a general massacre would have ensued. As it was, they lost only four killed and seventeen wounded, while of the enemy they discovered thirty-four dead bodies, and had every reason to believe that a much greater number had perished.

Such was the state of the company, when an application in their behalf was made to Parliament, and produced the report from which the above statement has been principally derived. When June 11. it was submitted to the consideration of the House, Lord Castle-



Castlereagh moved that 10,000/. should be granted for defraying the charges of the civil establishment of the Sierra Leone company. In his speech he stated this to be a mere allowance of just remuneration for the cost the company had sustained by the introduction of 1200 Nova Scotia negroes, and 550 maroons. General Gascoyne opposed the proposition, asserting that after an experiment of eleven years the company had failed in every object they had in view; nor had any advantages been derived from the establishment, but such as consisted in the exportation of piety and British spirits. The only improvement in the manners of the natives, was in the taste they had acquired for brandy, which was almost the only kind of specie which the company employed. A college, too was to be formed in this settlement, and the public were to be called upon to defray the expence of an establishment for the united benefit of the lank-haired methodists of England, and the woolly haired Timmaneys, of Sierra Leone. These opinions were combated by Mr. Thornton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and some other members, and the supply was voted.

The events recorded in this chapter may be contemplated with some advantage by those who are too sanguine in the hope of benefits from the projects of speculative humanity. They comprize the melancholy result of a series of experiments made by two great nations on subjects, which since the year 1782, have been fruitful themes of declamation and project;

the abolition either immediate or gradual of the trade for slaves, and the emancipation of those already acquired. The French had gone to the whole extent recommended by the most sanguine and inconsiderate of advocates, by proclaiming universal freedom and equality, and they were forced to attempt to extricate themselves from the bad consequences of their measures, by multiplied acts of violence, cruelty and treachery, while, by law, they reinstituted slavery, and re-established the slave trade. The settlement at Sierra Leone was formed under the immediate auspices of those persons in England, who had professed the most active and earnest desire to abolish the slave trade, and if it could ever be abolished such a settlement presented the best, and the only proper mode of effecting that end; an establishment by which the natives, learning the arts and habits of social life, might acquire a knowledge of their own value, and themselves abrogate the practice of enslaving and selling each other. Yet the result of eleven years experiment cast no flattering light on this project, and the individuals engaged in it, instead of having to congratulate themselves and the public on their success, were driven into parliament with a petition for relief, and a statement of distresses; the whole report drawn up by persons friendly to their application, consists in a narrative of tumult, anarchy, mutiny, bloodshed and disaster, and comprizes an apology for treasure wasted, expectations disappointed, promises not realized, and projects not completed.



## C H A P. XVIII.

*View of affairs on the Continent of Europe. The Italian Republic; Tumult at Bologna; the people disarmed; military law established. The king of Sardinia abdicates his throne; Piedmont incorporated with France; proclamation on that occasion; organization of the new department. Death of the Duke of Parma; his dominions annexed to France. Effect of these acquisitions injurious to the Emperor of Germany. The reduction of his power more strenuously pursued in the diet at Ratisbon; Proceedings in that body; Ratisbon declared neutral; the diet agrees to the peace concluded by the Emperor; vote of the ecclesiastical states; answer of the Emperor; vote requesting the Emperor to take on himself the task of making final arrangements; he refuses. Death of the Elector of Cologne; Prussia requires that the election of a new Bishop of Munster shall be suspended; France declares the same opinion; protest of the Minister of Cologne and Munster; answer of the Chapter of Munster to the King of Prussia; the Archduke Anthony, brother of the Emperor elected; other protests on the occasion; Correspondence between Count Stadion and Haugwitz. General proposition of secularizations for the purpose of indemnity; enforced by a peremptory message of the French Minister to the Diet; the Diet resolves to transfer its powers to an extraordinary deputation; its formation. Measures taken by Prussia and France preparatory to its meeting; Interview of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia; Treaty between France and Wirtemberg, the Emperor assembles the States of Hungary; their loyal proceedings; Prussia marches troops into the Bishopric of Munster; submissive proclamation of the Dean and Chapter. The extraordinary deputation summoned; on its meeting a plan of indemnities is presented by Russia and France; its principal arrangements; observations; Treaty between France and Bavaria; Reasons why France particularly favours the Electors of Baden, and Wirtemberg; dissatisfaction of the Emperor; Bavaria attempts to occupy Passau; is prevented by the Emperor; proceedings of France and Prussia; their treaty with Bavaria; note of the imperial Minister to the deputation; answers of France, Russia, Prussia and Saxony; modification of the indemnities. Compensations to the Prince of Orange; their insufficiency; observations on this subject as applicable to England. View of the State of the United provinces; new Constitution. France still keeps an army in Holland. Definitive treaty between France and the Porte. Complaints of France against Algiers; a French squadron sent there; letter of Bonaparte; submissive answer of the dey; the squadron proceeds to Tunis; is equally well received. View of the State of France; Bonaparte re-elected First Consul for ten years, after the expiration of his first ten; the Consuls decree that the people shall decide whether or not he shall be Consul for life; the affirmative generally voted; Carnot votes in the negative; a bill circulated recommending that Bonaparte shall be Emperor; deputa-  
tion*



tion informing Bonaparte of the election; his answer. Measures for the re-establishment of the catholic worship; Cardinal Caprara goes to Paris as legate; organic laws prepared for carrying the Concordat into effect; recommended in speeches by Portalis, Lucien Bonaparte and others, and adopted; its principal regulations; Cardinal Caprara admitted to an audience by the First Consul; celebration of the restoration of the catholic religion. Legion of honour established. Senatus Consultum for organizing the Constitution; all power centered in the First Consul, who is also authorized to nominate his successor. Celebration of Bonaparte's birth-day; ambitious views of the French government; the army augmented; rigour of government. Bonaparte's jealousy of Moreau; his uneasiness at publications in England; virulence of the press in France against this country; other subjects of discontent between the two Countries; the French government adverse to the renewal of commercial intercourse; long interval between the signature of the definitive treaty, and the mission of ambassadors; General Andriossi at length sent to London, and Lord Whitworth to Paris; many Englishmen visit Paris; introduction of Mr. Fox to Bonaparte. Brief view of affairs in England; political hostility less violent than formerly; general Election; contests for Norwich, Nottingham, Westminster and Middlesex; the Ministry do not interfere. Conspiracy and arrest of Colonel Despard. Conclusion.

**L**EAVING these scenes of savage hostility to contemplate the state of Europe, the specious name of peace seems to promise the renewal of the blessings of social intercourse, but the view of events on the continent exhibits only the effect of an universal struggle maintained by France for aggrandizement and power; a sort of pacific campaign, where guile and menace with an occasional exhibition of force, produced for France more beneficial results, and degraded other sovereigns more than almost any series of victories which had been achieved during the war.

The powers of Europe having witnessed, not only without opposition, but with congratulation, the circumstances attending the formation of the Italian republic, could not be expected to shew a greater sensation at other occurrences,

which, at some periods, would have excited considerable alarm with respect to that territory, and others in its neighbourhood. The people of the Italian republic, under the mockery of their new constitution, were taught to feel the full weight of despotic power. Disturbances having arisen at Bologna, occasioned, it was said, by the scarcity of provisions, Verdier, a French general of division, arrested several of the rioters, and sent them to France; he then published a proclamation prohibiting the inhabitants from carrying about with them any species of weapon, even sticks, and threatened to arrest those who should act in contradiction to this order, and deliver them over to be tried by a military commission, in the same manner as if they had been taken in the act of insurrection with arms in their hands.



hands. A large body of French troops was immediately poured into the district, and the Consulta of State, proceeding according to the forms of the new constitution,

July 27. confirmed the orders issued by Verdier, and appointed for the trial of future offenders, a military commission of five officers, to proceed according to martial law, and from whose decision or authority, there was to be no appeal. In the Sept. 1.

autumn, the government published a report on the state of the republic, tending rather to excite hope for the future than satisfaction at the present, but shewing above all things, a most abject submission to France, and a most determined reliance on the genius and fortune of Bonaparte.

June 4. Disgusted with his condition, and regretting his want of importance, deprived as he was, by the effects of war, of all beneficial sovereignty over Piedmont, the king of Sardinia, by a formal act, abdicated his throne, and appointed as his successor, his brother, Victor Emanuel, late Duke of Aosta. This unusual measure was taken at Rome, whither the king had repaired in the course of the preceding month, and was most affectionately received by the Pope. Probably the exhortations of the Sovereign Pontiff fixed the resolutions of the monarch, for the almost immediate consequence was, a stretch of power by Bonaparte. As soon as possible after the abdication of the king was known, a

June 29. decree was framed for Piedmont, as the 27th military division of the French republic, inviting, by all the arts

of conciliation, the submission and friendship of the people, who had continually since their subjugation by France, shewn, by acts of insurrection, their attachment to their old rulers. To effect the desired end, a general amnesty of political crimes was declared, and there was to be no list of emigrants; all persons absent, even those who held offices under the king of Sardinia, were, allowed, till the 23d of September following to return, and were to make a declaration before the prefect of their department, renouncing all communion with the House of Savoy, and all foreign powers, and to take an oath of fidelity to the constitution of the French people. Those who, after that period, should persist in remaining emigrants were to be declared definitively banished, and their property confiscated to the use of the republic. In recommendation of this plan, Chaptal, the Minister of State, in a letter to Jourdan, to whom the execution of the decree was intrusted, observed, that the first consul had chosen for carrying this arrêté into execution, the period, when the king of Sardinia had, for the second time, by renouncing the crown, released the Piedmontese from their oath of Allegiance. The conservative senate speedily formed what they called an *Organic Senatus Consultum* for giving effect to this decree of annexation. Sept. 11.

The territory seized was united to the French republic by the name of the departments of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura and Tanaro. The department of Po was to send to the legislative body four deputies, those of Marengo, Stura,



Stura, and Tanaro three each; and those of Doire and Sezia two each, making the whole number 318; and the order of their retiring from the legislature was formally fixed. Turin was to be among the principal cities of the republic, and made the number of those cities twenty-five.

As an indemnity for the dominion thus for ever separated from the crown of Sardinia, some people imagined that the first consul would confer on the new sovereign, at a fit opportunity, the duchy of Parma, to which he was entitled by the secret treaty executed at Madrid in March 1801. The fallacy of this speculation was soon effectually demonstrated, for

Oct. 9. the reigning Duke dying suddenly, in the fifty-first year of his age, his territories were immediately taken possession of as part of France. The duke himself seems not to have expected any such measure, for, before his decease, he made provision for the administration of public affairs by a council of regency, at the head of which he placed the Duchess his wife. If this Princess ever indulged a dream of greatness, founded on this testamentary disposition of her husband, the period of her delusion was very short, for in fourteen days after his de-

Oct. 23. cease, Moreau-de-Saint Mery First Counsellor

of State, invested with the authority of Administrator General of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, published, on behalf of his government, a proclamation that the first consul had decided that, from the present moment, the exercise of sovereignty was, by just right, transferred to the French republic. No further notice was taken of any of the late royal family, than by a declaration that the provisional regency established by the late Duke was suppressed; and the proclamation in general, tended only to affirm authority and claim submission.

These acquisitions were in many respects important to France, but in none more than in giving her a great and uncontrollable ascendancy over the Emperor of Germany. By means of Parma, France could at pleasure bring her armies into the heart of Italy; from the town of Piacenza it was easy to pass the Po, and these possessions supplied means of marching troops, with little difficulty, to the banks of the Adige, the weakest part of the Austrian frontier. In these transactions, indeed, France shewed a spirit which fully confirmed the judgment of those who in treating on the new constitution, and even denomination of the Italian republic, argued that the sovereignty of all Italy was the determined aim of French ambition\*.

The

\* It may be worth mention as a mere anecdote, that in the course of the year, the Senate of the Ligurian Republic (Genoa) passed in favour of Bonaparte, one of those awkward distressing votes of compliment, which are more galling to a proud mind, than direct abuse, however, founded on truth. "The senate considering that it is conformable to the ancient institutions of the Republic, to consecrate the images of great men who have rendered it illustrious: Considering that Christopher Columbus discovered the new world, and that Napoleone Bonaparte had pacified the old, and by the labours of his Consulta, extended the limits of Liguria, secured its most important interests, and re-organized its laws, decreed unanimously that there should be



The depression of the House of Austria, so evidently aimed at in this quarter, was more openly and more successfully pursued in the Diet held at Ratisbon, for the purpose of arranging the indemnities to be received by the different powers in pursuance of the treaty of Luneville. It would be tedious, as well as uninteresting, to analyze all the proceedings of this formal and dilatory assembly, but some particulars will be found well intitled to notice. Immediately after the conclusion of peace by the treaty of Luneville, an edict was issued, declaring that for the purpose of securing to the general assembly of the empire the most perfect liberty, the imperial city of Ratisbon should be declared neutral; the French troops withdrawn, and the city given up to its own garrison and its own police, in such manner that neither the troops of France, nor those of the Emperor, should be cantoned within a less distance than a mile.

The first business formally submitted to the Diet was the acceptance of the peace of Luneville, which the Emperor, under the pressure of circumstances, had concluded, as well for the empire as for himself. To this act the members of the Diet, of whom many were directly under the influence of France, and many others looking up to her for beneficial indemnities, did not offer any direct objection, but their assent was so qualified, as not to be, in any degree, com-

plimentary to the head of the empire. These opinions and reservations of rights to take part in negotiations yet to be entered into for the application of the basis of the peace, and the objects concerning the internal constitution and relations of the empire, were strongly expressed by the ministers of the Elector of Bavaria and the king of Prussia. The ecclesiastical Princes of Spire and Constance, who saw themselves likely to suffer by the secularization of their dominions, and probably by their being swallowed up as indemnities to some other power, declared that the sacrifices to be made to indemnify the princes dispossessed upon the left bank of the Rhine, ought to be supported by all the states of the empire without distinction; that the business of indemnities ought to be treated as an internal affair (*res domestica*), without the interference of any foreign power; that the distinction sought to be made to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical princes and states essentially interested the Catholic religion, without which the christian communities could not long subsist in repose; and that if the constitutional bonds between the states of the empire should be broken, Germany, hitherto so happy under its constitution, would see itself exposed to a general overthrow. These are the most important of the votes; the general conclusum, adopted the 7th March 1801, imported a ratification of

be erected in the vestibule of the national palace, two marble statues, the first representing Bonaparte, the second, Columbus." Perhaps no compliment could be less acceptable to Bonaparte than that which, while he was swaying with arbitrary self-will, the fate of nations and of sovereigns, recorded in unequivocal terms, that he was claimed as a natural subject by one of the meanest of the governments which he allowed to exist.



the treaty with thanks to the Emperor for having concluded it. In answer to this conclusum, the Emperor acknowledged the right of co-operation of the states in matter of peace, and formally declared, that his having been enabled to conclude a treaty separately, should in no wise, prejudice for the future, and under all its relations, the Germanic constitution; but this same respect due to the constitution, and the obligation of maintaining it imposed upon his majesty by the Electors, in the capitulation of election, made it also his duty to protect, in the most solemn manner, in his quality of supreme chief, the rights of the Germanic constitution against all the arbitrary acts which had taken place during the war, by which the legal unity of Germany had been so violently shaken, and the force of the empire exceedingly paralyzed, to the end that such examples of such an illegal and arbitrary conduct should not lead to a conclusion, that a change was tacitly effected in the important principles which existed for the safety and prosperity of Germany.

In the further progress of their business, the Diet, by a conclusum, published the 1st May 1801, proposed that his imperial majesty should be intreated to take upon himself the adjustment of all the objects, which, according to the treaty of Luneville, were reserved for particular arrangement, and to terminate thereby the work of peace, in conformity to the exact knowledge he possessed of the nature of negotiations, his wisdom and constant solicitude for the well being and general prof-

perity of Germany. The votes on this proposition, a copy of which, according to the forms of proceeding in such assemblies, accompanied the conclusum, anticipated, the probability of its being rejected by the Emperor. He accordingly did reject it, and recommended the deliberation of the diet itself, assembled under its supreme head, as the most probable means of accelerating the work of peace. In this refusal the Emperor evidently acted with judgment and prudence, for as the secularization of the ecclesiastical dominions was already avowed as a point determined on, and the nature of the indemnities to be given, would be regulated, not by justice or regard to the losses of the claimants, but to the degree of favour in which they stood with the government of France, it was most wise in the Emperor not to take on himself, personally, the task of breaking in pieces the constitution of Germany, and punishing those who had supported, and rewarding those who had deserted and betrayed him.

Even thus early in the sittings of the Diet, the nature of the combination against the Emperor, by whom it was formed, and by whom supported, was rendered public and evident. On the 27th of July died the Archduke Maximilian, Elector of Cologne, and uncle to the Emperor. Immediately on this event being known, M. Van Dohm, minister plenipotentiary of the king of Prussia, by an official note to the Diet, dated the 15th of August, notified the fact, and the consequent vacancy in the bishoprick of Munster, observing that by the seventh article of



of the treaty of Luneville, and the result of the negotiations of the congress of Rastadt, on which it was founded, it was already settled, that those secular states which had suffered by ceding the left banks of the Rhine, should receive indemnifications, which were to be effected by secularizations. The confiscation of the higher and lower ecclesiastical foundations was therefore unavoidable. From this situation of affairs it naturally followed, that on ecclesiastical foundations becoming vacant during this state of uncertainty, the elections must provisionally be suspended, lest they might impede the indemnifications stipulated in the treaty of peace, and prevent the final tranquilization of the distracted German empire. A suspension, grounded on such momentous reasons, could not prejudice the election, if it should afterward take place, and would evidently promote the welfare of the country, as the election of a regent, probably for a short period only, could not produce any alteration in the decision of a higher authority, and would cause an unnecessary burden to the country. A similar declaration, it was said, had been made to the Emperor himself, and to the reverend chapter. The communication to the Emperor did in fact require a suspension of election, not only to the bishoprick of Munster, but to the archbishoprick of Cologne.

The proceeding of Prussia was supported by France, whose minister, Bacher, delivered to the Diet in a sitting of the 31st of August, a letter from Talleyrand, affirming that the declaration of

the king of Prussia was too conformable to the spirit and tenour of the treaty of peace, for the French government not to support it with all its power. On the same day too, the Prussian minister renewed in both colleges of the Diet, his objection to the election of a successor to the Elector of Cologne, and invited his co-estates to sanction the measure by passing a conformable resolution. This attack produced from the Baron de Leikam, minister of Cologne and Munster, a protest, wherein he declared that not only in conformity with ancient usage, but also with a view to the good of the country, the chapter of Cologne had, immediately on the death of the Elector, been convoked, and was proceeding to elect a successor. To this measure, neither the treaty of Luneville nor the determination of the Congress of Rastadt presented any obstacle, nor did they contain any thing tending to restrain the undeniable rights belonging to the chapter in the case of the existing vacancy. Such an application could the less take place, because the bishop of Munster was the directorial prince of a circle, whose relations, qualities and coherence with the Germanic constitution, were consecrated in the most solemn manner, by the fundamental laws of the empire; the future existence of which had not only been already expressly established by the treaty of Campo Formio, but had also been recognised in the negotiation of Rastadt by the French plenipotentiaries, in a manner the most unequivocal, and which could not be misunderstood as to the chapter of



of Munster. The minister was therefore satisfied that the French government, as soon as it should be perfectly informed of the real state of the matter, as it had been explained, would not oppose any impediment to the new election of one of the principal members of the empire, making an integral part of the constitutional composition of the Germanic body; but that it would hold itself called upon to protect it as a contracting party in the treaty of Luneville, and the negotiations of Rastadt. To the private message of the king of Prussia, the chapter also returned an answer, declaring, that they proceeded according to the established forms of the constitution, which the king of Prussia was sworn to maintain, and that their act could not be deemed irregular, as the Emperor, the chief party in the peace of Luneville, had sent a commissioner to the election.

In conformity with the tenor of their declarations, the chapter proceeded to an election, and chose to the vacant bishoprick, the Archduke Anthony, brother of the Emperor of Germany. Against this act, the king of Prussia published in the Berlin Gazette on the 26th of September, a strong protest; two days afterward, the electoral chapter of Cologne, presented to the Diet their protest against the declarations of Prussia and France; and the Elector of Bavaria rejoined by a paper in which he treated the electoral protest of Cologne, as directed, not so much against the dissent of the electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, as against the treaty of Luneville itself, on which account

all further protest on this subject would be nugatory. As soon as the election was known to be completed, Count Cobentzel the prime minister of the Emperor of Germany, directed Count Stadion, the imperial minister at Berlin to notify the event, and at the same time to assure his Prussian Majesty's ministry, that with respect to the Electorate of Cologne, the election of the archduke might be considered as indifferent; as the natural course of the accomplishing of the indemnities by means of secularization, would not be altered from personal consideration, or secondary views. Hence then the court of his Prussian majesty might rest perfectly convinced, that, while the imperial court, from love and regard to the old constitution of Germany, according to its internal conviction, could never forbear insisting on the maintenance of the three spiritual electorates, the personal consideration of the Archduke having been elected to be elector of Cologne, could not have the smallest influence on the conduct of the high imperial court. But, it was added, although the cathedral chapter of Munster earnestly pressed, that the Archduke Anthony might repair to Munster and take upon himself the government, yet his imperial majesty, as head of the House, had not yet given to his royal highness permission to this purpose, but had rather intimated to the Cathedral chapter, to continue the government in the mean time, in all respects in the same manner, as if the see was vacant. To this notification, Count Haugwitz returned a lofty and dissatisfied answer. He stated the reasons which had induced Prussia to oppose



the election, and affirmed that the opposition could not have been forborne, without a dereliction of principle. His majesty, however, did not the less approve the wise resolution of his imperial majesty, to postpone the further steps which one or both of the chapters might wish to adopt with respect to the introduction of the Archduke Anthony; and if the business on both sides was thus to remain in uncertainty, the king would, in like manner, abide by the preliminary measures which he had hitherto taken.

In this fruitless contest is to be discerned only the malevolence with which Prussia, assisted by Bavaria, and supported by France, assailed the interests and feelings of the emperor. The election could be of no importance, considering the declaration of Bonaparte, that in whatever manner the regulation of the indemnifications might be definitively settled, the principle by which they were to be adjusted had been prescribed by France, and he would take care that it should be carried into effect. This undisguised and unsoftened threat did not permit the Emperor to hope for any thing from this election, more than the credit of having struggled to the last, for a right connected with the existence of the Germanic constitution.

As it was known that some powers were to be materially benefited by the allotment of indemnities, they and their protector, France, shewed great eagerness to have the matter speedily concluded; and therefore, early in August, the king of Prussia sent to the Diet a recommendation to arrange certain points preparatory to the

final settlement. These propositions were founded on one basis arising out of the former congress of Rastatt, and the only one, it was said, except the cession of the left bank of the Rhine which had been adopted. It was that the estates of the empire, having suffered loss by the cession of their possessions, should receive indemnities; and that these indemnities should be by means of secularizations. To facilitate the progress of the arrangement, Prussia proposed four objects of inquiry to the Diet, and pointed out the way in which they ought to be viewed, adding that when these rules should be adopted, and decreed by the resolutions of the estates, it would be necessary to submit to the Diet the affairs of the interested states, as also the propositions relative to the secularizations which might appear most convenient to indemnify them. Bavaria, ever in correspondence with Prussia, detailed similar principles in a longer note; and to give effect to their pressing demands, the minister of France at the Diet, on the 4th of September, announced his instructions to declare to the members, in the most determined manner, that the French government was astonished at the delay of the execution of the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, and considered it as a duty to demand of the Diet, to declare definitively in what manner the indemnities of the princes who had suffered were to be adjusted.

Whether this awful message accelerated the proceedings of the Diet, or whether they had previously fixed on certain principles, they came to a conclusion on the 3d of October, by which, after stating,



stating, that great difficulties would arise from submitting the arrangement of the different objects which yet remained to be regulated for the completion of the peace, to the general assembly of the empire, they decreed, that the right of co-operating in the peace should be exercised by the states, by means of an extraordinary deputation, to consist of eight members, observing the equality of rights relative to religion. To this effect, four were to be chosen in the college of electors; Mentz, Saxony, Bohemia, and Brandenburg; and as many in that of the princes; Bavaria, Wirtemburgh, the grand master of the Teutonic order, and Hesse Cassel. On them were to be conferred by the Emperor full and unlimited powers, to examine, treat, and regulate, in concert with the French government, the objects which, by the fifth and seventh articles of the treaty of Luneville, had been reserved for a particular arrangement. And they were in their plan of fixing indemnities by secularizations, to observe as a rule for their operations, the restrictive clause by which the deputation of the empire at the congress of Rastadt gave in their note, of the 4th of April, 1798, their adherence to these indemnities; and that, conformably to this clause they should proceed in this affair with all the measures, precautions and reserves, which the maintenance of the Germanic constitution, in all its relations, required, together with the re-establishment and the affirming the well being of the states, the immediate nobility and other

members of the empire, which rested upon this constitution. And finally their resolutions were to be presented to the Emperor for his sanction. To this plan, after a long delay, the Emperor, on the 19th of November, gave his assent, reserving in words, that which he was conscious he was losing in effect, the prerogatives and attributes, in their whole extent, that belonged to him, as well as to the imperial plenipotentiaries, to a deputation of that nature; conformably to the laws, primitive institutions, analogy, and rights of nations.

Before the assembling of this new deputation it was judged expedient by France and Prussia, to arrange the terms and forms of indemnity and secularization, and to gain for their proposal such an authoritative sanction as should leave to the Emperor no means, even if he had an inclination, to resist. For this purpose, although strong in the adherence of Bavaria, and secure of the co-operation of several other powers who sent members to the deputation, they engaged in their interests the Emperor of Russia. This monarch was assailed by all the arts which were considered likely to attach him to the cabinets of Paris and Berlin, and among other things, an interview was effected between him and the king of Prussia, at Memel, which June 10. was conducted with great pomp and ceremony\*. What political arrangements were made on this occasion, cannot be known, but in all subsequent transactions respecting the indemnities, both France

\* For some particulars of this interview. See Chronicle, p. 51.



and Prussia spoke with confidence of the full concurrence of the Emperor Alexander in their plans. France also concluded a treaty with the Duke of Wirtemberg, by which the Duke, in conformity with the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, ceded all the territories which belonged to him on the left bank of the Rhine, and Bonaparte engaged that France should use its good offices to obtain for his serene highness those territorial indemnities, which should be, as much as possible, suited to his convenience and pleasure, equivalent to the losses of all kinds sustained by him from the war, and conformable to the advantages and privileges attached to the ceded possessions.

To meet these preparations, of which the hostile nature was scarcely concealed, with some shew of vigour, the Emperor caused the States of Hungary to be assembled in a Diet at Presburg, where he addressed to them a speech on the state of the country; and, on the proposition of the Archduke Palatine, they readily voted that they would provide, that the regular militia of Hungary should be always complete, and voted an additional impost on salt, for the purpose of raising the imperial revenue to the extent required by the exigencies of the times.

The confederated cabinets were, however, so secure in their arrangements, and so confident that no effectual resistance would be opposed to them, that Prussia, in the mere bitterness of insult, before any thing was disclosed respecting future arrangements, marched a body of troops to take possession

of the disputed principality of Munster. The dean and chapter, unable to resist, and knowing that no assistance was to be expected from the Emperor, issued a proclamation, ordering the inhabitants, of whatever rank, to comport themselves tranquilly upon the entrance of the Prussian troops, to give a good reception to the soldiers who should be billeted on them, to prevent their wants, to abstain from all political reflections, and not to take the law into their own hands, in cases where any difficulties might arise between the inhabitants and the soldiers; but to carry their complaints, without delay, either before the civil officers, and in case they should not think justice done them by their judgment, to prefer new complaints to a superior officer.

In a few days after this transaction, the Emperor issued his commission to the states who were to form the deputation, to send, as soon as possible, their sub-delegates, to Ratisbon, and that being done, his full powers to this deputation, to examine, discuss and regulate with the imperial minister plenipotentiary, in concert with the French government, the points reserved by the fifth and seventh articles of the treaty of Luneville.

At an early meeting of the deputation was presented, on the part of Russia and France, a plan of indemnities, prefaced by a report which had been made to the first consul, by his minister for foreign affairs. In commendation of this plan, it was stated in the report, that Austria would derive from it the immense advantage of seeing all her possessions



sions concentrated. The Palatine House would also have received an organization stronger and more advantageous for the purposes of defence; and Prussia would continue to form, in the Germanic system, the essential basis of a necessary counterpoise. The regulation of the secondary indemnities, it was said, also proceeded upon principles of general and individual accommodation, and nothing had been omitted with respect to the consideration of ascertained losses. Among the most striking features of the plan were the following. The elector of Bavaria, for the duchy of Deux-ponts; the duchy of Juliers, the palatinate of the Rhine, the marquisate of Berg-op-zoom, the Seignory of Ravensstein, and others situate in Belgium and Alsace; was to obtain the bishopricks of Passau, with the reservation of the part of the Archduke; of Wurtzburg, with certain reservations; of Bamberg, of Augsted, of Freisingen, and of Augsbουργ; the provostship of Kempten; the imperial cities of Rothenbourg, Weissenbourg, Windsheim, Schweinfurt, Gochsheim, Sennefelt, Allthausen, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Dinkelsbuhl, Nordlingen, Ulm, Bopfingen, Buchorn, Waugen, Leutkirch, Ravensbourg, and Altschausen; the Abbays of St. Ulric, Irsen, Wengen, Sooslingen, Elchingen, Ursberg, Rothenbourg, Weltenhausen, Ottobeuren and Kaisersheim.

The king of Prussia, for the duchy of Cleves, upon the left bank of the Rhine, and for Gueldres; was to have the principality of Maers, the territories surrounded by Sevenaer, Huissen,

and Mahlbουργ, and the tolls of the Rhine and of the Meuse; the bishoprick of Hildesheim and that of Paderborn; the territory of Erfurt and Untergleichen, Eichfeld, and the Mentz part of Trefort, the part of the bishoprick of Munster, situate on the right of the line drawn from Olphen, by Munster to Tecklenbourg, comprising within it the two cities of Olphen and Munster; as also the right bank of the Ems as far as Lingen; the imperial cities of Mulhausen, Northausen, and Goslar; the abbays of Herforden, Quedlinbourg, Etlen, Essen, and Werden.

The Margrave of Baden, for his part of the county of Sponheim, and the territories and seignories in the Luxembourg, and Alsace, obtained the bishoprick of Constance; the remainder of the bishoprick of Spires, Basle, and Strasburg; the bailiwicks palatine of Ladenbourg, Bretten, and Heidelberg, with the cities of Heidelberg, and Mannheim; the seignory of Laur, when the Prince of Nassau should be put into possession of the county of Altenkirchen; the remainder of the county of Lichenbourg, upon the right of the Rhine; the imperial cities of D'Offenbourg, Zell, Hamersbach, Gengenbach, Uberlingen, Biberach, Pfulendorf, and Wimpfen; the abbays d'Schwarzach, Frauenalb, Aller-Heiligen, Lichtenthal, Gengenbach, Ettenheim Munster, Peterhausen, and Salmanfweiller.

The duke of Wirtemberg, for the principality of Montbeliard, and his possessions in Alsace, and Franche-Comte; received the provostship of Ellwangen, the abbey



of Zwiffolten, the imperial cities of Weil, Reutlingen, Ellingen, Rothweil, Glengen, Aulenhall, Geminendt, and Hailbroun.

The first consul of the French republic, and his majesty the Emperor of Russia, it was said, after having proposed to regulate thus the demandable indemnities of the hereditary princes, have acknowledged that it was at once possible and fit to preserve, in the first college of the empire, an ecclesiastical elector. They proposed, in consequence, that the arch-chancellor of the empire should be transferred to the see of Ratisbon, with the abbeys of St. Emeran, Ober Munster, and Heider Munster, keeping his old possessions, the grand bailiwick of Aschaffembourg, on the right of the Mayn, and that there should be united to it besides, a sufficient number of mediate abbeys, so as to make up to him with the said lands an annual revenue of a million of florins.

And, as the best means to consolidate the Germanic body, was to place in the first college the princes of the greatest influence in the empire, it was proposed that the electoral title should be granted to the Margrave of Baden, to the duke of Wirtemberg, and to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

Hanover and the claims of the king of England were mentioned in these terms. The king of England, in his quality of elector of Hanover, has raised pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, and as it would be of interest that he should desist from his pretensions, it is proposed, that the

bishoprick of Osnaburgh, which now belongs alternately to the Electoral House of Brunswick, should devolve to him in perpetuity, upon the following conditions: First, that the king of England, elector of Hanover, shall renounce all his rights and pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey and Hoexter. Secondly, that he shall likewise give up to the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and properties which he exercises and possesses in the said cities, and within the extent of their territory. Thirdly, that he shall cede the bailiwick of Wildhausen to the Duke of Oldenbourg, and his rights to the eventual succession of the county of Sayn, Altenkirchen, to the prince of Nassau Usingen. In consideration of the cession of the bailiwick of Wildhausen, to the Duke of Oldenbourg, and the secularization that shall be made for his advantage of the bishoprick, and of the grand chapter of Lubeck, the toll of Elsfleet shall be suppressed, and shall not be re-established under any pretence whatever, and the rights and properties of the said bishoprick and chapter in the city of Lubeck shall be united to the domain of the said city\*.

In considering this plan of indemnities, it was impossible not to be struck with the great preponderance openly claimed, and the still greater artfully secured, by France. By elevating the power of Prussia at the expence of that of Austria, she gratified the rivalry of the House of Brandenburg which had been so advantageous to her during the war; in-

\* See the plan at length. State Papers, p. 396.



creased the depression of Austria whom she both hated and feared, and rendered it less than ever likely, that these two powers should cordially unite to repel any schemes of ambition which France might form. But while Prussia was thus gratified by gain, and a comparative superiority over Austria, she appears to have been insensible of the danger arising both to her ascendancy and safety from the advance made by Bavaria in the scale of power, and completely insensible of the immense authority France was gaining in the affairs of the empire, not alone by rewarding, without cost to herself, her vassals and adherents, but by raising to the electoral title the Margrave of Baden, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The blindness of Prussia and the acquiescence of Russia on this great occasion were not only satisfactory to Bonaparte in their immediate effect, but removed every apprehension of that solid good understanding, that union of politics and conformity of designs between Austria, Russia and Prussia from which alone Europe could now expect its emancipation from the galling slavery which France was extending on every side. Such a result might have been produced even from the interview at Memel, but that, like every other opportunity for aiming a powerful and effectual blow against France, was perverted and reduced into small negotiations and petty arrangements for purposes merely selfish.

Viewing the details of the in-

demnities, it was evident, that compensations were too ample, or pitifully small, in proportion as the parties to receive them were favoured or frowned on by France. Among the favoured powers were Bavaria, Baden and Wirtemberg. The elector of Bavaria was cherished as a rival both to Prussia and Austria. During the session of the Diet in the preceding year, the arrangement between France and this power was effected, in the form of a treaty of peace. By this treaty, dated the 24th of August 1801, nothing was ceded or even confirmed to France of which she was not actually and inexpugnably in possession, but it was received with welcome at Paris as a mark of the adherence of Bavaria to the treaty of Luneville, and still more as containing the homage of a sovereign to the ruler of France, whose allegiance was due elsewhere. That the causes and true sense of this transaction might not be misunderstood, they were stated on the very face of the treaty, in these words. "Convinced that it is her interest to prevent the Bavaro-Palatine possessions from being reduced to a state of weakness, and consequently to repair the diminution of force and territory, which results from the above renunciation, the French republic engages to maintain and efficaciously defend the integrity of the aforesaid possessions upon the right bank of the Rhine, together and in the extent which they have, or ought to have, according to the treaty and the conventions concluded at Teschen, the 13th May 1770\* ;

\* In referring to the copy of this treaty in the State Papers in the preceding Vol. p. 371, it will be found that 1799, has been printed by mistake for 1770.



saving the cessions which may take place with the full will of his electoral highness, and the consent of all the interested parties. The French republic promises, at the same time, that it shall use all its influence and all its means, in order that the seventh article of the treaty of peace of Luneville, by virtue of which the empire is bound to give to the hereditary princes dispossessed upon the left bank of the Rhine an indemnification, to be taken in its bosom, should be particularly executed with respect to the electoral palatine house of Bavaria; so as that house shall receive a territorial indemnity, situated as well as possible for its convenience, and equivalent to the losses of every kind, which have been the consequence of the present war." The further explanation of these articles was given by Boulay de la Meurthe to the legislative body in recommending the treaty to their approbation. "We know," he said, "the perpetual claims of the house of Austria on Bavaria. In all ages she has fought, either by force, or by negotiations and exchanges, to appropriate to herself those beautiful domains, for the purpose of rounding, and rendering more powerful her own monarchy; but now, the republic, faithful to the guaranty given by the old French government in the treaty of Teschen, engages by the present compact, to maintain and effectually defend the Bavaro-palatine possessions on the right bank of the Rhine, in all the extent they now have, or may hereafter have; according to the tenour of the same treaty of Teschen.

The manifest partiality to Baden, founded on the constant preference shewn to the interests of France, was

vindicated in the report to the first consul in these terms. It will nevertheless appear, that the house of Baden has been more advantageously circumstanced than many others, but it was judged necessary to fortify the circle of Suabia, which lies directly between France and the great German powers. In this instance the first consul merits applause, as such a line of policy perfectly accords with the disposition of the French government, which with pleasure sees an augmentation of power conferred on a prince whose virtues have long since obtained the esteem of all Europe, whose alliances so honourably distinguished his family, and whose conduct during the war has particularly merited the good will of the republic. Wirtemberg was also favoured through the same policy as Bavaria. The compensation to the great Duke of Tuscany and many other powers was looked on as extremely inadequate, and it was considered that the claims of the Elector of Hanover were mentioned in terms bordering on contempt.

On the delivery of this paper to the extraordinary deputation, the emperor, as sovereign of Bohemia, expressed his sentiments, both against the manner in which it had been framed, and its contents. The delay in the meeting of the deputation, he ascribed intirely to France; and he stated the extraordinary fact, that he had been invited by France and Russia, and had agreed to join in a negotiation, to take place at Paris, on the subject of these indemnities, but that his ambassador had neither been called to that negotiation, nor any way informed of its progress and result. He never knew, until apprized



apprized of it by the Emperor of Russia, that the arrangements disclosed to the deputation had been effected; on the contrary, Talleyrand had told his minister at Paris, that nothing was settled with Russia, but the extent of a proposition to be made to him; it could not even be called a plan; it was but a simple *projet* to be submitted to the diet, as best calculated to satisfy all parties. It would be presented merely as advice and by no means with a tone of authority, or with a disposition to force any thing.

How little this promise of Talleyrand was to be relied on, the emperor had learnt, even before he had thus declared his sentiments against the plan of indemnities. The powers interested began to act on the supposed arrangement as a matter definitively settled, and Bavaria, following the example of Prussia with respect to Munster, prepared to occupy the town of Passau. Against this attempt, however, the emperor displayed a vigorous spirit of resistance. He anticipated the intended measure, by taking possession with his own troops of the city and principality of Passau, with the neighbouring territories of Saltzburg and of Berchtolsghaden. The August 26. Bohemian minister also delivered to the diet a note, announcing this event; justifying the proceeding of the emperor, which was only adopted when an offer to delay the occupation of these territories by either party until the indemnities should be definitively arranged, had been refused by Bavaria.

The elector had not perhaps expected so early and prompt resist-

ance from the House of Austria; but was, in all events, sure of being supported by France, Russia, and Prussia. The first two of these powers delivered a note August 28. to the extraordinary deputation, disapproving the objections made by the Bohemian minister to the plan of indemnities; but the observations, though delivered in very authoritative terms, contained little argument. Justice to the princes who were to be indemnified, it said, required that so many and various interests should be viewed collectively; and that, finally, the declarations communicated on the one part, in the name of the first consul of the French republic; and on the other, in the name of the emperor of all the Russias, and signed on both sides, in consequence of their formal order, had a character, and contained observations, which were a proof of their constant solicitude for the welfare of the German empire. A treaty was next concluded Sept. 5. between France, Prussia, and Bavaria, whereby the King of Prussia and the first consul engaged to reiterate in concert, at Ratisbon and Vienna, their efforts to cause the plan to be adopted by the Germanic empire, and to be ratified in its whole extent, but particularly, so far as it guaranteed to the Elector of Bavaria the preservation of his possessions on the right Bank of the Inn, and as far as it secured to him the town of Passau. And if, contrary to their hopes and their united interposition, the emperor, taking advantage of the possession of Passau, should refuse to evacuate it within the period of sixty days, appointed for the deliberation of the imperial diet, the governments



of Prussia and France pledged themselves to combine their efforts with those of Bavaria, to secure to the latter the preservation of her ancient domains on the right of the Inn, as well as the possession of Passau, and the intire indemnity which had been adjudged to her.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of a resolution on the part of his opponents, to renew hostilities rather than recede from the point in dispute, and a conclusum of the 8th of September in favour of the plan proposed, the emperor by his minister the Baron De Hugel, sent to the extraordinary deputation, a decree of the imperial commission, disapproving altogether of the adoption of the plan of indemnities, until the objections already presented against it by the parties interested could be fully taken into consideration. This step occasioned remonstrances to the diet from France in terms of haughtiness and insult, and from Russia in terms rather stern and positive, while Saxony and Prussia entered on the minutes of the diet, their votes in favour of the plan. Several other papers were delivered, when at length, the ministers of France and Oct. 8. Russia declared themselves authorized to accede in some degree to modifications in the first plan. These modifications rather saved the honour of the emperor, than promoted the interests of the states for whose apparent benefit they were made; their greatest result was, the donation of the revenues of certain abbeys to the grand duke. Bavaria was still to obtain the town and suburbs of Passau, and the alterations in general were not of much importance, but France and

Russia assumed the merit of great moderation in proposing, and the emperor after some slight further attempts, found himself obliged to accede to them. The respective parties therefore took possession of the new territories assigned to them; the King of Prussia abolished the monks of the order of La Trappe, and the regency of Hanover declared the secularization of the bishoprick of Osnaburgh. France, besides carrying so many great points in politics, enjoyed by these events the pleasure and advantage so desirable to a new and revolutionary government of seeing those which were of ancient establishment changing their governments and territories, transferring their subjects, and abolishing their oaths of allegiance, and making by treaty and arrangement those great alterations which are generally expected to be produced only by conquest and the fate of war.

In these indemnities too were comprized the compensations to the House of Nassau for its various losses in the Revolution. For the stadtholderate, and territories in Holland and Belgium, were given, the bishopricks of Fulda and Corvey; the city of Dortmund, the abbeyes and chapters situate in these territories, (with a charge upon the prince to satisfy claims subsisting, and previously acknowledged by France, upon certain successions connected with the majority of Nassau-Dillenburg, during the course of the last century;) the abbey of Weingarten and those of Kappel, to the country of Lippe; of Kappenburg to the countries of Munster and Delkerchen. It would be a labour of absurd superfluity to shew how inadequate these possessions were to the



the property and power for which they were proposed as a compensation. The regret that the loss sustained was through the attachment of the prince to the cause of England must, as far as it is true, be sensibly felt by Englishmen; but that regret has its limits, and the reproaches made against the English government for not procuring better terms for the prince do not seem to be well founded. The rival influence of England and France had long divided the councils of Holland; the stadtholder, with all who truly loved, and knew the interests of their country, preferred the former, while the latter were espoused by those who were less capable of just and extensive views, and who could let the little animosity arising from commercial contest absorb in their minds all consideration for the real interests and independence of their nation. The stadtholder then was the victim, not of his attachment to the interests of England, but to a system adopted by his ancestors for the benefit of their country, in which attachment to England and resistance to France formed a leading feature. The benefits acquired by England in the course of the war, through the attachment of his partizans, were undoubtedly very great, but neither for them nor him could any thing effectual be stipulated in a treaty of peace, unless the influence of a party in the united provinces had been such as to enable the British government to negotiate with some greater advantage than could be derived from colonial conquests. The Prince of Orange himself was fully sensible of these circumstances, for when the conclusion of the preliminary treaty between Great

Britain and France enabled him and his adherents to return to the continent, he addressed to Lord Hawkesbury a memorial dated the 13th of October, 1801, acknowledging the affecting kindness with which he had been received by his Majesty; and the generous hospitality of the British nation. He confessed the interest which his majesty and his government had always taken, not only in what related to himself and to his family, but also to the numerous and faithful adherents of the House of Orange, and the ancient constitution of the republic of the United Provinces. He acknowledged that the course of events had led to a state of things very different from that under which engagements to maintain the rights and dignities of his House had been formed, and by which the probability of their being completely fulfilled was from day to day diminishing; but he considered it his indispensable duty to recommend in the strongest and most pressing manner to the king's solicitude and powerful protection, at the approaching conferences for the formation of the definitive treaty, his own interests, those of his house, and of a considerable number of his countrymen, who were become the unfortunate victims of their unshaken zeal for his person and his cause; of their tried fidelity to the ancient government of their native country, and of their attachment to that system which had so long and so closely united the republic of the United Provinces to Great Britain. It has already been seen, that in the conferences for arranging the definitive treaty, this recommendation was not overlooked, but it was not to be supposed that France would



make the required compensations, nor could it be reasonably expected that they should be derived from Holland under its present government. The prince himself had clearly renounced all such expectations, when, yielding to the imperious force of circumstances, he publicly recommended to his adherents, by a letter of the 26th of December, 1801, to accept, without difficulty, of any employments, or situations in any colleges connected with the administration of public affairs, and generally to cooperate, in all things, with the members of the existing government.

In the United Provinces themselves, as separately considered from the rights and interests of the Stadtholder nothing engages notice but the expiring agonies of a people once free and independant, but now perishing by the contamination of French influence. In the preceding year, under the immediate direction of France and her agents, the Dutch had accepted a new constitution, framed in the mode so often tried with respect to such codes, professing liberty and equality in words, but destroying every pretension to them in the distribution of power. The government was intrusted to a regency of state, composed of twelve members; seven of them were to be chosen by the present executive directory, and those seven were to select the other five. One of these members was to go out every year. To supply his place the departments were to nominate four persons, of whom the existing members of the regency were to reject two, and the legislative body was to choose one of the two remaining. This legislative body

was to consist of thirty-five persons named by the government, and twelve were to be selected to discuss such laws as might be proposed by the regency of state. This nonsensical code was recommended by two proclamations from government, and it was reckoned a great triumph, that when it was submitted to the people, out of 416,419 who voted, only 52,219 were against it.

After the definitive treaty of peace with England had been signed, the people of Holland entertained hopes of seeing their country freed from the oppressive presence of a large body of French troops, who, under pretence of protecting, restrained, oppressed and plundered them. But if it ever was the intention of France to confide her influence in these provinces to the sentiments of the people, unconstrained by the presence of a military force, the present was not the time when the experiment could be made. The discussions at Ratification were not terminated; the passiveness of all Europe was not absolutely assured; and the general indignation arising from the conduct France was pursuing toward Switzerland, might have produced dangerous consequences, had resistance been resolved on, and Holland been left free to join in a cause which was most evidently her own. Still as England had not yet restored all the territories stipulated in the definitive treaty, it was not considered expedient to refuse the removal of the troops without a reason, and therefore a pretended plot of the Jacobins was invented, to serve as matter of conversation, and fill the columns of newspapers, although no person in Europe was duped by the shallow



shallow pretence, or misconstrued the evident resolution of France never to forego the dominion of Holland.

The transactions respecting Switzerland, above alluded to, are of a nature to excite at once the indignation and pity of every mind capable of feeling those sentiments at tyranny the most gross, undisguised and unprincipled, and sufferings the most severe, galling and unmerited. The detail of them is reserved for the ensuing volume, because, in their progress, they occasioned discussions with the British government, which led immediately to consequences which must be related in the history of the next year.

To other parts of the world, the power and influence of France were extended by the joint effect of treaty and force. With the Ottoman Porte, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded on terms fully as favourable to France as the preliminaries warranted her to expect.

June 25. It stipulated, among other things, that French merchant ships should have an unrestrained right to navigate the Black Sea, and that the two governments would with common consent, take vigorous measures to cleanse the seas navigated by ships of both nations, from all kinds of pirates. Each country also guaranteed to the other the integrity of its dominions. The concession of this right of trading to the Black Sea, was treated by the French minister for foreign affairs, in a report to the First Consul, as a great advantage gained by France, and a proof of the eagerness of the Porte to return, when at liberty, to her oldest and best connexion. The Porte, however, by a note to the British mi-

nister, to prevent any umbrage from being taken July 29. at this circumstance, renewed the permission given to England to trade in that sea, engaging that the same treatment should be observed to English merchant ships, as toward those of the most favoured nation. Little however could be gathered from the determinations of a government so weak as that of Turkey, and still less reliance could be placed on the promises of France toward a power which she was evidently, and almost avowedly, waiting only for an opportunity to dismember.

In the stipulation against pirates France had in view the regencies of Algiers and Tunis, and against them her views of vengeance extended much further than the mere suppression of piratical practices. In the course of the summer the French papers, and those under the influence of France began, to raise clamours against the exactions of the Algerines. They had fitted out, it was said, eleven corsairs of different kinds, from forty-six guns, down to the smallest sizes, with which, in the course of six weeks, they had taken nine considerable prizes, namely, five Neapolitan vessels, two Spanish, one English, one Genoese, and a Portuguese frigate. Their privateers had even stopped two French brigs, under a pretence that they were not provided with passports; and it was only after some strong remonstrances that the agent of the republic was able to obtain their release. Of all these prizes, it was said, the most remarkable was that of the Portuguese frigate *La Cygne*, of forty-four guns, and 350 men, which was captured, on the 7th of May, at the entrance of the Gut of Gibraltar, by



by an Algerine frigate of the same force, and about 420 men. The Portuguese, it was supposed suffered themselves to be surprised. The Algerines came upon them with a press of sail, fired a few shot, and then boarded. The Portuguese captain, the lieutenant, and 36 men, were killed. The rest of the Portuguese were thrown into the hold, naked and loaded with chains. The wounded were seven days at sea, without clothes, without nourishment, and without having their wounds dressed: when they arrived at Algiers, several of them died in consequence of their wounds having mortified. This prize, of which there was no similar example in the annals of Algiers, excited in the city the most extravagant enthusiasm. The insolence of the government increased, and the Europeans could no longer appear in the streets without being exposed to the insults of the populace. An Algerine Rais, it was added, had the impudence to ill-use the second officer of a small French vessel in the harbour of Tunis. For this clamorous complaint there was undoubtedly some foundation, although not to the extent described; and the narrative concluded with a menace, of which it was impossible to mistake the meaning. In a short time afterward, the French papers contained a detail of the sums exacted by the Algerines from the powers of Europe and Africa, amounting in one year to upward of two millions of piastres, besides a million of dollars extorted from the united states of America. The destruction of the Algerine power would undoubtedly have taken place but for the inter-

vention of the British government; Bonaparte had conceived the project of executing that vengeance in which both Charles V. and Lewis XIV. had failed, and he did not resign it without considerable dissatisfaction. A squadron was, however, fitted out from Toulon under the command of Rear-Admiral Lefseigues, having on board the adjutant Hullin, with a letter from the First Consul to the Dey. August 5. This letter, containing a recapitulation of grievances and demand of redress, was received with the utmost deference, and speedily and satisfactorily answered; the persons employed on the mission having been treated in the meantime with the utmost kindness and respect. The letter of the Bey pursued the complaints of Bonaparte from point to point, and, in the most ample manner, gave every satisfaction he asked; accompanied with the most humble acknowledgments, and profound assurances of respect. The Dey even went so far as to deprive of office, and condemn to death those of whom the First Consul complained\*.

From Algiers, Leisse- Aug. 26.  
gue proceeded to Tunis, with which power France had concluded a treaty early in the year, and there was therefore no complaint of hostilities. The ostensible purpose of his mission was to demand the liberty of some slaves who could be considered as French subjects, and better treatment for others. He was also received with the utmost distinction, and his requests readily granted, and having obtained valuable presents for himself, and the First Consul, and the

\* See the report of Talleyrand, including both letters. State Papers, p. 354.



ministers of France, he departed  
 Sept. 20. accompanied with an em-  
 bassador from Tunis to  
 the consular court, sent, in the first  
 place, to congratulate Bonaparte,  
 and subsequently to make arrange-  
 ments for the interests of the two  
 governments.

Turning from these scenes of  
 French power and influence to  
 France itself, every thing exhibits  
 the same activity, and the same in-  
 defatigable determination to de-  
 ceive and enslave; to aggrandize  
 the government, and to oppress the  
 subject. After the consulta at  
 Lyons, Bonaparte found little op-  
 position to the ulterior prosecution  
 of his schemes of ambition.

May 8. When the treaty of Amiens  
 was presented to the tribunate, they  
 voted that some splendid pledge of  
 national gratitude should be given  
 to Bonaparte, and the conservative  
 senate, in consequence, framed a  
 message and resolution in these  
 terms. Considering that in the  
 present situation of the republic, it  
 is the duty of the conservative se-  
 nate to employ all the means that  
 the constitution has placed in its  
 power, to give to the government  
 that stability which alone increases  
 its resources, inspires confidence  
 abroad, and establishes credit at  
 home; encourages allies, and dis-  
 courages secret enemies; banishes  
 the evils of war, permits the fruits  
 of peace to be enjoyed, and leaves  
 wisdom time to execute all she can  
 conceive for the happiness of a free  
 people; considering besides, that  
 the supreme magistrate, who, after  
 having so often conducted the re-  
 publican legions to victory, having  
 delivered Italy, triumphed in Eu-  
 rope, Africa, and Asia, and filled  
 the world with his renown, has

preserved France from the horrors  
 of anarchy which threatened her,  
 has broken the revolutionary scythe,  
 dispersed factions, extinguished ci-  
 vil discords and religious troubles,  
 added order and security to the  
 blessings of liberty, hastened the  
 progress of the human mind, con-  
 soled mankind, and given peace both  
 to the earth and sea, has the great-  
 est right to the gratitude of his fel-  
 low-citizens, as well as to the ad-  
 miration of posterity. From these  
 and other considerations the conser-  
 vative senate has re-elected Citizen  
 Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul  
 of the French republic, for the ten  
 years which should immediately  
 follow the expiration of the ten  
 years for which he had been named  
 by the 39th article of the constitu-  
 tion.

This compliment, how-  
 ever flattering, was not  
 received by Bonaparte with intire  
 acquiescence; he was satisfied with  
 the tone, but not the terms; his  
 views were more extensive; and  
 therefore, in his answer to the mes-  
 sage of the senate, although he pro-  
 fessed that the honourable proof  
 they had given of their esteem  
 would ever be engraven on his  
 heart; yet, as it was the suffrage of  
 the people which invested him with  
 the chief magistracy, he should not  
 consider himself sure of possessing  
 their confidence, if the act, which  
 was to retain him in that situation,  
 was not also sanctioned by the suf-  
 frages of the people. On this de-  
 claration the other consuls inter-  
 posed, and decreed that the ques-  
 tion submitted to the people should  
 be this, " Shall Napoleon Bona-  
 parte, be consul for life?" and their  
 decree pointed out the manner and  
 form in which the suffrages should  
 be



be collected. The people in the metropolis, and probably in other parts of France, were eager to shew that they valued the person and merits of Bonaparte as highly as those who formed the Italian consulta; never, it was said, was greater unanimity shewn since the first meeting of the states general. Of the suffrages collected 3,568,885 were said to be in the affirmative, and only 8,374 in the negative. The principal opponents of the measure were the determined Jacobins, and among them, Carnot was conspicuous: he signed his vote in the negative, with a declaration, that he knew he was signing his own proscription. If he meant by proscription his dismissal from all public consideration, the observation was just; if any thing further, he was mistaken; for no one noticed either his vote or his declaration, except to laugh at them\*. On the opposite side to that espoused by Carnot, an opinion was promulgated by a printed bill, generally circulated, and signed Bonneville Avral, chief of battalion of the 14th of the line, that public gratitude for his great services, and a just horror of the return of revolutionary miseries, should induce the French nation to proclaim Bonaparte, Emperor of the Gauls, and fix in his family the hereditary power, re-establishing the Salic law. Had the proscribing power of Carnot and his associates existed in May 1802, in the same plenitude that it did eight years before, the writer,

printer, publisher, nay many of the readers of such a paper, would have been sent to the scaffold in troops as conspirators against the unity and indivisibility of the republic. At present it was considered as only a premature demand of an act which would certainly take place, and for which the public mind was thus prepared by a government too vigilant and too powerful to permit any political publication, contrary to its own sentiments. Aug. 3. The legislature, in great form, and in a flattering speech, informed Bonaparte of the result of this appeal to the people, choosing for the time of their communication, the period when the first consul was engaged in giving audience to the foreign ambassadors. He returned an answer expressive of his devotion to the will of the people, and which contained the following most extraordinary passage. "Content with having been called by the order of him from whom every thing emanates, to bring back upon the earth justice, order and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without any uneasiness about the opinion of future generations." The ministers of state also ordered as a further compliment to Bonaparte, that the proclamation of this decree should be made throughout France on the 15th of August, being his birthday, and that it should be celebrated with universal festivities and rejoicings.

Before this transaction, Bona-

\* Carnot's vote and observation gave birth to the following *jeu-d'esprit*, by Le Brun: it alludes to the decrees of proscription which Carnot signed when a member of the committee of public safety with Robespierre.

Vous dites oui; moi je dis non;  
Messieurs je ne suis pas des vôtres  
Je signe ma proscription;  
J'avois, ma foi, signé bien d'autres,



parte had made some display of his desire to assume the regal or imperial state, at the ceremony which took place on the formal re-establishment of the catholic worship in Paris. In the last volume mention was made of the concordat between Bonaparte and the Pope, and the correspondence to which it gave birth, and that it was to be followed by a body of regulations, called organic laws. In expectation of this event, and to assist in, and arrange the requisite preliminaries, the Pope, in December, deputed to Paris Cardinal Jean Baptiste Caprara, as his legate *a latere*, giving him, by his bull, full and ample powers to act for his holiness in all affairs relating to the church, and particularly in the creation of archiepiscopal churches, the establishment of seminaries, and the regulation of all appointments to parishes.

In the bull which contained the authorities of the legate were inserted some of the leading principles of the intended code by which the concordat was to be carried into effect. The whole body of organic laws, when completed, was submitted to the legislative body by

April 5. Portalis, who, in a long speech explained the principles of the concordat, and recommended the organic laws. This harangue, which cannot in this place be detailed or abridged, is a curious medley of speculations on philosophy and government, proving little but that religion is necessary to a state, and that instruction being requisite to all mankind, it is desirable that instruction should derive its source from authority. In favour of the christian religion, he pleaded nothing of divine origin, but insisted that it was estimable

from its antiquity, and because it had been found useful by all the civilized nations of Europe. Antiquity, he observed, is suited to religious institutions, but, with respect to this sort of institutions, the faith is more strong and lively in proportion as the origin of those things which are its objects are more remote; for we have not in our heads, the ideas drawn from those times necessary to contradict them. Beside nobody believes in a religion, but because he thinks it the work of God; all is lost, if the work of human hands is perceived. On these shallow and presumptuous arguments was founded the preference of christianity; the catholic religion was to be established because the influence of the Pope, reduced to its proper limits, could not be inconvenient in politics; and the celibacy of its priests was considered of importance to the faith; but liberty of conscience was to be allowed to the protestants.

The same documents having been submitted to April 7. the tribunate, and referred to a committee, they made a long report in favour of the plan, which was adopted, by a majority of 78 to 7. It was next, according to the forms of the constitution, to be debated in the legislative body, and Lucien Bonaparte, one of the members commissioned by the tribunate, made a speech on the subject, 8th. not less voluminous than that of Portalis. Several other speakers were heard, and particularly Bassaget in recommendation of the toleration of protestants. The question being then put to the vote, was carried in favour of the new code, by 228 to 21.

The law thus passed for carrying the



the concordat into effect was comprized in seventy-seven articles. It provided strongly against the usurpation of ecclesiastical authority in France, by prohibiting bulls, briefs or decrees from Rome, disallowing nuncios, legates, and other apostolic missionaries, invalidating all decrees of foreign synods, even of councils general, and forbidding all national or metropolitan councils, unless these measures were respectively sanctioned by government. All ecclesiastical functions were declared gratuitous, except as to oblations regularly fixed. None but Frenchmen by birth and parentage could be bishops, nor could they attain that dignity before the age of thirty; and they might add to their names *Citizen* or *Monsieur*, but no other title. They were to reside in their dioceses, and not go beyond them without leave of the first consul. Orders were not to be conferred on any, but those who had property to the annual amount of at least three hundred livres, 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* who had attained the age of twenty-five, and who had all the qualities required by the canons received in France. Nor were ordinations to take place without the knowledge and sanction of government. Rectors were to reside, and not to officiate in any diocese but their own without permission of government. No foreigner was to be employed in any ecclesiastical function without the like permission, nor was any French clergyman to officiate unless he belonged to some diocese. There was to be but one liturgy and one catechism in all catholic churches; no domestic chapels or private oratories were to be established but on the express permission of government, granted

at the solicitation of the bishop; nor was any religious ceremony to be performed, except in edifices consecrated to the catholic worship. The mode of calling the people to church by bells was to be regulated by the bishop; preachers were restrained in their sermons from all expressions conveying reproach either on the tenets or persons of those who professed any other faith: the nuptial benediction was only to be given to those who should certify in proper form that they had contracted marriage before the civil officer; and in all ecclesiastical and religious acts, use was to be made of the equinoctial calendar established by the French republic, but the days were to be called by their old names, and the day of rest for public functionaries was to be Sunday. France was divided into ten archbishopricks; the archbishops and number of suffragans were as follow: The archbishop of Paris, eight suffragans; Malines, seven; Besançon, five; Lyons, four; Aix, four; Thoulouse, five; Bordeaux, three; Bourges, three; Tours, seven; and Rouen, four. The salary of an archbishop was to be fifteen thousand livres (656*l.* 5*s.*) that of a bishop ten thousand, (437*l.* 10*s.*) and the rectors were divided into two classes, one of which was to have fifteen hundred livres (65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) the other one thousand livres (43*l.* 15*s.*) a year. These were the principal, though far from all the articles regulating the catholic church in France.

The law for organization of the protestant churches was comprized in forty-four articles. It declared that none but a Frenchman could exercise the ministerial function, nor were the churches or their ministers



nisters to have any relation with any foreign power or authority; they were to pray for the prosperity of the republic and for the consuls. No doctrinal or dogmatical decisions; no formulary under the title of confession, or any other name, was to be published, or become matter of instruction until its publication or promulgation had been authorized by government. No change of discipline was to take place without the same sanction, and the council of state was to take cognizance of all enterprizes of the ministers, and of all dissensions which might arise among them. For the instruction of ministers of the confession of Augsbourg two academies or seminaries were to be established in the east of France, and for the education of those of the reformed church, one at Geneva, the professors in them all, to be nominated by the first consul, and no person was to be elected minister or pastor unless he had studied a certain term in one of them, and could produce formal certificates of his proficiency, capacity and morals. Many other articles regulated the consistories, synods, inspections, and other matters of internal arrangement, all tending to render the professors of these modes of faith essentially dependent on, and subservient to government.

April 9. This affair thus happily concluded, the cardinal legate was admitted to his first audience of state with the first consul. In this affair pomp and ceremony were much studied. The government carriages were sent for his eminence to his palace: at one o'clock he repaired to the Thuilleries; he was preceded by a detachment of grenadiers and of *gendarmerie*, with warlike music. There were in

his train ten carriages full of ecclesiastics, and the procession was closed by a body of 200 cavalry. The legate and his suite descended at the principal entrance of the palace; the cross was, as is usual, carried before his eminence, and, during the ceremony, placed at the door of the council chamber. He addressed to the first consul a complimentary speech on his valour, his virtues, and his piety in re-establishing religion, and took an oath according to a form prescribed by a decree of the day preceding, not to exercise his authority out of the French dominions, nor to the injury of the French government. The first consul then answered his speech by one of equal civility. A proclamation was forthwith issued, recommending to the French nation the religion thus re-established, and another for celebrating this great event by a grand mass at the church of Nôtre Dame, the metropolitan church of Paris, on the ensuing, being Easter Sunday.

Previously to this celebration, the cardinal April 12. legate consecrated anew this celebrated edifice, which, in the course of the revolution, had been profaned by all the acts of turpitude which the wantonness of outrageous atheism could dictate; by mock apotheoses, heathen rites, and not least, by the festival of the goddess of reason. In preparation for the intended solemnity several archbishops and bishops, who, during the revolutionary governments in France, had accepted sees contrary to the direction of the former Pope, addressed a letter to the head of the church, declaring, that they freely abandoned what was called the ci-



vil constitution of the clergy ; and would profess the dispositions and articles of the new convention made between his holiness and the French government, and render true obedience to him and his successors. The pope accepted their declaration, and expedited to each a form of pardon, and the cardinal legate, by virtue of the pope's authority, did absolve and declare each of them absolved, in *utroque foro*, from all sentence, censure, and ecclesiastical penalty whatsoever, so far as the same can be pronounced by man, imposing upon each as a penance the recital of the seven penitential psalms, and recommending sedulous care in the preservation of unity and peace.

April 18. At the celebration in the church of Nôtre Dame, Bonaparte assumed one of the attributes of royalty by seating himself on the throne heretofore occupied by the kings of France, although on the present occasion it received the name, less offensive to the few who still cherished republican notions, of a temple. The following is the account of the ceremony, as given in the French papers. Early in the morning, the cannon were fired, and the new religious code was proclaimed. The different councils and constituted authorities assembled to proceed to the grand service at the metropolitan church of Nôtre Dame, and Bonaparte's proclamation, was posted up all over Paris. The approach of the chief consul was announced by the firing of cannon. Before he entered, the councils were seated in the galleries, the legislative body on the left, the conservative senate on the right, and the tribunate in the centre. In the body of the church, the clergy were ranged on

the left : the ministers, ambassadors, chief officers, &c. &c. on the right. The aisles of the church were thickly lined with soldiers, and the number of military officers was great. Terminating the passage of the main aisle stood the altar, nearly in the centre of the church. On the right was erected a temple on four pillars, ten or twelve feet high, over which was suspended from the roof a splendid canopy. This temple, which was covered with crimson velvet, and most superbly decorated with gold and precious stones, was designed for the three consuls, and it was open all round, that they might be seen. On the opposite side of the altar stood a similar temple, not so magnificent, in which were to sit the pope's legate and two archbishops, one of them of Paris. Soon after twelve o'clock the chief consul entered, cannon firing, and a fine band of music playing in the church. The grenadiers were ranged three deep on each side of the aisle, along which he passed to the altar, the pope's legate introducing him to the church, and conducting him. He was followed by the two other consuls. After certain ceremonies, he ascended the temple, and the cardinal and bishops entered theirs. The service of high mass was then performed, Bonaparte going through all the ceremonies. In those parts of the service, where the congregation bow, the soldiers presented their arms, by word of command from their officers. The oath of fidelity was taken by the clergy, who were very numerous assembled round the legate's temple, after which a sermon was preached by M. de Boisgelin, one of the ancient bishops, who in obedience to the pope's command resigned his former



fee, and was in consequence made bishop of Tours; he was formerly archbishop of Aix, member of the royal academy, and the same person who preached before Louis XVI. on his coronation. A grand *Te Deum* followed, in which all the best vocal performers in Paris assisted. About four o'clock, the whole ceremony having concluded, the chief consul retired in the manner he entered, and the rest of the company withdrew. The consecration of the protestant places of worship took place the same day, but without any public notice\*.

May 12. While the question respecting the appointment of Bonaparte to be consul for life was yet before the public, another measure was proposed which to the few, who, in spite of reason and fact, still persisted in affecting to consider the government of France as republican, gave great offence: it was the establishment of a species of new nobility, under the title of a legion of honour. The plan was to the following effect. The legion was to consist of about 6000 men; to be divided into fifteen cohorts, each to have its peculiar station; each cohort to consist of seven great officers, 20 commandants, 30 subaltern officers, and 350 privates. The pay to be:—to each great officer, 5000 livres per annum; to each commandant 2000; to each subaltern 1000; to each pri-

vate 250; all for life. Every individual on his being admitted into the legion, to swear, on his conscience and his honour, that he meant to devote his existence to the welfare of the republic, to the preservation of its territory in its integrity, to the defence of its government, its laws, and the property, which it had rendered safe: to oppose, by all means that justice, reason, and the laws should authorize, every undertaking which might tend to the restoration of the feudal system, of titles, and the immunities attached to them; in fine, to exert his best and most strenuous efforts for the maintenance of liberty and equality. The first consul to be, *de jure*, the chief of the legion, and president of the great council of administration. The conditions required for being admitted were, to have received arms of honour from the hands, or by order of the first consul; to have rendered essential service in the war of liberty, either in the field or in the cabinet. In time of peace, a candidate must prove that he had served twenty-five years. Each year in time of war, to be counted as two; each campaign of the republican war as four years. This system was afterward adopted in its full extent, and Joseph Bona- July 12. parte was elected grand officer of the legion. Sabres of honour and carbines of honour began immedi-

\* On the subject of re-establishing religion in France, an anecdote is recorded which deserves to be preserved. Bonaparte sent to the King of Etruria a copy of the concordat for his perusal, which King Louis returned with many marginal notes in his own hand writing, censuring its provisions. The first consul gave the well-meaning prince to understand, that he would never suffer a King of Etruria to meddle in the affairs of France, and sent the letter he had received to the minister for foreign affairs, with a note, importing that it was "to be preserved as a memorial of the folly of kings, when they permitted themselves to be governed by priests." The French official paper was immediately directed to discharge against the young king, the usual expressions of the displeasure of its government, in terms of the coarsest abuse.



ately to be distributed, and they were considered as badges of distinction, and pledges to assure the fidelity of the receiver to the person and interest of the first consul.

August 4. The measure which aimed at by Bonaparte, was effected by a *senatus consultum*, formed by the council of state for organizing the constitution. In this body of regulations, every thing converges towards one point, that of giving all power to the first consul. Assemblies of cantons are appointed; he appoints the president, whose power is to last five years, and may be indefinitely renewed; the cantonal assembly returns two citizens, of whom the first consul appoints one to be a justice of the peace; he chooses the mayors and assistants in the municipal councils; appoints the presidents of the electoral colleges; may augment their numbers by persons chosen from the legion of honour, and he fixes on the persons to fill up vacancies, in these and other assemblies. In fine, throughout the bodies of the legislature, and the electoral bodies who were to return members to compose them, the power and influence of the first consul were rendered incessant and unlimited, and he was invested with the privilege of pardoning offenders. The chief arrangement in this new system, was however that which related to the office of the consul himself. In that chapter, beside the power of nominating the second, and third consuls, the first consul was empowered, at whatever time he might think proper to appoint a person to succeed him after his death; or if he did not deem it prudent to make the nomination publicly, he might deposit,

among the archives of government, his wish as to the nomination of a successor, to be presented to the senate after his death. In this case, he was to summon the attendance of the second and third consuls, the ministers and presidents of the sections of the council of state, and in their presence to deliver to the secretary of state the paper, sealed with his seal, and in which his wish was to be recorded. This paper, subscribed by all those present at the transaction, the secretary of state was to deposit among the archives of government, in the presence of the ministers and presidents of the section of the council of state. The first consul might withdraw this deposit, observing the formalities prescribed in making it. After the death of the first consul the senate might refuse to confirm this nomination in writing, and in that case the other consuls were to present candidates; but, in all events, the presentation and nominations must be completed within twenty-four hours after the death of the first consul.

These great points August 15. being thus satisfactorily arranged, the festival ordered to take place on the birth day of Bonaparte was celebrated throughout France with great splendour and effect. Whatever of languor and absence of popular sympathy were observed in the festivals on the peace, and on the restoration of religion, were not to be discerned on this occasion. All was splendid and cheerful, and the characteristic spirit of the nation was flattered and stimulated by the late events, which while they gratified the ambition of the ruler, opened also views of similar gratification to men in other



other classes, but more particularly the military.

The present period may, in fact, be considered an epoch in the history of France, and in the life of her ruler. Were it in the nature of ambition to be contented, both the nation and the individual had the utmost reason to be so. The country enjoyed peace, and not security alone, but a higher consideration in all parts of the world, than had ever in modern times belonged to any nation; and Bonaparte had risen more rapidly from obscurity and poverty, to vast and undisputed authority, than any person whose name is recorded in the history of civilized people in recent times. Yet it was evident that besides the changes already avowed, and either accomplished or in a train of being so, the government of France meditated vast designs, and projected undefined schemes of power and aggrandizement. In this spirit the senator Lacu  presented May 12. to the legislative body a new project for recruiting the army, by which, sixty thousand men were to be raised from the conscriptions of the two next years, to be immediately embodied to supply the places of those discharged, and thus to complete the peace establishment. Sixty thousand were likewise to be inscribed and organized, to form a reserve that might be immediately called out, if it should be necessary, to place the army upon the war establishment. This plan was readily adopted, being recommended by a speech from the proposer, wherein he pointed out the necessity of keeping up a strong military force in time of peace, and of being prepared to take the field with ad-

vantage, if the war should be renewed.

With respect to internal government, France still continued to exhibit the uneasiness and alarm which arise from uncertainty, joined with a resolution continually active and enterprising to supersede all forms and pretences to liberty, and establish a close and relentless system of despotism. The slavery of the press was enforced with the utmost rigour, and the emigrants who had returned, daily felt the diminution of their security, under the severe and merciless system enforced by Fouch . The employment of spies on the conduct of individuals was carried to an extent unknown during the monarchy, and from their denunciations, the Temple in Paris, and other prisons throughout France were filled with victims, besides great numbers who were transported without public notice or the forms of an accusation or trial. The people were not unconscious of the oppression of this mode of government, but having brought themselves to consider that there was no alternative but the resumption of power by the jacobins, they bore the present as the less evil, distinguishing between the rule of Bonaparte and that of Robespierre, by calling the one *la terreur blanche*, the other *la terreur noire*.

Among the individuals whom the first consul ought to have loved and esteemed for the services he had rendered the country, and the disposition he had ever shewn to acquiesce in all the acts of his government, but whom he hated for having acquired a glory which rivalled his own, was General Moreau. The troops and officers who had



formed the army of that distinguished commander, found continual reason to complain that their services were disregarded, while all favours were lavished on those who served in the armies of Italy and Egypt. Many disappointed officers were continually about the person of Moreau, urging their complaints, and endeavouring to influence him to assume a leading part in opposition to government; but so quiet was his character, or so great his circumspection, that no such endeavours were attended with any appearance of success. It was even affirmed that not only his companions in arms, but even his family and his wife were made the objects of marked and direct insult; but yet the general persevered in his pacific conduct, and while his merits were studiously kept back from public observation, contented himself with the recollection of the great services he had performed for France, in his ever memorable campaigns, and particularly for Bonaparte himself in that of 1800. Those however, who wished to be a party with him at their head, did not fail to deliver their opinions on his merits, opinions which the government could not openly disapprove; but the expression of which increased the animosity of Bonaparte. Yet such was the esteem in which Moreau was held by the public, that the dismissal of Fouché from his office of minister of the police, was by many attributed to the influence of that general. At the same time he was reported to have given inexpressible offence to the first consul, by a sportive donation of a saucepan of honour to a cook, who had pleased him in the execution of

his duty, an act which was deemed a gross sarcasm on the sabres and muskets of honour given by Bonaparte. Circumstances so trifling would not deserve to be noticed, but it often happens that apparent trifles are productive of the most serious results.

The peace with England did not occasion any return of cordiality between the two nations. Bonaparte tremulously jealous of the press at home, saw with undisguised chagrin its uncontrouled liberty in England, and felt with undissembled pain, the attacks it made on his person, proceedings and views. In the course of the year, especially when his conduct toward Switzerland gave rise to the most general and unrestrained animadversions, he interdicted altogether, the introduction of English newspapers into France, except one weekly journal, which flattered him in the most gross and fulsome terms. The press in France under the immediate controul of government, which the British press is not, nor ever can be, until the constitution shall be utterly destroyed, and the public disposition totally changed, did not however set any example of moderation, or recommend that virtue by practice. Libels of the most outrageous and offensive kind on men of the greatest talent and highest public consideration in England, were continually published in Paris, not by obscure or clandestine libellers, but by the express agents of government, and as the official or demi-official articles of the government journal. That a perpetual flood of abuse might be supplied, in the course of the summer, a band of Irish and English refugees and traitors of the lowest descrip-



description were encouraged to publish in Paris, a newspaper in English, under the title of the *Argus*, wherein not only the king and his government, and the social establishments of the country in general were unsparingly attacked, but individuals resident in England, or on a temporary visit to France were fixed on as objects of daily calumny. A prosecution was commenced by the attorney-general, against a Frenchman resident in London, named Peltier, for a libel on Bonaparte in a paper called *L'Ambigu*, but in France no opposition was made to, nor no encouragement withheld from those who published libels offensive to the English.

Nor was it with respect to the press alone that dissatisfaction was manifested between the two governments. Bonaparte avowed his discontent at having been restrained by British influence from taking the ample vengeance he intended on the people of Algiers. It was continually expected that after the ratification of the definitive treaty, a commercial system would have been established between the two countries, but, on the contrary, Bonaparte maintained in their greatest vigour all the decrees for preventing the reception of British manufactures into the French dominions, and when a rumour was circulated that a more amicable system was about to be adopted, Chaptal, one of the French ministers of state, in a most public and authentic manner, contradicted the report, treating the supposition that it could be true, as a calumny invented by those who wished to make the manufacturers retract the confidence they ought to place in the promises

of government, and relax their labours. Whenever circumstances would permit a renewal of commercial intercourse with England, he added, the manufacturers should be consulted in the arrangements.

Many of these circumstances were unknown or slightly regarded by the people at large in both countries; but the long interval which took place between the signature of the definitive treaty, and the mission of ambassadors was matter of general surprize and occasioned much conjecture. This cause of surprize was, however, at length terminated by Nov. 6. the arrival of General Andréossi as ambassador from France, immediately after Nov. 9. which Lord Whitworth failed from Dover to fill the same character at Paris. The French ambassador was presented to the king and queen, Nov. 17 and most graciously received; he was a personal Nov. 18. favourite of the first consul, and had served with him in Egypt, where he distinguished himself by his accurate and profound knowledge. Lord Whitworth was equally well received in Paris, and no nobleman could be more fit to represent the British nation and maintain its character.

The absence of an ambassador had not prevented the intercourse between England and France, which curiosity ever occasions in time of peace, and which, at the present period, must be peculiarly operative in drawing Englishmen to view those scenes of revolutionary violence of which, during late years, they had heard so much: those fine specimens of art which the success of French arms had caused



caused to be collected at Paris, and above all that individual who, whether admired or execrated, whether considered as a hero, or as the mere upstart of opportunity and fortune, was by all acknowledged to be the most extraordinary personage existing. As the consular court had assumed the regularity established in other courts, it was ordered that no Englishman should be introduced to the Levees of the first consul, but those who had been presented at St. James's. Several members of the party which in England was termed the old opposition were introduced; among the most distinguished of whom were Mr. Erskine and Mr. Fox. The latter gentleman was said to be engaged in an historical work, and to have visited France for the purpose of perusing some documents preserved in the Scotch college. He was accompanied by a lady, with whom he had, for many years lived on terms of the utmost intimacy, and to whom he now acknowledged that he had for some time been privately married.

Sept. 3. His introduction to the first consul was pompously announced in the French official paper. "It must," says the writer of the French government, "have been to Mr. Fox one of the sweetest moments of his life; and his distinguished reception by the chief of the nation, must have been the best recompence for the contests which that friend to peace maintained in parliament, against the misérables, who had the tremendous courage to call for war. Twice did the first consul accost him, and among many flattering things said, "that there  
"were in the world but two

"nations; the one inhabiting the  
"east, and the other the west.  
"The English, French, Germans,  
"Italians, &c. under the same  
"civil code, having the same  
"manners, the same habits, and  
"almost the same religion, are  
"all members of the same family,  
"and the men who wish to light  
"up again the flame of war among  
"them, wish for civil war.  
"These principles, Sir, were de-  
"veloped in your speeches with  
"an energy that does as much  
"honour to your heart as to your  
"head." Mr. Fox dined the  
same day with the first consul, who had a very long conversation with him in the presence of a numerous company.

While thus the continent was agitated in all parts by the ambition of France, England, in a state of intire repose endeavoured to profit by the peace. The rage of party which during so many years had burnt with such violence, was gradually subsiding, and men who differed in their political opinions, viewed each other with sentiments of less hostility, than they had entertained at any time since the beginning of the discussions on the French revolution. The general election stirred up the embers of expiring animosity, but although the flame thus excited burned vividly in some places, no art could render the conflagration general, or even extensive. Such, in fact, was the strange state of the public mind with respect to parties, that the most zealous opposers of the ministry were also the most inveterate assailants of those who were termed the new opposition, and in some places the contests proceeded on no acknow-  
ledged



ledged ground of political difference. Thus in Norwich, Mr. Windham, a distinguished opponent of government, was defeated by Mr. William Smith, a member of the old opposition, who used against him the same resources and arts which would have been employed, had Mr. Windham been in office. The election for Nottingham exhibited a scene of tumult and riot disgraceful to the cause of freedom, about which it was said to be excited. Mr. Birch was, what is called the popular candidate, or more properly, the favourite of the populace, and the procession when he was chaired occasioned much animadversion. In Westminster the two former representatives, Lord Gardner and Mr. Fox, were opposed by a man little known, and less worthy to be noticed, named Graham, who did not resign his pretensions till he had polled about 1700 votes. Of all others, however, the contest for Middlesex excited the greatest attention. Mr. Mainwaring, who had represented the County in three parliaments, and was generally revered as an upright magistrate, and worthy man, was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, who was called by an obscure few from a visit to Paris, to make a contest for the County. In the publications announcing his pretensions, a course of calumny and popular irritation was begun, and it was never intermitted during the unprecedented term of fifteen days, to which the poll was protracted. In allusion to the prison in Cold Bath fields, the mob were taught to shout "*no Bastille*," and, as the 14th of July was the second day of the election, they were

excited to make it as famous in England, as it had been in France. Ruffians were hired and instructed to insult and abuse Mr. Mainwaring and all his friends, and in the course of the contest, the members of the Whig Club, and Mr. Byng the third candidate, who had professed neutrality, and profited by the profession, used their exertions in favour of Sir Francis Burdett. Notwithstanding these circumstances, and the exertions of the most profligate characters whom faction could animate, or bribes procure, the real freeholders of the county gave a decided majority to Mr. Mainwaring, till the fourteenth day, when by a most abandoned device, supported by a system of perjury the most unbounded ever known, and favoured by the sheriffs, in defiance of law, reason, and their oaths, a fictitious majority was procured in favour of Sir Francis Burdett. Whatever might be the opinion of the members of administration on these transactions, the weight of office was no where felt, and even the most inveterate opponents of government acknowledged that there had never been known an election in which influence was so little exercised.

With respect to the internal state of England, the general election was the only circumstance which fixed the public attention till toward the close of the year, when a conspiracy was discovered, which had for its object, the life of his majesty, and the effecting of a revolution in the state. For some days, rumours had been afloat respecting the corresponding society recommencing its operations; and the nature of the conspiracy was revealed



revealed by a soldier of the guards to Sir Richard Ford. The principal person engaged was Colonel Despard, who had lately been confined in the Cold-Bath Fields prison. In consequence of the information, which was obtained, a strong party of the Nov. 16. police officers proceeded, at night, to the Oakley-arms, an obscure public-house, in Oakley-street, Lambeth, where they found the colonel, and about thirty-two labouring men and soldiers, whom they immediately took into custody. This event, however, excited little alarm, as it was soon made known that the

parties would be dealt with according to the regular course of law, and no extraordinary measures of precaution resorted to. In fact, in the absence of all grounds of discontent, public spirit seemed to revive, and public opinion to receive a right impulse, plenty gave content, and peace hope, industry was animated, confidence re-established, and government restored to its due respect, could act with vigour, without extraordinary force, and make the laws respected from the noble and generous sentiments of affection.





# CHRONICLE.

## JANUARY.

*Cairo,* “ **O**N the morning of Oct. 24. the 8th, Sir R. Bickerton, accompanied by the Turkish Admiral of the gallies, and suite, and those officers of the navy who had been particularly selected, proceeded from General Hutchinson's tent to the tent of his highness the captain Pacha, and were received by the whole Turkish line, under arms, with music playing and colours flying. They were received with great ceremony. His Highness being dressed in a white robe of beautiful Persian satin, over which was the robe of state, worn only on particular occasions, made of the finest red cloth, and on it were placed, below the breast, two aigrettes of large diamonds, and in a sash of rich satin; round his waist was fixed a dagger, the handle of which was so thickly covered with diamonds, as to render it impossible to discover of what other materials it was made.—On his head he wore a superb turban, with rows of pearls placed on the different folds. The other grandees that were seated on the same sofa were as magnificently dressed, in all respects, excepting the red robe. Having

been served with coffee and sweetmeats, according to custom, the ceremony began by his Highness investing the Admiral with a pelice, the star and red ribband, and medal of the order of the crescent, all of which being properly arranged, he was desired to kneel, at which time the Grand Signor's firman was read, empowering his Highness to confer the honour of knighthood, which was immediately performed on the Admiral, upon whose rising a royal salute was fired, and other demonstrations of satisfaction, agreeable to the Turkish custom. The star is most beautifully set with diamonds, and the pelice is valued at 300l. The Admiral having retired to his seat, the senior post captain was invested in the same form with the pelice and gold medal of the order, and was knighted; and then the other three captains in succession. Four masters and commanders, and Lieut. Withers, were then knighted in the same manner, but only received a gold medal of the order, without the pelice. The same ceremony was performed on Gen. Hutchinson, and the general officers of the army, the day before. General Hutchinson, and Sir Richard Bickerton, are invested with



the first order of the crescent. The other general officers, post captains, and masters and commanders, are of the second order, there being only two orders.

*Nov. 10.* Murdered, Thomas Barry, esq. of North Frederick-street, Dublin. On the 13th, George Hepenstal, esq. coroner and magistrate of the county of Dublin, held an inquest on his body; when it appeared that Mr. B. was murdered immediately after dinner; and it is supposed that the servant who removed the cloth gave the opportunity, in opening the parlour-door. The deceased was sitting at the table in his parlour, with a decanter of wine, none of which he had drunk, and another of water before him, a pair of candles, and a news-paper which he was reading with spectacles on, when the villain stole in upon him, and, with a large pistol, or, more likely, a blunderbuss, loaded with flugs, shot away part of his skull, and dashed away more of it with the muzzle. The deceased was laid upon his back, on the floor, after being murdered, and a pistol of his own placed by his side, with a view, it is supposed, to have it understood that he had shot himself; but it being loaded defeated that intention. The deceased's female-servant, Catharine Delany, was accused of being an accomplice, but the chief suspicion fell on Francis Revell a servant, whom Mr. B. being sometimes a little deranged in mind, had put away, and fired at with a pistol in his yard, for having, as he said, strove to poison him in bread. It is supposed that, from the time he was murdered until the alarm, the house was plundered; but, as Mr.

B. led a recluse life, it is not known what property may have been lost. His watch was found in his pocket; but his purse was empty, and none of his plate was taken away. The lock of the drawer of a cloaths-press, where 35,000*l.* of scrip lay, was forced open, and some money or notes probably carried away. In searching, after the inquest was over, a canvas bag was found among his shirts in a small trunk, containing 58 guineas in gold, which his murderer, it is imagined, did not suspect to be there; the deceased had an extraordinary habit of putting his money in odd places. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of "wilful murder, by a blunderbuss or other fire-arms, by a person unknown; and that Catharine Delany and Francis Revell were accessaries." Revell was apprehended the same night (13th), in Fisher's-lane. There were found upon him 15 five guinea notes, the outside of one of which had a little blood on it, and a cross-barred silk handkerchief, supposed to belong to Mr. B. but said he could not tell how they came into his pocket. The next day (14th) he was brought before the superintendant magistrate, and underwent a long and very strict examination, but, not having recovered from the intoxication of the preceding day, he denied having any knowledge of the shocking transaction. He was committed to Newgate, where, being properly confined in a cell by himself, his guilty conscience gained an ascendancy over him when he got into a state of complete sobriety, and on the 15th he confessed the fact to Major Swan. Catharine Delany, was tried on the



15th of December, and acquitted; Revell was found guilty, and executed on the 17th. One of his expressions was peculiarly forcible: "had my master," said he, "been a religious man, I should not have felt a tenth part of my present sorrow; but, wretched murderer that I am, I have sent him into the presence of God without a moment's preparation." The unfortunate Mr. Barry was of a respectable family in the county of Meath, and had been brought up, it is said, a wine-cooper in Dublin; his property, which is supposed to amount to upwards of 80,000l. was acquired by his own industry.

*Dec. 7th. Amiens.* Yesterday Joseph Bonaparte, and the Marquis Cornwallis, who have been here since the 3d, exchanged their full powers. The conferences between them have already begun. The Batavian Ambassador, Schimmelpenninck, has also arrived here, with his Secretary, Combs.

*26th. Paris.* The *Moniteur* announced the departure, on the 14th, of the squadrons from Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort. The fleet consists of 23 ships, including six Spanish men of war. On board these ships and the transports are said to be 25,000 men. That their destination is for St. Domingo cannot be doubted; and, as a confirmation of this fact, the consuls have ordered, that there shall in future be three monthly mails established for the army in St. Domingo. Admiral Villaret Joyeuse commands the French fleet, and General Gravina the Spanish. Rear-Admiral Villaret, who commanded the gunboats at Boulogne, is in the fleet; and has on-board his ship Jerome

Bonaparte, the chief consul's youngest brother.

About two o'clock a fire broke out at lady 30th. Pembroke's house, in Cavendish-square, which, from its violence for several hours, seemed to threaten destruction to the whole neighbourhood. When the fire was first discovered, it was confined to a large back parlour, which had been appropriated the whole of the morning to the airing of beds and linen preparatory to her ladyship's coming to town from the neighbourhood of Richmond. One of the maids fainted away on perceiving the mischief, as she had left the room, where a large brasier was placed, with the beds and linen close to it; and it was with difficulty the other two servants could drag her into the passage to prevent her falling a victim to the flames. The conflagration by this time had collected sufficient strength to force its way through the top of the room into the upper apartments; and when the alarm of fire was given in the square, all assistance was found ineffectual. The house was reduced to a mere shell.

The following notice was issued by his Royal *Jan. 1st.* Highness Monsieur, on his arrival on the 1st instant, at Holyrood house. "His Royal Highness Monsieur, solicitous to express those sentiments of satisfaction which he cannot but entertain, on returning again to a country endeared to him by every possible testimony of politeness, and every demonstration of attention, will hold a levee at Holyrood house every Monday during the course of the present month, at half past twelve o'clock.



*Constantinople, Dec. 30.* The following particulars are now known as to the murder of the Pacha of Belgrade. The Janissaries who detained him prisoner had discovered a correspondence which that unfortunate old man had contrived to carry on with his son, in which he excited him to leave no means untried for the deliverance of his father, and the recovery of the fortrefs for its lawful governor. In the interim, it seems that the chiefs of the Janissaries did not consider this as a sufficient cause to treat their prisoner with additional rigour, and they contented themselves with redoubling their vigilance, in cutting him off from all exterior communications. But this sentiment of compassion was not sufficient to save the Pacha's life. The report of the secret correspondence soon raised murmurs among the inferior Janissaries. On the 27th of Dec. at two o'clock in the afternoon, three of them, who made a part of the guard, rushed into his apartment, compelled him, with their sabres at his breast, to make a discovery of his treasures, and afterwards dispatched him. The chiefs, however, who either could not, or would not, prevent this inhuman act, took every necessary precaution for securing the quiet of the city. And the next day the Pacha was peaceably interred. From the conduct of the Janissaries, since this event, it seems that they are divided into two parties, one of which appears to desire a closer union with Paswan Oglou, the other perfect submission to the Turkish court. The Porte, it is expected, will shortly redouble its efforts against the rebellious Pacha, and also direct

military operations against Belgrade, should they be found necessary. The captain Pacha, lately returned from Egypt, has already received orders to put himself at the head of a numerous land force, which will be aided by a respectable armed flotilla on the Danube, to which service the High Admiral has invited several English officers.

This morning, about one o'clock, to the great *Jan. 7th.* terror of the neighbourhood, more than 40 feet in extent of the high wall at the east end of All Saints church, *Newcastle*, fell into Silverstreet. It had long shewn evident symptoms of decay and tumbling, but the application of seasonable repairs was always forgotten or neglected. Some houses and windows on the opposite side of the street have received damage; but happily no lives were lost, nor was any person injured. But though the living escaped unhurt, the mansions of the dead were disturbed by the accident; some coffins, with their contents, accompanying the soil, which pressed upon the wall, into the street.

A jury was impan-  
nelled by the sheriffs, to as- *13th.*  
sess damages in the cause of Jackson v. Lord Millicentown, where judgment was suffered to go by default. The damages were laid at 10,000*l.* Mr. Serjeant Best, on the part of the plaintiff, stated that it was an action to recover compensation in damages from the defendant, for having alienated the affections of the plaintiff's wife; deprived him of the comforts of her society; and induced her to elope and live with him in adultery, which she still continued to do.

The



The elopement took place on the 4th of August last. The plaintiff, Mr. Henry Jackson, was a gentleman in the profession of the law. The defendant, Lord Viscount Milfingtown, was the eldest son of the wealthy earl of Portmore. The object of his seduction, was granddaughter to a most respectable baronet in Kent, (Sir C. Bishop), and niece to the lady of Sir George Warren; her father was at this time a colonel in the army. The union between Mr. and Mrs. Jackson took place on the 26th of September, 1791. The husband and wife lived together in perfect love and harmony. In 1793, Mr. Jackson had the misfortune to be afflicted with a paralytic stroke, which made it necessary for him to suspend all application to business, and retire to the country for his health. He took apartments in Sunbury, where Mrs. Jackson attended on him with all the care, attention, and anxiety, that could have been shewn by the most assiduous and affectionate of wives. Their mutual harmony continued down to July 1799, when Mrs. Jackson went to Spurrengton in Suffex, on a visit to her father (Col. Bishop) and mother. Sir George and Lady Warren being then at Brighton, invited Major and Mrs. Vince (sisters to Mrs. Jackson) and three other unmarried sisters, to pass the race week with them; and shortly afterwards they were joined by Colonel Bishop; and Mrs. Jackson and her sisters were invited by lady Charles Somerset to a ball and supper, which commenced the acquaintance between Mrs. Jackson and Lord Milfingtown, who was introduced to her by Sir George Warren. His

lordship selected Mrs. Jackson for his partner, and it was remarked that he paid her very particular attention; but she came up to London a few days after. In the summer following, the same ladies were on a visit to Mrs. Middleton, sister to Sir William Middleton, and uncle to the plaintiff, at Eton, and it happening that Ascot races took place at that time, they made a party to them, and were joined by lord M. who was afterwards introduced to Mrs. Middleton, at her house, both by Mrs. Jackson and Miss Bishop, as a suitor of the latter young lady. Mr. Jackson going down in a day or two afterwards, a similar introduction took place between him and lord M. There ensued several water parties on the river, and things seemed so far drawing to a conclusion, that Mr. J. wishing to promote so advantageous a match with a nobleman of lord M.'s rank and fortune (which consideration was frequently pressed upon him by his lady), and being solicited so to do by Miss Bishop herself, gave his lordship an invitation to his house, which the latter accepted, and continued his visits there all the summer of 1800, still appearing to direct his attention to Miss Bishop. In consequence of the frequent reports of the intended marriage, lord M. with Mr. and Mrs. J. and Miss Bishop, were invited, and paid visits to Col. Bishop, their father, and several other persons. At length Mr. J. finding that his lordship made no proposals, and having suspicions of his illicit intentions, communicated to his wife his design to break off with, and inform him that his visits must be discontinued. The lady wished to dis-



suade him from doing so under different pretences, and even quarrelled with him on the subject; but he persisted in his determination, and left it to Mrs. J. to inform lord Milington of it in what manner she pleased. The communication being made, the plaintiff's eyes were soon opened, to his surprise and mortification, by the elopement of his wife in a few days afterward. In one of Mrs. J.'s drawers he found, upon search, a letter, which left no further doubt of what had taken place. The letter was nearly as follows:

“ I hope most earnestly very soon to see that my beloved Harriet was not the worse for the expedition of yesterday. I wished very much to have called this morning to have inquired after her, but thought if I did, I should not have the pleasure of passing the evening with the only woman in the world that I have the smallest attachment to, an attachment so strong and fixed, that nothing in the world can alter. I never can be happy till we live together, with that dear little angel that so resembles the figure of its dearest mother; it makes me quite miserable the thoughts of leaving town; I cannot bear to be separated from you my love; I hope it will not be the case; I am sure we could be happy together, and my only study the happiness of you, my adored Harriet, and the welfare of your children. Pray, my love, let me see you to-morrow if it is in your power. I wish *very*, *very* much that we may meet to fix when we shall meet not to part again. Perhaps you will not have an opportunity of reading this before I am obliged to leave you,

therefore I will be in Hart-street, at the usual place, at twelve o'clock to-morrow; pray come as soon after as you can; and believe me, most sincerely, affectionately, and faithfully, yours ever, M.”

The gentlemen, on the other side, may ask, why he did not bring Miss Bishop forward to prove any part of the case? His reply was, that she being the sister of the fallen lady, and having been the pretended object of Lord M.'s addresses, his client would sooner forego all the advantages he could derive from her evidence, or even forego all damages whatever, than commit such an outrage upon the delicacy of the young lady and the feelings of her family.

Witnesses being examined in proof of the above statement, and the defendant having allowed judgment to go by default, the jury, after hearing an ingenious defence by Mr. Dallas, found a verdict of 2000*l.* damages against the defendant.

*Lyons.* Bonaparte reached this place on the evening of the 11th, amidst the most flattering testimonies of respect from the Constituted Authorities, and the universal acclamations of the joyous populace, who had sitten up the two preceding nights in expectation of his arrival. On the following day, the Chief Consul received in form all the Constituted Authorities; and afterwards gave audience to several Deputations from Societies of Commerce and learned bodies. The members of the Consulta of the Cisalpine Republic also addressed him on the same day. In his reply he exhorted them, in the establishment of their government,



to pay all due attention to the maintenance of property, and no less respect to religious worship. At night the Chief Consul went to the theatre; and a general illumination took place throughout the city, as well on that as on the preceding evening. The Consulta has proceeded to business, and the principal forms of the Constitution have already been agreed to.

19th. M. de Choiseul, a newly erased emigrant, and a relation of the duke of that name, in company with some other returned emigrants, was dining at a Restaurateur's. During their repast, they were talking very freely against the Government, the navy, army, &c. Speaking of the latter, M. de Choiseul observed, that the Generals were cut-throats, plunderers, &c. &c. Unfortunately for him, General Oudinot, formerly of the army of Italy, was placed very near him; and, rising from his seat, addressed himself to the emigrant, demanding satisfaction for the words he had uttered: at the same time telling him, that he (Choiseul) stood no chance in fighting with swords (Oudinot is a very strong man), but he would give him the choice of pistols; offering him at the same time the first fire. They immediately left the Restaurateur's, and went, accompanied by seconds, to the Bois de Boulogne. Choiseul fired first, and missed; General Oudinot then fired, and shot Choiseul dead on the spot. The ball entered his temple.

This afternoon, about half past five, a terrible fire broke out in the large range of warehouses, chiefly used as a depot for

coffee and cotton, belonging to Mr. Pugh, in Thames-street, the corner of Dowgate-hill; occasioned by the snuff of a candle being imprudently thrown on the ground near one of the hogheads. It began in the lower part of the premises, and was discovered by the strong smell of the burning coffee, with which the warehouses were filled. Notwithstanding the contiguity of the premises to the Thames, a speedy and ample supply of water, and the early attendance of the fire-engines, the whole inside of these extensive buildings was burnt, together with all the produce in them. The flames, being continually fed from within, could not be extinguished for many hours; but the strong party-walls, and there being but little wind, prevented the extension of the mischief. On the 21st, during the dreadful storm, the wall of Mr. Pugh's warehouse, being unsupported, fell against an adjoining house, and nearly demolished it.

This day, Joseph Wall, 20th. governor of the island of Goree, after a trial at the Old-Bailey which occupied the time of the Court, from nine in the morning till near eleven at night, was convicted of the wilful murder of Benjamin Armstrong, a serjeant in an African corps, by inflicting 800 lashes, of which he died, in the island of Goree, so long ago as the year 1782. He was ordered for execution on the 22d, and afterwards his body to be dissected and anatomized. A respite was sent on the evening of Jan. 21, accompanied by a notice to the following effect:—"You are to give the necessary directions that the sen-



tence shall be executed on Monday, as no further respite will be granted."—He was, however, again respited till Thursday the 28th; on which day, about eight o'clock in the morning, he ascended the scaffold, dressed in apparel far inferior to his condition—an old light brown mixed coat and black velvet collar, pantaloons, and slippers; he held a handkerchief in his hand; at his appearance the mob gave *three distinct huzzas*, which appeared to agitate him much. He conversed for a few moments with the Ordinary, and begged that he might not be pulled by the heels. This Dr. Ford communicated to the executioner, who most strangely affixed the knot on the *back* of the prisoner's neck. The populace at the moment when the rope was put about the neck of the wretched criminal, raised another savage shout. The conduct of the unfortunate person was in the first instance firm, discovering no extraordinary emotion, but this barbarous insult seemed to shake his fortitude; he turned to the executioner with some agitation, and requested him, without delay, to finish the punishment. He was accordingly launched into eternity, and appeared for twenty minutes to suffer great pain. The handkerchief, which is usually dropped as a signal for the executioner to perform his duty, was held firm till the body was carried off.

Previous to his trial, though he was allowed two hours a day, from twelve to two, to walk in the yard, he did not once embrace the indulgence; and, during his whole confinement, never went out of his room, except into the lobby to consult with his Counsel. He

lived well, and was at times very facetious, easy in his manners, and pleasant in conversation; but during the night he frequently sat up in his bed and sang psalms, overheard by his fellow-prisoners. He had not many visitors; his only attendant was a prisoner, appointed for that purpose by the turnkey. After the trial, he did not return to his old apartment, but was conducted into a cell. He was so far favoured as not to have irons put on; but a person was employed as a guard to watch him during the night to prevent his doing violence to himself. His bed was brought to him in the cell, on which he threw himself in an agony of mind, saying, it was his intention not to rise until they called him on the fatal morning. The Sheriffs were particularly pointed and precise in their orders with respect to confining him to the usual diet of bread and water preparatory to the awful event. The prisoner, during a part of the night, slept, owing to fatigue and perturbation of mind. The next morning his wife (who had lived with him for the last fortnight) applied, but was refused admittance, without an order from one of the Sheriffs. She applied to Mr. Sheriff Cox, who attended her to the prison. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 27th, he enquired if any news had arrived? He was told none; but continued to expect a respite till twelve; none then arriving, after the lapse of an hour, he enquired about the machine, and asked some other questions; and in a few minutes after earnestly requested that he might not be pulled by the legs when suffering; but that the fatal cord



cord might be placed properly. He fell asleep between four and five o'clock, and did not hear the fatal machine, which was brought out at five, although it shook the whole prison; but about twenty minutes after, a mail coach going by, he started, and said, "Is not that the scaffold?" He did not go to sleep again. *For his trial see Appendix to the Chronicle.*

20th and 21st. A storm of prodigious violence raged in most parts of the kingdom, and from every quarter accounts were received of its destructive effects. The following are selected. At *Lancaster*, much damage was done to the roofs of most of the houses in the neighbourhood; and many windows were broken. The tide was increased to a very great height (no tide having been so high since March 24, 1796, when it exceeded this by 25 inches) by the violence of the wind; two considerable breaches were made in the new embankment near Scale-hall; and most of the timber in and near Mr. Smith's ship-yard was carried away. The coach to Ulverston, which set off early in the morning, was obliged to return, it having been blown over soon after it got upon the Sands:—About five in the morning, the windmill at *Cockerham* was discovered to be on fire, and the whole of the inside was soon consumed. Large pieces of burning timber, and flakes of fire, were carried by the fury of the wind, to some thatched buildings, which stood at the distance of above 100 yards from the mill; these consisting of two cottages and a barn, were also soon burnt to the ground. There were about 60 loads of meal,

&c. in the mill, and about 100 theaves of oats, and a few loads of wheat, in the barn, the whole of which was destroyed. The above was occasioned by the violence of the wind causing so great an increase of friction on the wheels as to set them on fire.—At *Chester* many windows were blown in, some houses entirely unroofed, and several chimneys blown down; but no lives were lost.—In the town and neighbourhood of *Sheffield* many houses were unroofed, chimneys blown down, windows wrenched from their situations, many old cottages totally demolished, trees torn up by the roots, and haystacks scattered about. The place in consequence wore the appearance of a town closely besieged.—At *Doncaster*, the roofs of several houses were stripped, chimneys blown down, and trees blown up, many persons passing about the streets were thrown down, and much hurt.—At *Thorne*, in Yorkshire, a chimney, near eight feet high, was blown down, and knocked in part of the Red Lion Inn, by which accident one servant maid was much bruised, and one killed on the spot.—At *Drayton* a barn was blown down; there were three men working in it at the time; two, alarmed by the cracking of the building, had time to run out, the third throwing himself under the wall to the windward side: the ruins fell over him; but, though in a degree buried beneath them, he did not sustain any injury.—At *Lowestoft*, the brig *Thomas* from Shields for Ramsgate, was driven on the Home Sand, and wholly lost, with the master and cook; the rest of the crew were saved. At the *Cockle Sand*, a ship,

from



from Oporto for Newcastle with wine, was wrecked, and part of the cargo lost.—At *Horstead*, a large tree was torn up by the roots, and falling on an old woman killed her instantly.—At *Hull*, the gable end of the Dissenting chapel in Hope-street was blown in, and a great part of the roof stripped off; several houses in Parliament-street, and other parts of the town, experienced a similar fate. The appearance on the side of the river was tremendous. From the extreme violence of the wind, the Humber seemed like a field of smoke. A small sloop, unloaded, sunk opposite the garrison; fortunately, none of the crew were on board, and the vessel was got up with little damage. A brig was also driven on shore but got off. A sloop was sunk off *Hefsle*, and two out of three of the crew drowned. Of the crew of another sloop in great distress off that place, one perished upon deck by the cold, another was drowned, and the third was, by great exertion, got on shore and carried to *Hefsle*.—At *Holyhead*, a sloop was driven on shore; and one life only lost. The *Sachem* of Portland, a large American ship, bound to Dublin, and laden with a valuable cargo of tobacco, was driven on this coast, and anchored off a reef of rocks, with a signal of distress flying. At half-past four she parted, and struck on the rocks, the sea making a fair breach over her; she, however, got over, but drifted to leeward into the harbour, and again struck on another reef, exhibiting a most melancholy sight, having cut away her main and foremast; nor for many hours was there a hope of saving a life from on board her.

A liberal subscription of 40 guineas, by gentlemen detained there on their passage to Ireland, induced six brave fellows to attempt to get on board; which they effected, and in spite of a most tremendous sea, saved, by several excursions, the whole crew. The repeated and personal exertions of Captain Skinner, of the Leicester packet, who, alone, of the gentlemen of his profession, remained with lights on the rocks during the night, and took every requisite and humane precaution, contributed much to deliver them from this dreadful situation; which appeared, to a crowd of spectators on the rocks, totally hopeless. The ship went to pieces. Two other vessels were driven on shore in the neighbourhood.—At *Liverpool*, many sloops, some laden, others in ballast, were sunk at their anchors between the Old Dock Quay and the Fort; boats beaten to pieces on the beach, as well as larger craft. The sloop *Peggy*, of Greenock, Captain M'Lean, laden with provisions from Cork, was driven on shore near the Half-mile house, where she went on her beam-ends, and soon filled with water: the crew, six in number, with a gentleman and six soldiers, passengers, and the pilot, lashed themselves to the mast and rigging, and remained there a considerable time, not 50 yards from the shore, in sight of many spectators, who, in vain, attempted relief, but were unable to afford any, from the violence of the storm, and tremendous surge of the sea; and, melancholy to relate, the pilot, passengers, and crew, were all unfortunately drowned, except one, who was washed on shore nearly exhausted, but was happily



happily recovered. The tide flowed near six feet higher than mentioned in the tide-table. The river and all along the Cheshire coast presented a melancholy scene. Dead bodies thrown up—pieces of wreck floating here and there! Horror was depicted in every countenance—each person afraid either to go out in the street, for fear of being killed by the falling of bricks, slates, ridgings, &c. and equally apprehensive of his life, by constant expectation of his house falling on him. The devastation is beyond description; scarcely any houses but retain some marks of its unprecedented fury: 15 new-built small houses in Chiffenholme-street, and others in the neighbourhood of Vauxhall-road, were levelled to the ground; the roof of a gentleman's house in Bold-street was beat in, by the stack of chimneys falling, which broke through the roof and floors down to the tea-room. Another house in Price's-street suffered the like disaster, in which a woman, in the last stage of pregnancy, was killed by the ruins, whilst in bed with her husband and two children: the latter, however, escaped with some contusions. Within two miles of *Halifax*, the York and Leeds mail-coach was blown over and broken to pieces.—At *Birmingham* and its neighbourhood it blew quite a hurricane for 12 hours incessantly. At *Yarmouth*, the brig *Newcastle*, Thomas Dixon, master, from *Sunderland*, bound to *London*, laden with coals and goods, went on shore in *Hofely Bay*; after being there some little time, she drifted off again, and sunk in deep water. The master and people were saved. Many vessels put in with the loss

of anchors and cables. The *Industry*, W. Hopkins, master, from *Shields*, bound to *Liverpool*, with glass bottles, was also brought in, after being abandoned by her crew. The *True Friend of Lynn*, after having ran on shore on *South-would*, caught fire and burnt down to the water's edge; the crew were saved. Several pipes of wine, part of the cargo of *Rio Doura*, which foundered in the Roads, were got up; the *Frances-Ann*, Harrison, from *Belfast* to *Liverpool*, is lost near the latter port. The *Anna Maria*, Watkins, from *St. Croix*, and three other vessels, are driven on shore in *King Road*, *Bristol Channel*. The *Indefatigable* and six other vessels were on shore at *Park-gate*. The *Diana*, Master, from *St. Croix* to *Cork*, was wrecked in *St. Bride's Bay*. The *Sovereign*, Maddocks, from *Dublin* to *St. Vincent's*, drove on shore in *Milford Harbour*, but got off with damage. The *New Century*, —, from *Boston* was on shore at *Hoylake*.—1200 trees were blown down, or so broken as to require to be removed, in the park and grounds of *Lord Newark*, at *Thoresby*.—There was not a house in *Drogheda* that did not sustain some damage. At *Manchester* a very high chimney, belonging to a factory in *Long Mill-gate* came down with a prodigious crash, destroying two small buildings close to it, and the front of a house on the opposite side of the street, in the ruins of which a man, his wife, and a child, were buried. The man was got out alive, not dangerously hurt, but the woman and child were killed. Another man was killed by a wall being blown down upon him as he was passing,



passing, and a second by the falling of a chimney. At the upper end of Bridge-street, a large chimney fell upon the roof of a room where six young women were at work: it crushed in the roof, and two floors, and buried them all in the cellar. Immediate assistance was given, and the women were released. One of them unfortunately, by a second fall of rubbish, &c. was killed, and two others materially injured. In every part of the town the disaster was more or less felt, and the continual fall of slates from the roofs of the houses, bricks and stones from chimnies, large pieces of lead, &c. made it dangerous to pass the streets, and diffused terror amongst the inhabitants. The dial on the Exchange pillar, and one of the dial-plates of the clock at St. Ann's church, were blown down.—The majestic, but well-built spire of St. Mary's steeple, waved in such a threatening manner, as greatly to alarm the surrounding inhabitants.—From the vast force of the wind, every high building was viewed with fear, and the work-people were terrified out of several factories. It was indeed a most awful day, and such as cannot be forgotten by those who witnessed its terrific effects. The Theatre was not opened in the evening, in consequence of the storm. It was impossible, at the usual time, for the lamplighters to trim the lamps: nearly one-fourth of them were stripped of their covers by the violence of the wind, and a great number both of lamps and burners were broken. Beside these, the details from every part of the country were filled with narratives of buildings destroyed, trees rooted up, stacks of grain and hay

scattered, cattle killed, and human beings destroyed, crushed, maimed, bruised, or providentially saved. The metropolis was not exempt from its share of ravage, although not so much damaged as many other places; and Dublin, although more injured than London, was favoured by the direction of the storm, which spent its greatest fury on the opposite Coast of Wales.

A Court Martial was 22d. held at Portsmouth, on board the Gladiator, on Captain Sir Edward Hamilton, of his Majesty's ship Trent (who distinguished himself in the West Indies by the recapture of the Hermione), "for sending the gunner and his crew up in the main rigging for three hours; when the gunner was taken down in a fainting fit through the severity of the cold." The charge being fully established, he was sentenced to be *Dismissed from his Majesty's Service*.

Constantinople, Jan. 25. On the 18th inst. the English Ambassador, Lord Elgin, laid the first stone of the new hotel which the Porte is causing to be built for the English Embassy: Lady Elgin, and all the English here, were present at the ceremony. The 18th was chosen, because it is the birth-day of the Queen of England. The Captain Pacha, on this occasion, had the humanity and gallantry to present to Lord Elgin, at the moment of inauguration, 140 Maltese slaves who were set at liberty in honour of the Queen of England.

A man of war's boat up- 28th. set at Portsmouth, with two officers and nine men, who were all drowned.

The number of bankers, in the metropolis, in the year 1740, was 28;



28; in 1770, 38; in 1782, 47; in 1802, 72; and until about the years 1697, or 8, there were only 2, viz. Child and Co. and Denne and Co.

*Conspiracy to murder the Emperor of Persia.*—A plot was lately discovered, which had for its object the murder of Baba Khan, the present sovereign of Persia, and which involving many of the most distinguished officers of the state, has excited the strongest sensation throughout the empire. An officer who had been instrumental in advancing the prince to the throne, conceiving himself neglected, formed a project to depose him, and won over to his purpose the prime minister Elmatta Dowla, by promising to advance him to the sovereignty; by like means he engaged nineteen persons of the first rank in the empire to embark in the plot, and Mulam Alli, the favourite and constant attendant of the Emperor in his retirement, was bribed to assassinate him. The scheme wore the most promising aspect, and, in order to colour the intended change, troubles were excited in various quarters; but on the eve of its execution, the treason was discovered by means of a letter to the minister, which was by chance intercepted. Elmatta Dowla, and fourteen of his associates were immediately apprehended and put to death in the dungeons of the palace, and such other steps were taken as have effectually crushed the conspiracy. Elmatta Dowla was a decided friend to the English; he materially contributed to the success of our late embassy to the court of Persia, and is spoken of by Capt. Malcolm in terms of high respect.

In the course of this month se-

veral of the mutineers at Bantry Bay, of whom mention is made in the Chronicle for last year, p. \*65, were tried by a court-martial; an account of which will be found in the *Appendix to the Chronicle*.

DIED.—Nov. 1801. At Montego Bay, Jamaica, Mr. John Demetres, aged 103.

Dec. 24. At Bordeaux, aged 106, Dieudonné Gregoire, a dentist.

Jan. 8, 1802. At his lodgings in Great Portland-street, aged 73, the rev. father Arthur O'Leary. He was a native of Ireland, whence, when young, he embarked for France; studied at the college of St. Malo, in Brittany, and at length entered into the Franciscan order of Capuchins. He then acted, for some time, as chaplain to the English prisoners during the seven years war, for which he received a small pension from the French government, which he retained till the French revolution. Having obtained permission to go to Ireland, he gladly exchanged the filthy habiliments of a capuchin friar for decent cloaths and clean linen; and obtained, by talent alone, the notice and recompence of the Irish government; and took an early opportunity of shewing the superiority of his courage and genius, principally by attacking the heterodox doctrines of Michael Servetus. Previously to this, no Roman catholic clergyman presumed to argue, much less to write, against a person of a different religion. This essay gained him friends among the liberal, and was productive of no small degree of envy among the priests. O'Leary, however, enjoyed his triumph, and after having, in opposition to most of his brethren, established, by his able and eloquent writings, that the



the Roman catholicks of Ireland might, consistently with their religion, swear that the pope possessed there no temporal authority which was the only condition on which certain indulgences were granted to them), he became the favourite and friend of many eminent political and literary characters in that kingdom. He was, about that time, attacked by Dr. Woodward, then bishop of Cloyne; and his reply was deemed a masterpiece of wit, argument, and delicate irony. His other productions were of a miscellaneous nature. He was a man singularly gifted with natural humour, and possessed great acquirements. He wrote on polemical subjects without acrimony, and on politicks with an unprecedented degree of conciliation. To an Irish bishop, who challenged him to prove the existence of purgatory, he answered, "the question is not capable of demonstrative proof. Let the affair remain as it is. Your lordship may *go farther and fare worse!*" About 18 years since, when a considerable number of nocturnal insurgents, of the Romish persuasion, committed great excesses in the county of Cork, particularly towards the tithe-proctors of the Protestant clergy, he rendered himself extremely useful, by his various literary addresses to the deluded people, in bringing them to a proper sense of their error. This laudable conduct did not escape the attention of the Irish government; and induced them, when he quitted Ireland, to recommend him to men of power in this country. For many years he resided in London, as principal of the Roman catholic chapel near Soho-square, where he was highly esteemed by people of his religion,

and he pronounced, two years since, the funeral oration on Pius VI. before the dukes of Devonshire and a great concourse of the English nobility. This venerable clergyman mingled true piety with convivial talents. He was always cheerful, gay, sparkling with wit, full of anecdote and merry stories; and never, in company, suffered his vocation to operate squeamishly or churlishly on the hilarity of those around him. On the evening of the 13th his remains were removed to St. Patrick's chapel, Soho, a place founded by his zeal, and consecrated by his talents and virtues. Next morning the chapel was hung with black; and on the pall, spread over the coffin, were seen the emblems of the Roman catholic faith, with the cap and other insignia of the religious order to which the deceased had belonged. High mass was celebrated by the chaplains with becoming solemnity; and the grand dirge was performed in the most sublime style of sacred musick by Mr. Webb, who presided at the organ, accompanied by an orchestra filled with the first vocal performers of the catholic persuasion in London; among whom were Mr. Kelly, Mr. Dignum, Mr. Dauby, and Mr. Vins. An eloquent and impressive funeral sermon was delivered by Mr. D'Arcy; and the body was interred in the church yard of St. Pancras.

In her 112th year, Mrs. Golden, of Hilton, in Cleveland. She had the use of her faculties till the day of her death, and could card faster than any other woman could spin.

Lately, in the island of Stroma, in the north of Scotland, Mr. Francis



Francis Tait, at the extraordinary age of 110 years. He was, in the opinion of those who knew him, one of the most learned men in Scotland; and perhaps none of his contemporaries possessed so much general knowledge. He was also a good poet; although his extreme modesty, and poverty deprived the world of the benefit of his literary labours.

At the Rosslet, near Chester, at the very advanced age of 107, Mrs. M. Nicholas; she had enjoyed a good state of health till within a few days previous to her death.

In her 103d year, Mrs. M. Cross, of Stareton, in Staffordshire; she retained the use of her faculties till Christmas day last.

Lately, in his 100th year, Count Stalkeber, a Swedish general. He entered into the service under Charles XII.

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## FEBRUARY.

2d. Was found, eight feet eight inches under the surface of the ground, in a gravel-pit, in the parish of Newton St. Lee, Hants, an elephant's tusk, measuring six feet six inches in length, and thirteen inches round the lowest end: it is quite perfect, and retains its natural colour. A few days after, at the distance of about twenty yards from the above spot, and at the same depth, another tusk was found, measuring nine feet one inch, and fifteen inches round the largest end: this likewise is perfect, and retains its colour; and near it is a large bone, supposed to be the *os ilium* of an elephant, of the weight of 12lbs.

The hoy Margate, of 8th. Margate, of which Mr. John Goodborn was captain, and Mr. John Sacket, owner, was very deeply laden with corn, for the London market; the crew consisted of four men, and there were 28 passengers; she sailed from Margate harbour, in moderate weather, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and came to anchor in the roads till near nine in the evening, when they got under sail; soon after the weather began to be very tempestuous, but they continued working against the wind till they had arrived, about midnight, off Reculver, with the intention of going to anchor under the hook of Margate sand. On making their last tack towards the land, the strap of the founding lead broke, and though the vessel was put about, yet before another lead could be fitted, she struck, it was supposed, on the tail of the Reculver sand; they then let go the anchor, and the water flowing, the vessel swung off, and rode clear; they then got up the anchor, and setting the sails, she was drawing off the land, when the gib tackle broke, which made it impossible to get her head from the wind; the captain then lashed down the tiller, and went forward to get another gib-sail, when by the vessel's striking the ground, the tiller was rent in two, and before it could be replaced, the rudder was beat off, and thereby the vessel was rendered totally unmanageable. They then let go their anchor a second time, but the hoy continuing to beat on the ground in a most alarming manner, and apprehending she had sprung a leak, and finding the pumps were choaked, they were forced to let slip the cable,



cable, and let her drive into shore, on which she was beaten about a mile and a half from the village of Reculver. The scene then became truly horrible, as a most dreadful sea was breaking over the vessel every moment, and the women and children uttering the most lamentable cries. In the midst of this distress, Mr. Bone, passenger, and a local preacher, in connexion with the late Rev. John Wesley, with great fortitude and resignation, exhorted and prayed with his fellow sufferers, and was heard by the survivors to the very last, lifting his voice in supplications and praises. Five of the passengers and four of the crew, having taken to the shrouds, were saved by continuing there till the water was so lowered, that they could get on shore about five in the morning. One other passenger, Mr. Jesse Darroway, of Margate, was swept off the deck, but very happily, after some little exertion, was thrown on the beach by the waves, and escaped. This passenger supposes that very soon afterwards the cabin was filled with water, and seven passengers who remained therein, drowned; and the remaining fourteen and the captain, who were on the deck, were then swept away by the waves, as while he lay on the beach, he heard a general scream of distress, and then all was still. The scene which the morning presented to the afflicted spectators, who by ten o'clock were some hundreds, from Margate and the neighbouring villages, it is impossible to describe, as within the space of a mile and a half on the beach, sixteen men and women lay dead on the shore, and very soon after, seven other passengers were taken in the same state from the

cabin, making in the whole, twenty-three persons.

It is said that 171 years had elapsed since a Margate hoy had been lost; that event happening the 3d Nov. 1631, when the Rev. Humphrey Wheatley, a native of Leicestershire, and vicar of Margate, his parish clerk, and some other passengers, were drowned.

*Haycraft against Creasey.* In the chronicle of last year p. \*19, an account was given of a female swindler, named Robertson, who by a series of extraordinary artifices, had obtained the property of tradesmen to a large amount; and at a subsequent page (\*42) it was stated that in an action brought by a Mr. Haycraft against Mr. Creasey, the jury, under the direction of Lord Kenyon, found a verdict for the plaintiff, the defendant having asserted that he knew Miss Robertson to be a person of fortune, who might safely be trusted. The verdict was for 434l.

In Michaelmas term, the attorney general obtained a rule to shew cause why a new trial should not be granted, and in Hilary term it came on to be argued. Mr. Erskine contended, that the only question was, whether the defendant gave this character, knowing it at the time not to be true? Mr. Erskine laid it down as a moral principle, which also held good in law, "that a man was responsible for asserting that which he knew to be false, or did not know to be true," if the person to whom he made that representation, acted in consequence of it, and was thereby damnified. It appeared from his own notes, and those of Lord Kenyon, that the defendant said, "he knew of his own knowledge

Miss



Miss Robertson was a woman of fortune, and that he might safely trust her to any amount." Upon the faith of this assertion of the defendant, the plaintiff trusted her to the amount of upwards of 400*l*. The jury by giving a verdict to the plaintiff for that sum, confirmed the principle he laid down; and he contended, that there ought to be no new trial.

The attorney-general argued on the other side. No fraud had been imputed by any person to the defendant Creasy, nor could it appear that his assertion had been deceitfully and collusively made. He saw a woman whom he had known in an humble situation, and who had borne hitherto an unblemished character, in the apparent possession of great wealth. He saw all that usually attended an affluent fortune; he was amused with designs of her country estate, and admired, in picture, woods, lawns, and rivers. What was then to undeceive him from this error; or was it a genuine error or not? The best proof that it was so, was, that he advanced his own money to the amount of 2000*l*. But the deception did not stop here: he saw this lady make out a power of attorney to collect her rents, with a bond of 10,000*l*. to secure its due performance. All this was transacted before the eyes of the poor leatherfeller, which so far deluded him, that he ventured to assert *he knew* her to be a woman of fortune. Was he to suppose that the lady was acting beyond the limits of all known fraud? He saw her ride in a fine coach, having a coronet emblazoned in the arms, the present, as she said, of Lady Paget, her sister; he might indeed have

inquired into the arms, but to poor Creasy all coronets were alike. He saw her receiving great presents of fine plate; in short, he was most completely duped, and the best proof was his acceptance of bills for her. When the defendant asserted he *knew* the fact, all that could fairly be meant was, that he had a conviction in his own mind, resulting from apparently conclusive proofs. On these grounds he submitted, that this was no such fraud or deceit as ought to serve as the foundation of the action.

Mr. Dallas contended, that there must be evidence of fraud to support the action. Mr. Marryatt and Mr. Comyns argued on the same side.

Lord Kenyon observed, that the plaintiff depending on the representations given by the defendant of the lady, had trusted her to the amount of 434*l*. The question was, whether was this representation true or false? To this there was but one answer, that it was false. He thought that the distinctions which had been attempted to be made between this case, and that of wilful misrepresentations, were trifling in the extreme, and he confessed that those who could make such distinctions had powers of intellect beyond himself. If the present action could not be supported, he had now for twelve years been deceiving the people of this country. At the time the cause came on to be tried, this was the ground he went upon, "Did the defendant affirm that which he did not know to be true?" This he considered sufficient evidence to support the declaration of fraud. It might not, perhaps, amount to moral turpitude, but it was, in his opinion,



opinion, sufficient to constitute *legal fraud*. He thought the present action was supported, not merely in morality and social right, but in law and justice.

Mr. Justice Grose said, he could not see any fraud in the present case: when the defendant said, "I know," it could mean no more than he had that opinion. Then what was the evidence? Did the man mean to tell a lie? He had seen those things which deceived him, and the whole scene acted before his eyes was such, that he confessed he thought he might have been duped himself. The man, under these circumstances, having said *he knew* she might be trusted, ought to be construed, in his opinion, to mean no more than that he thought her deserving of credit. And as he understood that the case now came before the court not on the ground of fraud, but upon admission that the man was a dupe, he held, till another case should be found to support a contrary opinion, that there ought to be evidence of fraud, and that therefore it ought to go to a new trial.

Mr. Justice Lawrence and Mr. Justice Le Blanc were of the same opinion.—Rule absolute.

Six deputies have arrived from Malta, bringing a memorial, the object of which is, *to solicit his majesty to keep possession of that island*. The deputies are, marquis Testaferrata, of a very noble family, grandee of Spain; lieutenant governor Castagna, deputy of the two cities Bormolo and Seaglia; Mr. Cachia, the representative of Lictura; Mulia, lieut. governor, and first senator of Gozo; and two Maltese priests.

*Huguenin v. Thornton*, Feb. 13th. *esq.* Mr. Mingay stated, that in this case the plaintiff was a tradesman, being the younger partner in a large perfumers, which must be well known to many, as the house served part of the royal family. The defendant, colonel Thornton, was a gentleman of very large property. The action was brought to recover damages for an assault, which the colonel had committed upon the plaintiff, and he trusted the jury would be of opinion that his client merited something more than was usually given. He did not ask this because the defendant was a gentleman, and a man of large fortune; he was sure the jury would weigh out equal justice, without regard to this consideration, but the circumstances of the case were attended with much aggravation. The facts were as follow: The colonel being at his seat in Yorkshire, which was most finely named, and he supposed, from its elegance, it deserved its fine name. But in fact being at Thornville royal, he wrote to the defendant to send him powder, pomatum, and a Parmesan cheese. He presumed they were to be packed together for the benefit of scenting each other. The things were sent, and in the August following the plaintiff, as junior partner, was sent upon the dangerous service of asking for payment. When he got to the colonel's lodgings in Leicester-fields, and asked for his bill, the colonel replied he would pay for things he had ordered, but he would be d——d if he would pay the other part of the bill. The plaintiff replied, Sir, you must



must pay my whole bill. Hé (the colonel) then got up and collared him, thrusting him out of the room, giving him a violent blow between the eyes. This the noble colonel must excuse him for calling a very cowardly action; for he considered it as very cowardly for any man to strike his inferior, who could not retort upon equal terms, and he hoped the jury would give him a gentle hint, in damages, to be more guarded in his conduct for the time to come. The facts being proved, the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 30l.

Three thousand guineas for a service of plate have been voted in the handsomest manner, by the house of assembly of Jamaica, to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, in testimony of the gratitude of the assembly for his exertions in parliament in favour of their interests.

The Lord Chancellor determined lately a cause of some interest, on an application from the university of Cambridge, that the London booksellers were not justified in selling bibles printed in Scotland, by the king's printers; but that the injunction did not prevent the booksellers from exporting Scottish bibles to foreign countries, though it prevents the sale of them in England. The injunction which has been thus obtained by the university, is not it seems regarding pirated or unauthorized editions, but those printed by the king's printer in Scotland, which have hitherto been a free uninterrupted article of trade, under the act of union, beyond the memory of the oldest bookseller now living, in the same manner as the same books

printed by authority in England, have always had, and still have, a free sale in Scotland.

A gentleman, who will not permit his name to be <sup>27th.</sup> known, has, by a confidential friend, sent to lord Hood, governor of Greenwich hospital, the amount of the sale of 10,000l. in the three per cent. consols, for the use and benefit of the said hospital.—This truly benevolent gentleman has also given the like sum to the chest of Chatham.

*Foster, v. Mellish. Breach of Promise of Marriage.* The attorney-general, on behalf of the plaintiff, said he was a young gentleman about 27 years of age, of considerable respectability in the medical line at Highgate, whose health and peace of mind had been deeply affected by a cruel breach of promise on the part of the defendant. Being recommended by his friends to fix his business in or near London, he had, in the year 1799, purchased the house of a Mr. Sands, for the sum of 1,800l. and the good-will of his business, which, on average, was worth from 8 to 900l. per annum, for the sum of 1,600l. being two year's purchase, to be paid by instalments. The defendant, he understood to be a young lady of very considerable attainments, of a beautiful person, and a most graceful form, and the natural daughter of a person of considerable property. The plaintiff met her early in the year 1800, at the Highgate assembly, a mutual attachment was conceived between them, regular proposals were made and accepted, they had numerous meetings, and, at length, the defendant plighted herself in the most solemn manner



to become the wife of Mr. Foster. Some interruption had taken place in their intercourse; but, from the month of April to that of August 1801, it had continued unbroken. Her brothers were somewhat adverse to the match; but nothing had been done clandestinely; every party had been apprised of the proceedings; and, on her part, every thing had been settled, even to the purchasing of her wedding cloaths. The attorney-general here read a number of letters which had been written by the defendant to the plaintiff, and to a Miss Swain, her friend, on the subject of her intimacy with Mr. Foster; all which, as Mr. Justice Le Blanc afterwards observed, tended to shew her firm intention to marry him.

The promise on the part of the defendant, and the subsequent breach of it, were afterwards proved by Miss Swain, who had first become acquainted with the defendant, whom she stated to be of the age of 23, at school, and their acquaintance had recommenced at Brighton about two years ago. She had been the confidant of Miss Mellish throughout nearly the whole of the affair, and had materially assisted in promoting the wishes of the parties. It was agreed between Miss Mellish and the defendant, that the half of her property, which was 13,900*l.* 3 per cents. was to be settled on herself and heirs, and, in default of heirs, she was to have the power of willing it as she pleased; the other half to be sunk, so as to raise a sum of money for the purpose of paying off some debts of the plaintiff; Mr. Swain, the father of Miss Swain, being in-

tended as one of her trustees. On the cross-examination of Miss Swain it appeared, that throughout she was acquainted with the violent aversion entertained by the brothers of the lady to the match.

Mr. Erskine, on the part of the defendant, said, the question was, whether the promise the defendant had made, was not one which would be more honoured in the breach than the observance. If it should appear, however, that the plaintiff had been capriciously and cruelly treated, that his attachment had been solely to the mind and person of the defendant, and that he had thought nothing of her miserable three per cents. as he had made up his mind to be paid in money, in money let him be paid; though it certainly was not a very common thing for delicate-minded men to come to Westminster-hall to claim a marriage portion. Mr. E. then contended, that the plaintiff had no affection for her; and only wanted to secure her fortune. From his statements, and from evidence which he called, it appeared, that during an interruption which took place in this courtship, in the year 1800, in consequence of the interference of Mr. Mellish, the defendant's brother, Mr. Foster paid his addresses to a Miss Pullen, at Highgate, from whose father he had borrowed 1700*l.* and told her she was the only woman he had ever seen with whom he could be happy. Mr. Pullen, the father, finding the plaintiff to be extravagant and embarrassed in his affairs, broke off the connexion between him and his daughter. Mr. Foster again renewed his addresses to Miss Mellish, who on the 28th of September last



last wrote him a letter, containing a solemn promise to marry him in December following. But before that time she informed him that their correspondence must terminate. The cause assigned for this resolution on the part of the lady, was an anonymous letter which she had received in August last, purporting to be written by a female acquaintance, with a view to terrify her into the match with Mr. Foster, by holding out to her that her character was in danger of being lost, &c. This letter Miss Mellish had every reason to think was written by the plaintiff, and it was on the proof of that fact that Mr. Erskine rested the defence; because if it should appear that he wrote it, the conduct of Miss Mellish in breaking off the match was highly justifiable. Mr. Samuel Mellish, the defendant's brother, said, he had no doubt of the hand writing being that of the plaintiff. The inspector of franks, at the post office, said, the hand writing of the letter was disguised, and on comparing it with the admitted letters of the plaintiff, he had no doubt of its being written by him. On the other hand, Mr. Swain, Mr. Sands, Mr. Hodges, and Mr. Folkes, swore they did not believe the letter to be the hand writing of the plaintiff. The jury found a verdict for plaintiff, damages 200l. This trial lasted from eleven in the morning till near ten at night.

The city of London have lately begun to pull down some of their old granaries, in Tooley-street, which have been built upwards of two centuries, as appears from the following inscription now on a stone, on part of the premises:

"This worke was begunne and finished at the charges of the Bridg' House, Sir George Barn then being Lord Maior of the Citi of London, 1587." They were chiefly built of chesnut-wood; and notwithstanding the length of time that has elapsed, some of the timbers are now so sound, that a saw can hardly penetrate them. About a century ago, these granaries were occupied by some of the principal companies of the city, for the laudable purpose of housing corn in times of plenty, which, in times of scarcity, they retailed out to the poor of their respective companies, at reduced prices.

At a late court of common council of the city of London, Mr. Cowley moved, "that the annual gift to Mrs. Martha Middleton, of 20l. (a lineal descendant of Sir Hugh Middleton,) be increased to 50l. per annum. The annuity was accordingly voted. On this occasion, Mr. Cowley read an abstract from Stow, wherein it was stated "that Sir Hugh Middleton was a public spirited man and had rendered great services to the city of London: particularly by bringing the New River to London, and thereby expending his whole fortune;" which was the cause of the present petitioner being in want.

At Leicester, a fellow who pretended to be deaf and dumb, and who had, in the course of a few days, realised 50l. by what is called fortune-telling, was publicly whipt there as a vagrant. During his trial and previously to his confinement, he conducted himself with consummate art, and the most hypocritical consistency; but when the cat o' nine tails came to



tingle on his back, his speech and hearing returned, and he could speak and hear, as well as any of the spectators. It appears that he had been a soldier in the 25th regiment, and was discharged in consequence of having been wounded in the island of Grenada, and that on returning to his friends in Yorkshire, he was met on the road by a woman who practised the profession of fortune-telling, and prevailed on him to join her, but on his commitment, she decamped with their joint earnings.

*Summary of the exports from the island of Jamaica, as laid before the Honourable House of Assembly, from the 30th Sept. 1800, to the 30th Sept. 1801:—*From the port of Kingston, 57,398 hogheads, 8,395 tierces, 2,272 barrels of sugar; 18,195 puncheons, 893 hogheads of rum; 88 bags, 12 casks of ginger; 3,534 bags, 273 casks of pimento; and 9,992,859 lbs. of coffee. From the different out-ports, 65,353 hogheads, 10,309 tierces, 429 barrels of sugar; 30,633 puncheons, 521 hogheads of rum; 151 bags of ginger; 10,550 bags, 375 casks of pimento; and 3,408,609 lbs. of coffee. Cattle imported during the same period: at Kingston, 2203 horses, 4231 mules, 109 asses, and 3601 horned cattle. At the different out-ports, 241 horses, 228 mules, and 879 horned cattle.

The following statement of the births, marriages, divorces, and deaths, in Paris, during the year 1801, is taken from the *Moniteur* of Feb. 18, 1802.

Born in wedlock	-	14,829
Bastards	-	4,841
Total births		19,670

Marriages	-	3,826
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Divorces	-	720
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Died in their own houses	12,510
Died in the poor houses and hospitals	8,257
Found dead in the streets	201
Total deaths	20,968

The births in Paris, for the year 1784, were estimated at 20,500, and the population at 680,000 souls. They are then diminished only 800 in number, and we may, therefore, conclude, that the population is now 650,000. The divorces and bastards exhibit a horrid total; and when we perceive, that more than one third of the whole of the persons who die, expire in poor houses and hospitals, we may form some judgment of the prosperity and happiness of the people. Another item in the above statement will convey a tolerably correct notion of the degree of personal safety enjoyed in the metropolis of France, that is, the number of persons *found dead in the streets*; during the year this number is 201, to which, if we add all the deaths arising from the acts of assassination and suicide committed in the houses, the picture is enough to make the stoutest heart tremble.

9th.—DIED in her 103d year, Elizabeth Stothard, of Kirton, near Brigg, co. Lincoln. She was scarcely ever known to have had a day's illness. In her youthful days she has been seen to shear, bind, and stock an acre of wheat or oats a day for 40 days together. She carded and spun wool till near the time



time of her death; and could read tolerably well in her bible, with the use of spectacles. She had many children, grand-children, and great grand-children.

At Walton, near Aylesbury, Bucks, Mrs. Hester, at the age of 104. She possessed good health, and all her faculties to the last.

20th. At Richmond, John Moore, M. D. born at Stirling, 1730, where his father, a respectable clergyman of the established church, was one of the ministers. He was matriculated at the university of Glasgow, and, being designed for the medical profession, was placed under the care of Dr. Gordon, an eminent practitioner of that day both in surgery and pharmacy. When the Duke of Cumberland commanded the allied army in Flanders, 1747, Mr. M. was among the many students who flocked to his camp and its hospitals, and was presented to the commander in chief by his relation the duke of Argyle, then a commoner. He attended the military hospital at Maestricht as surgeon's mate, and removed thence to Flushing, and afterwards assisted the surgeon of the Coldstream regiment under general Braddock, whom he accompanied to England on the peace, 1748, when only 18 years old. He went with Dr. Fordyce to Paris, when lord Albemarle, who was British ambassador at the French court, appointed him surgeon to his household. On his return, he continued to act as a surgeon at Glasgow, till, in his 40th year, he accompanied to the Continent James-George Duke of Hamilton, who laboured under a consumptive disorder, of which he died in his 15th year. The late duke being

of the same sickly constitution, his mother recommended his travelling with the same person, who had now obtained a doctor's degree at Glasgow, and they spent no less than five years abroad, in France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. Dr. Moore was also in France at the time the Bastille was taken, and also with lord Lauderdale during the atrocious scenes of 1792; witnessing the deposition of Louis XVI, the massacres of September, and the measures preparatory to the trial of the dethroned monarch. He married Miss Simson, daughter of the professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, by whom he had five sons and a daughter; one of his sons is that distinguished ornament of the military name general John Moore.

The works of Dr. Moore are, 1st. A View of Society and Manners in France, Italy, and Switzerland, 1779. 2d. Medical Sketches 1785. 3d. A View of Society and Manners in Italy 1787. 4th. Zeluco, a Novel, 1789. 5th. A Journal during a Residence in France 1793. 6th. A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution, 1795. 7th. Edward, a Novel, 1796. 8th. Mordaunt, a Novel, 1800. He also wrote a preface to Smollet's Works.

At Gibraltar, after an illness of six months, during which he suffered the most excruciating tortures, from his wounds breaking out afresh, and from a dreadful stranguary which followed, general O'Hara, commander of that fortress, and colonel of the 74th regiment of infantry. His property in the funds, amounting to near 70,000l.



he has vested in trustees, (Mr. Bownas, his agent, Mr. Raleigh, his late secretary, and captain Hope,) in trust to pay annuities to two ladies and two children, whom he has left by each of them, with the benefit of survivorship, and inheritance of the whole to the longest liver of each family. To his trustees he has left a residuary property, that will amount to about 700*l.* each, and which is all his brother takes by the will. To his black servant, Moyse, he has left his furniture, plate, linen, china, &c. and a legacy in money out of his floating cash, that will, all together, amount to the value of 7000*l.* and upwards. His plate is particularly valuable, several articles of great price having been presented to him at different periods, by public bodies, in testimony of their esteem. One piece particularly, presented by the merchants of Gibraltar, is valued at 1000*l.* sterling.

The General's death is much lamented at Gibraltar. Few men possessed so happy a combination of rare talents. He was a brave and enterprising soldier, a strict disciplinarian, and a polite accomplished gentleman. At the garrison he kept up a degree of hospitality little known there till his taking the government; from fifteen to twenty covers were laid daily, and the elegance of the entertainment could only be equalled by the attention of the hospitable entertainer.

26th. In an advanced period of life, at his house in the New road, Mary-le-Bonne, Alexander Geddes, LL.D. He was a native of Scotland, and a Roman catholic; in 1786, he published

the prospectus of a new translation of the Bible; and, in the following year, a letter to the bishop of London on the subject. To this translation, although undertaken by a Roman catholic clergyman, the bishops, clergy, nobility, and gentry, most liberally subscribed. The first volume did not, perhaps, altogether answer the sanguine expectations conceived of it; the second volume was published in 1797. Previously to this, the doctor published a paraphrastic translation of select satires of Horace, a performance which quickly reached its merited obscurity. In 1786 he published a letter to a member of parliament on the case of the dissenters; and, in 1787, a letter to Dr. Priestley, on the divinity of Christ. Since that time he has furnished the world with some striking specimens of his wit and humour. In 1790, "*Epistola Macaronica ad fratrem de iis quæ gesta sunt in nupero Dissidentium conventu Londini habito prid. Id. Feb. 1790;*" "*Carmen seculare pro Gallicâ gente tyrannide aristocraticâ ereptâ;*" "*L'Avocat du Diable;*" and "*A Norfolk Tale;*" a translation of "*Ver Vert, or, the Parrot of Nevers,*" a poem from the French of Gresset; a facetious letter to bishop Douglas, who, with other Roman catholic bishops, published a pastoral letter prohibiting the use of Dr. G.'s translation of the bible; letter to the bishop of Centurio, 1794. The complete list of his works carries the number to eighteen. As he was deeply involved in controversy, and under the severest censures of the Roman church for heterodoxy, it may not be charitable to believe all the ill that is said of him



him on one side; but as the very censures to which he had subjected himself, and the democratical principles he professed, were sure, in this age, to engage in his cause a host of clamorous encomiasts, it would also be unsafe to credit all the good that is pronounced respecting him, on the other.

28th. William Jolliffe, esq. M. P. for Petersfield. His death was owing to an accident. Mr. Jolliffe had been for a long time previously employed in inspecting some improvements on his estate at Mitcham, in Surrey. Going into a field adjoining the house, where a number of labourers were digging, and not observing a pit near, he fell in, broke the spine of his back, and fractured his skull in several places. He laid a short time in that situation; but assistance being near, he was conveyed to his house, where, after languishing in extreme torture, he expired.

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M A R C H.

4th. A melancholy accident happened in the night in Perkins's-rents, Westminster. A large old house, inhabited by a number of poor families, suddenly fell in, about half past ten o'clock, with a horrible crash, which, at that still hour, was heard at a great distance. The unfortunate beings who were thus buried alive, had retired to rest, among whom were many children. The people who assembled, directed by their cries and groans, immediately set about removing the rubbish and extricating the sufferers, so that by day-light it was thought that all, or nearly so, were dug out of the ruins. Some miserably wounded,

and some dead. Among the dead is the wife of a soldier in the Guards, lately returned from Egypt, named Legget; he crept out of the ruins himself, and his wife was following him, when a beam shifted its position, fell across her neck, and killed her. In the search, her husband was the first that discovered her. An old man, a child, and two or three other persons, were taken out dead. The wounded were carried to the Westminster Infirmary. It is conjectured this disaster was occasioned by some improvements the landlord of the house was making in the lower part, and that the supports were damaged.

As six colliers were at work in a coal pit near 14th. *Chesterfield*, the inflammable air which had collected took fire, and three of them were burnt in so shocking a manner as to occasion their deaths.

*Corfu*. A few days ago 16th. a squadron of six English sail of the line arrived here. The commodore delivered to our government a letter from the Ottoman administration, in which it was declared, that our constitution, not having been accepted by the sublime Porte, was peremptorily annulled, and that the ancient government was immediately to be restored. In consequence, all the forts were immediately occupied by the English troops, and the above orders were carried into execution. Some Russian troops are also expected.

Accounts from Constantinople, dated Feb. 10, and from Brunn, dated March 9, relate increased commotions in the Turkish empire. The inhabitants of Bosnia having refused to receive the new gover-



nor, Curt Pacha, he had marched against them with an army of 30,000 men. Two engineers from Paswan Oglou directed the repairs of the fortifications of Belgrade, the approaches to which continued in possession of the Janissaries; who have refused to receive the new governor, the Pacha of Silistria.

Paswan Oglou having concluded treaties with the Pachas of Travnick and Janina, by which each of them agrees to supply him with 6 or 8000 troops, the emperor of Germany has ordered a cordon to cover his frontiers.

25th. A man of the name of Warwick, of Compton-street, went to a Mr. Davies, in Guildford-street, for 13s. 6d. which he stated to be due to him for the carriage of some goods. It seems, that the goods carried were a lady's baggage to be shipped for the West Indies, and had been only taken to the quay *that very day*. Warwick was not the person who had been hired for the purpose; but one Richardson, who (unknown to Mr. Davies) had employed Warwick. When, therefore, the latter applied for the 13s. 6d. he was told, that they had no knowledge of him, and therefore could not think of paying one who was a perfect stranger; but that if he would fetch Richardson, or an order from him, proving his claim to the portage money, it should be immediately paid. This he positively refused to do, or to go without the money; and Mr. D., having ineffectually tried to force him out, went into his back parlour for a pistol, with which he threatened to shoot him unless he went away. After W. had exhausted all his powers of abuse, and even put himself in a posture of

striking, he left, or rather was frightened, out of the house; but he still kept hold of the knocker of the door, and when the door was opened to send for a constable, he forced in again, with another man whom he called his friend, and swore he would not leave the house without the money; saying, that he was as good a gentleman as Mr. D., who he knew meant to quit his house that night and bilk him of his money; with other opprobrious language. No constable could be found; Mr. D. on attempting to push W. toward the door, finding him by much the most powerful man, and prepared for violence, went to the back parlour and again brought the pistol (from which he solemnly declared he had every reason to believe the charge had been drawn) to effect by intimidation what force was unable to perform. The pistol went off; and the ball passed through Warwick's left jaw. Mr. D.'s horror and astonishment on finding his mistake threw him into a state in which he was with great difficulty prevented from swooning. He immediately surrendered himself at Bow-street, and was committed to Clerkenwell prison.—The man has ever since been kept in Mr. D.'s house, attended by Dr. Marshal, two or three surgeons, two nurses, and every possible exertion made for his speedy recovery. Till he shall be declared out of danger, the unhappy cause of the calamity remains in confinement.

A young man working at the iron-foundry at Ro-  
therhithe, fell into the flatting  
mill, when in an instant he was  
cut into seven pieces. His head  
and bones at length stopped the  
mill, which was thought a very  
extra-

26th.



extraordinary thing, which set the men to seek into the cause of it, when they found this shocking spectacle; the remains were gathered together, and have been since interred.

29th. Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to Marquis Cornwallis, arrived this morning at nine o'clock, with the definitive treaty of peace; which was signed at Amiens, at four in the afternoon of the 27th inst. by the Plenipotentiary of his Majesty, and by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian Republick. *For particulars of the proclamation and rejoicings see Appendix.*

There are at present, in the School for the Indigent Blind, St. George's Fields, 16 male and nine female pupils, employed either in spinning flax, or in the manufacture of baskets, sash cord and clothes-lines, with a machine of a peculiar construction, expressly adapted to blind persons; at which last employment some are capable of earning from four shillings to six shillings per week. The above articles are sold at the school for the benefit of the institution.

30th. The Assistance, of 50 guns, foundered off Dunkirk. The crew were saved, with the exception of two marines, who became intoxicated, and would not leave the ship.

The long depending litigation between the creditors of Drury-lane Theatre and the proprietors was this day terminated to the satisfaction of all parties, the Lord Chancellor having made a final order, which is, that the claimants are to be paid by a nightly reservation on the profits,

after paying the current expence of that night.

*Kent assizes, Turner v. Umferrel.* The counsel who opened this cause stated, that it was an action brought by the plaintiff, a young respectable attorney, against the defendant, a stout athletic farmer, to recover damages for a most violent assault, committed in violation of the rights of hospitality. Miss James, a young lady about 18 years of age, and sister-in-law to the defendant, said she had been upon a visit to the plaintiff's father, in London, and was so pleased with her treatment, and the attention of the plaintiff, who was about the age of twenty-one, that she in return invited him down to her brother's. The young lady shewed an extreme partiality for the young lawyer, and they were never happy but in each other's company.—They were accustomed to amuse themselves by walking in the groves of Greenwich Park, and on a certain evening, after having been a long-time missed, they were found enjoying a *tete-a-tete* in one of the vaults of Sir Gregory Page Turner's decayed mansion. Another source of amusement was reading novels to each other, and upon the evening when the supposed assault was committed, the defendant was preparing to go round his grounds with a pistol in his hand, as was his custom, when he heard the plaintiff in his sister's bed-chamber reading a novel. He immediately exclaimed to his wife—"What's that girl and boy about in the bed-room—they shan't be there." And he ordered that Miss should sleep in the same room with her sister that night; and he would take



take care to keep the lawyer from her. This determination so affronted the plaintiff that he resolved upon leaving the house that instant. He went out, and Miss James followed him, and insisted upon seeing him safe over the heath to some other house. She clung round and resisted every attempt of the farmer to get her away.—The assault consisted in nothing more than the struggle, which was the consequence of her laying tight hold of the plaintiff; no blow was struck whatever; on the contrary, the defendant wished the plaintiff to come back, and sleep at his house that night. A surgeon was called, to prove that the defendant had been seized with a cold and fever, and had paid him 20*l*. He however admitted, that passing an hour or two in a damp vault was as likely as any other cause to produce such a disorder. The judge thought that the defendant had acted like a prudent man. He even intimated that he would not have, perhaps, far exceeded his authority if he had given the plaintiff a gentle horse-whipping, and had locked the young lady up for a week, upon an allowance of bread and water.—Under his lordship's direction, the jury found a verdict for the defendant.

12th.—DIED Miss Wilkes, the daughter of the celebrated John Wilkes, of political notoriety, at her house, in Grosvenor-square. She walked in the Park the day before, and dined apparently in perfect health. About twelve at night she called up her servants, and in less than an hour expired. She was much advanced in life, and for some years had been deprived of her voice. She recovered

it in some degree, but spoke in a harsh, discordant manner. Her mind had been sedulously cultivated by her father, and she was a well-bred, intelligent woman.

15th—James Morris of Eccleshall, near Darwen, aged 103.

In the village of Pontoux, Arrondissement de St. Claude, Department de Jura, aged 118 years, Claude Joseph Julien. He was born February 6, 1684, and was always of a robust constitution and lively disposition. He went to plough till within a year of his death, and to the last walked constantly without a stick. He fell ill about six weeks before his death, and, after having been ill about a fortnight, he sent for a notary to make his will; and when the notary came, Julien got out of bed, and sat by the fire-side to dictate it to him.

In Nottinghamshire, in his 106th year, T. Seals, a peasant, who to the last possessed all his mental faculties.

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## A P R I L.

*Lisbon.* General Lannies arrived here on the 26th of 1st. last month, a carriage of the court, drawn by eight horses superbly decorated, remained on the quay of the Place de Commerce, waiting for him, from noon till ten o'clock at night. Greater honours were paid him than are generally rendered to the diplomatic rank which he holds, he being only envoy and minister plenipotentiary. His wife, a second aid-du-camp, and the secretary Fitte, were with him. He had likewise carriages of the court for them. He ordered the former French chargé-des-affaires to announce to the factory that he would



would receive them on Sunday the 28th, at eleven in the morning; but that he would only receive those who should wear the national cockade, and those only should have a claim to the protection of the representation of the nation. The duc de Luxembourg, who is erased from the list of emigrants, and whose daughter is married to the duc de Cadaual, conformed to this order. On the same day he dined with General Lannies, the envoy from Holland being of the party. The prince of Luxembourg, his son, in the service of Portugal, but who has been in France these two months, is about to marry the niece and heiress of the minister Talleyrand Perigord. On the 30th, the envoy and minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, presented his letter of credence to the Prince Regent. On this occasion the palace of Caylus was new furnished, and an order was given for all *fidalgos* to attend at the presentation. Never were such pains taken to receive, in the most marked and magnificent manner, any foreign ambassador. It was at this moment of ceremony and parade, that by a *fatality* which can neither be conceived nor explained, the Portuguese gave to the English a severe mortification. On the 27th of March, the English frigate the *Active* arrived in three days from Gibraltar. From the tower of Bolem, a signal was made to her to stop her course, conformable to an ordonnance of health, which enjoins all ships coming from the Mediterranean to perform quarantine. The commandant of the frigate took the anchorage which to him appeared the best and safest.

The sailors of the barges of the *Active*, and of the *Constance*, Captain Mudge, attending their respective captains to a place called the Packet-boat Stairs, were seized by the guard of the police, without any cause being assigned, and carried to one of the subterraneans of that guard. The commandants of the two frigates, upon their return not finding their men, went to demand them, when an officer ordered his men to conduct them both to the main guard, commanded by a captain of the regiment of Lisbon, who immediately upon their arrival ordered them to be shut up in one of his apartments, exposed to the insults of the soldiers. As soon as his royal Highness the Duke of Suffex, Mr. Frere, and General Frazer, were informed of this transaction, they flew to the main guard, and assured themselves by their eyes of what they could not otherwise have believed. They immediately went to the proper authority to demand their release, but notwithstanding all their zeal and diligence, the two officers remained in an unwholesome place from eleven at night till the next day, after mid-day. The Portuguese government is disposed to give ample satisfaction, but that it equally demands it of the Captain of the *Active*. General Lannies has brought as a present for the Prince Regent, a superb set of harness, and a robe for the princess.

G. H. Barlow, Esq. was appointed by the Court of India Directors to succeed to the office of Governor General, on the death or resignation of Marquis Wellesley.

David



David Forrester, who was lately executed for the murder of Captain Pigot, of the *Hermione*, made the following shocking confession a few minutes previous to his being turned off: "That he went into the cabin, and forced Capt. Pigot overboard through the port while he was alive. He then got on the quarter-deck and found the first lieutenant begging for his life, saying he had a wife and three children depending on him for support; he took hold of him and assisted in heaving him over-board alive, and declared he did not think the people would have taken his life, had he not first taken hold of him. A cry was then heard through the ship, that Lieut. Douglas could not be found; he took a lanthorn and a candle and went into the gun-rooms and found the lieutenant under the marine officer's cabin; he called in the rest of the people, when they dragged him on deck and threw him over-board. He next caught hold of Mr. Smith, midshipman; a scuffle ensued, and finding him likely to get away, he struck him with his tomahawk, and threw him overboard. The general cry next was for putting all the officers to death, that they might not appear as evidence against them, and he seized on the captain's clerk, who was immediately put to death."

In March 1800, the ship *Elkridge Planter*, Capt. Moore (sole owner) sailed from Portsmouth to Gibraltar, with a cargo of coals from Newcastle, which produced nine thousand dollars; with that sum it was his intention to sail to Oran, on the coast of Barbary, to purchase corn, but was prevented by his English crew being impressed,

which obliged him to substitute a crew composed of Greeks, Slavonians, and Portuguese, who on the first night of leaving Gibraltar, entered the cabin while the captain was asleep, and murdered him; after which they threw him overboard, and then murdered his son, only eight years old. They then took possession of the specie, scuttled the ship, and escaped in a boat to Almeira, in Spain, where they divided the plunder and dispersed. For a length of time it was unknown what became of Capt. Moore, or the ship, until Providence brought to justice one of the criminals at Malaga, who having been condemned to suffer death, made the above confession, which was transmitted by Mr. Cornforth to Mr. Collier in London. The unfortunate father left behind him a wife with four daughters and two sons, without any means of support. The gentlemen of Lloyd's Coffee-house, opened a subscription for the relief of this family.

The Turkey Company have presented Sir Sidney Smith with the freedom of the company, and a magnificent piece of plate, in the form of a vase highly decorated, the top terminating with the figure of an alligator, and one side bearing the following inscription:—"Presented by the governor and company of merchants of England, trading into the Levant seas, to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, of his Majesty's navy, Knight of the Royal Swedish order of the Sword, as an acknowledgment for the signal services rendered to his country, by his unparalleled defence of the ancient and important town of St. Jean D'Acre, when  
with



with a small band of British seamen, co-operating with the efforts of the Turkish garrison, he enabled that feeble and ill constructed fortrefs to withstand, for the space of 69 days, the repeated and obstinate attacks of an enemy formidable from numbers and discipline, accustomed to unvarying success, and led on by Bonaparte in person, thereby totally defeating the object of that general's expedition, and finally forcing him to retreat with the loss of one third of his army."

10th. Upwards of 1000 French prisoners were on Monday morning liberated from the depôt at Norman-cross, and escorted by detachments of the East Essex Militia, and 3d. dragoon guards, to Lynn in Norfolk, from whence they are to be conveyed to Dunkirk.

A meeting was lately held of noblemen and gentlemen, chiefly of persons employed in the improvement of the national agriculture, at the house of Sir Joseph Banks, bart. in Soho-square, when it was unanimously resolved, that a colossal statue in bronze, of the late truly noble and illustrious Francis, Duke of Bedford, should be erected in the center of Russel-square; and that to give an opportunity to the whole people, to manifest their veneration and respect for his memory, the said monument should be erected by a voluntary and general subscription.

11th. This morning a fire happened at Mr. Burrege's, Bell's-Buildings, Salisbury-square, which consumed the same. Mr. Burrege's family escaped from the flames with the utmost difficulty, without injury; but Mr. Purchase

(a clerk to the commissioners of the Income), who lodged in the second floor, had no other way to avoid the fire but by leaping down from the window of his apartment into the court, by which he broke his thigh, and fractured his skull. He was carried to the hospital, with little hopes of recovery; and is since dead. Several of the neighbours having judged it necessary to remove their furniture into the square, it was immediately attacked by a great number of plundering wretches. Fortunately, however, a detachment of the East London Militia arrived about two o'clock, and put a stop to further depredations. The fire originated by a lighted candle being left in a bed-room close to the furniture.

SEDUCTION.—Sheriff's Court, Saturday, April 17—Barriff v. Hollamby, Esq. This was an action upon the case for seducing the plaintiff's daughter. The plaintiff, Mrs. Theodosia Barriff, was the widow of an officer, who had served with considerable reputation and bravery during the American war. Upon the termination of that dispute, he came over to this country with his wife, the present plaintiff, who was the daughter of a distinguished American loyalist. They took a house in the neighbourhood of Blackheath, where they lived for several years upon an annuity for their joint lives of 400l.

Mr. Barriff died about six years ago, leaving his wife and a daughter, then eleven years of age. Miss Maria Barriff was a young lady extremely well educated, and possessed of uncommon beauty and accomplishments. It happened about two years and a half ago



she went with her mother to Ascot-Heath races, where they accidentally met the defendant, who was introduced to them as the acquaintance of the friend at whose house they resided during their excursion. The defendant paid very particular attention to Miss Barriff, and professed himself a candidate for the honour of her hand in marriage. Soon after her return home with her mother, she was visited by the defendant, who declared his intention in form; and as Mrs. Barriff, upon enquiry, found his connexions were respectable, and his prospects flattering, she gave her consent to his addressing her daughter as her future husband. The courtship continued till last summer, when the day for the celebration of the nuptials was appointed. No suspicion whatever of any dishonourable design on the part of the defendant was entertained, consequently it was not thought necessary to impose any restraint with regard to the intercourse of the young couple, who were to be so soon united. They frequently went to assemblies and different public places, sometimes alone and sometimes with their mutual friends.

In the month of July last, a few months before the marriage was to have taken place, Mr. Hollamby invited Miss Barriff and her mother to accompany him with a party to Vauxhall; Mrs. Barriff excused herself on account of indisposition, but suffered her daughter to go with him.

The remainder of the case was detailed by Miss Barriff, who twice fainted during the recital. She said she accompanied the defendant in a coach as far as Westminster Bridge, where they took water

and proceeded to Vauxhall. When they had been some time in the gardens, they joined the defendant's party, consisting of several ladies and gentlemen, none of whom the witness knew. They engaged a box, and about eleven o'clock sat down to supper. There were several sorts of wine upon the table, of which the defendant pressed her to partake. In the course of the evening, several of the company became much elevated, and drank her health as Mrs. Hollamby. Her own spirits were raised by the compliment, and she was persuaded to drink a glass of champagne. She found herself shortly after indisposed, and signified her wish to return. The defendant and herself quitted the gardens, and he handed her into a carriage, and ordered the coachman to drive to Blackheath. She grew worse, and became totally insensible. When she recovered herself, she perceived she was in a bed-chamber, with the defendant near her. She was conscious of her situation, and of the outrage she had sustained. She swooned, and was a long time before she recovered. When she came to herself, the defendant endeavoured to appease her; but she insisted on returning home. The defendant told her it was impossible they could return till the morning; that her mother would not expect her; and that their marriage would take place on the day appointed. She consented to remain, on condition he quitted the room. He did so, and she threw herself on the bed in a state of distraction and despair.

The next morning she returned to her mother, and related all that had passed. It appeared the house  
she



she had been in had been hired and furnished by the defendant. He never afterwards came near her mother's house, but on the contrary, paid his addresses to a young lady of fortune in London. Mrs. Barriff waited on the father of this lady, and apprised him of the defendant's dishonourable conduct, in consequence of which he forbade his visits to his daughter. The plaintiff then brought the present action, and after a full hearing of all the circumstances, the Jury, to the great satisfaction of a crowded court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 1000*l.* damages.

19th. The Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and the Governors of the Royal Hospitals, attended divine service, as usual, at Christ-Church, where the Spital sermon was preached by the Bishop of Bristol; after which they returned to dine at the Mansion-house. The Prince of Wales, the great object of attraction, left Carlton House about half past four, accompanied by the Dukes of Clarence, Cumberland, and Cambridge, with their separate suites, attended by the Earls of Harrington, Stair, Moira, and Granard; Lords Forbes, and Petersham; the Hon. T. Erskine; Sir J. B. Warren, Sir H. Featherstone; Generals Lee and Witham; Colonels Wynyard, Spenser, Anson, Tyrwhit, M'Mahon and Dalrymple. The Prince was dressed in the uniform of Field Marshal of Artillery, in compliment to the city Artillery, of which he is colonel. He wore his diamond star and epaulette. He looked remarkably well, and in high spirits, which were, no doubt, exhilarated by the very flattering marks of respect from all ranks as

he passed through the city. Just as the procession left Carlton House, it was met by the gallant Nelson, who fell into the ranks, and proceeded to the Mansion-house under the banners of the heir apparent. Soon after three, the populace began to assemble about Temple-bar, and along the streets to the Mansion-house. The windows displayed nearly as much company as on a Lord Mayor's day. The City Marshal, on horseback, met the royal party at Temple-bar; and before they came up, a very great crowd was assembled. The Prince was received with repeated huzzas; and the populace took the horses from his carriage, and drew it to the Mansion-house. The Lord Mayor made every effort to do honour to the first visit of the Prince of Wales to the City, and to compliment the other Royal guests, and the numerous and splendid company which honoured the Mansion-house with their presence. The Egyptian-Hall, in which the company dined, was fitted up with great magnificence.

The Hon. the Lord Mayor gave up the chair to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; on whose left was placed the Duke of Clarence. After dinner the Lord-Mayor, gave as a toast, "The King," which was most cordially drunk. His Lordship then, in a neat speech, complimented the royal family, and concluded with giving "the Prince of Wales," with three times three. This toast was received with universal bursts of applause. The Prince, in a short, but elegant speech, thanked the company for the honour they had done him, and in return, gave "the Lord Mayor, and prosperity



to the city of London." A great number of other appropriate toasts were given. The company proceeded to the ball room, where the ball was opened by the Prince of Wales and Miss Eamer, who also danced afterwards with the Duke of Cumberland. The Prince of Wales retired between eleven and twelve, after bestowing the highest encomiums on the handsome reception which he had experienced.

A dispute having arisen between the Sheriffs of London and the Lord Mayor, on account of the former not having received the number of tickets usually presented to the Sheriffs for the dinner at the Mansion-house; the Sheriffs, not wishing to be thought disrespectful by the Prince of Wales, addressed a letter to his Royal Highness, by whose order Mr. Tyrwhit wrote an appropriate answer.

20th. The crew of the Ajax, of 80 guns, having a few days since received 70l. at Portsmouth, on account of a superfluous allowance of bread whilst in the Mediterranean, generously made it a present to one of the sailors, who had lost his fight in Egypt.

21st. This day circular letters were sent from Lord Hobart to the several lord lieutenants of counties, signifying his Majesty's highest approbation of the zeal, &c. of the different bodies of volunteers and associated infantry, but dispensing with their further service. The same sense is expressed of the merit of the volunteer and yeomanry cavalry, the various corps of which, inclined to continue their service, may still remain embodied.

Lord Ellenborough (late Sir Edward Law) presided 23d. for the first time in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall; when in an insurance cause, Penman and Co. v. Wheelwright, a verdict for 200l. was given for the plaintiffs.

*The King, v. Macleod.*— 24th. The defendant, Alan Macleod, stood charged with having published two libels in the Albion newspaper, of which he was the printer and publisher. The first was against the character of the Earl of Clare, late chancellor of Ireland, and the information charged, that it was written with intent to stir up evil-disposed persons to kill him, or to do him great bodily harm. The libel, after adverting to some part of that nobleman's conduct, continued, "you have been twice pelted, my lord, by an enraged mob; beware the third time — Buckingham had three warnings before he fell under the dagger of Felton; you may resemble him in more instances than one."

The attorney-general led the cause, and commented, in a very able speech, on the mischievous tendency of such libels, in the course of which he drew an animated character of the late Lord Clare, whom he described as more illustrious for virtue, patriotism, fortitude, wisdom, and learning, than from his high and exalted station. The libel was proved in the usual way, by the person who purchased a copy of the paper. Mr. Scott then went into a long defence of Mr. Macleod, in which he insisted that all he wrote was "matter of history." He commented



mented at great length upon all the cases of libel, which he insisted was a bastard slip, and not a legitimate shoot, from the laws of England, derived out of the tyranny of the Court of Star Chamber. Mr. Macleod himself also made an address to the jury, in which he disclaimed all personal animosity against the Earl of Clare, and insisted before the jury could find him guilty, the crown ought to have produced to them evidence, to prove that his intentions were such as were charged upon him by the information.

The jury however found him guilty.

He was then tried and found guilty upon the second libel, being strictures upon the Irish Martial Law Bill, which he described "as the last act in the tragedy of despotism, which no brave and generous people would ever sit out." In order to prove his statements with respect to the kingdom of Ireland, he had *subpœnaed* the Earl of Camden, the late lord lieutenant, and was proceeding to examine him on the subject, when the attorney-general interfered, and submitted to the court, that his lordship could not be examined, as it would lead to the disclosure of matters which came to his lordship's knowledge as a privy counsellor, and on this ground his examination was over-ruled.

The following term (Easter) the defendant was brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment, where he again spoke at great length. He was again remanded and brought up on a subsequent day, when he again wished to address the court; but was in-

formed he had already been heard, and by the rules of the court could not be heard again. He, however, obstinately persisted, and the court was obliged to remand him to prison. As he went out, he threatened the judges by observing that "judges had been impeached in better times."

He was again brought up this (Trinity) term, and again begged to be heard, saying he had matter to lay before them which would arrest the judgment. The court informed him, that if he had any thing to say in arrest of judgment they would patiently hear him. He accordingly again made a long speech, which was rather meant as a justification of all he had done, than applying to any matter in arrest of judgment. He was frequently reminded by the court that he wandered from his point, but the intimation had very little effect upon him. Having at length concluded, Mr. justice Grose pronounced the sentence of the court, which was, that he should be imprisoned for eighteen months in Newgate, for the first libel, to commence from the expiration of his present sentence (which is in July), and a further imprisonment of eighteen months, to commence from the expiration of his last sentence, and to find sureties for his good behaviour, for seven years, himself in 1000*l.* and two others in 200*l.* each.

Macleod has already been imprisoned for eighteen months, for a libel in the *Gazetteer* upon the character of the Prince of Wales, for which he has also stood in the pillory, and is also fined 100*l.* for a libel upon the House of Lords.



29th. Peace was proclaimed with great pomp through the cities of London and Westminster; on which happy occasion there was a general and splendid illumination, not only throughout the metropolis, but in every part of the kingdom. *For a full account of the ceremony and other circumstances, see Appendix to the Chronicle.*

The committee of the Grand Junction Canal, under the authority of an act of parliament, have lately erected, and intend to open a market, at, and adjoining to the basin of the said canal, at Paddington, for the reception and sale of hay and straw, all sorts of corn, grain, seeds, and pulse, malt, meal, flour and bran, potatoes, and other vegetables, and cattle of all sorts. The market for hay, &c. will be regularly held on Monday and Friday; the market for vegetables, on Tuesday and Saturday; and for cattle, on Thursday, in each week. Standings will be erected, as soon as possible, for the sale of meat, fowls, fish, and other provisions. It is intended that the market tolls and dues shall be as low, if not lower, than those of any other established market within the metropolis; and means will be taken to regulate the charges of the salesman, upon terms that may prove reasonable and satisfactory to the salesman, the seller, and the public at large.

The completion of the Glamorganshire Canal from Merthyr to Cardiff, has opened a ready conveyance to the vast manufactory of iron established in the mountains of that county, and many thousand tons are now annually shipped from thence. A commodious dock has

been likewise formed lately at the end of the canal, where vessels of large burthen may lie afloat, and a little below this dock, ships are admitted into what is termed a sealock, which communicates with the ocean, just within the entrance of Cardiff river. On the bank of the dock, spacious warehouses are building by the direction of the proprietors of the iron works. At Merthyr, these various operations begin to diffuse a spirit of exertion throughout the country, and will, no doubt, bring into action talents that have hitherto lain dormant; for, that the people of this part of the world have considerable genius in mechanics has been manifested heretofore on several occasions. Particular instances of this may be seen at Cyfarthva, where Mr. Watkin George has erected a wheel no less than 50 feet in diameter (to blow three furnaces) turned by a very small stream of water; and at Aberdare another extraordinary machine has been constructed, in which two wheels, each 40 feet in diameter, working like the figure of 8, increase the power of each other so much, that the water which drives the upper wheel falls down and arises in turning the lower one. The heath near this town (Cardiff) containing many hundred acres, hitherto neglected, is now about to be inclosed and cultivated. A large under-ground drain has been made to carry off the water, by which expedient the heath will be effectually changed from a morass into ground, and excellent glebe.

Accounts from Constantinople, dated the 11th ult. state, that the Beys of Egypt, who had placed themselves under the protection of the



the English, had renounced that protection, and fled to the Upper Province. This measure is stated to have been occasioned by a communication made to them by the English general, pursuant to orders from his government, that he could only protect them in their persons and property, but could not engage in any step tending to restore them to those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, and which were deemed inconsistent with the sovereignty belonging to the Porte. The Beys are said to have declared that the British were bound to procure the full restoration of their power, by a solemn engagement entered into by the Commander in Chief with them previous to the expulsion of the French. The letter adds, that the Grand Vizier, on being informed of their flight, and of their having thrown up the protection of the British, immediately sent out troops in pursuit of them, and it is said some have been seized and put to death.

One of those fires which are so common in Constantinople, lately consumed above two thousand houses in that city. It happened in a quarter of the town that was principally inhabited by merchants, and destroyed property to the amount of some millions.

The jewels of the Queen of Portugal are proposed to be pawned for about half a million of money, at an interest of eight per cent. to answer the demands of the Chief Consul of France upon the court of Lisbon.

The ship Malabar caught fire in Madras roads in August last, and blew up.

The Emperor of China lately

expended vast sums of money in the erection of a palace, as a country residence, a short distance from Peking, but it was scarcely finished, when one of the towers was set on fire by lightning, and the flames extending, the whole of this magnificent pile was reduced to ashes. The accident happened about the first hour of prayer, and the flames were not suppressed till the succeeding day. It had occasioned great alarm among the superstitious natives, who regard it as an omen of some dire calamity.

Bowles, the active and enterprising Indian chieftain, has again involved the Spaniards in hostility with the Indians, on the frontiers of East Florida. Bowles, with a party of Machasooky Town Indians, plundered different plantations on St. John's River, and destroyed an extensive settlement formed by Judge Hall at the Meranzas, to the southward of St. Augustine, and advancing within a few miles of that city, carried away several women, murdered some men, and destroyed such property as they could not remove. These measures exasperating the Spaniards, they murdered some friendly Creeks who were amongst them for the sale of furs, and thus commenced a war which has already been fatal to all the parties concerned, and threatens extensive devastations.

A most horrible transaction took place lately at Rosetta. Several unfortunate girls, natives of the country, to the number of about thirty, who had been kept by English officers and others, were, at the moment of being deserted by their lovers, murdered in cold blood by the Turks, and their



bodies thrown into the Nile. A similar act was perpetrated at Cairo, when that place was evacuated by the French, and it is feared that many wretched females at Alexandria will share the same fate on the departure of the English troops.

The following distressing occurrences lately took place at Utica, in the county of Chenango.—The wife of Mr. Herrick, a respectable farmer, far advanced in pregnancy, was employed in giving medicine to a sick cow, when the animal by a sudden motion of her head, struck one of her horns into the body of Mrs. Herrick;—the wound was of such nature, that the bowels fell from it, and the poor woman, after languishing for five days, expired, leaving five young children. A short time after, business took Mr. Herrick across the river, which fronted his house, and returning in the evening, his course had been, by some accident, removed, and the stream being deep and rapid, he was unable to regain his habitation; and it was therefore necessary that he should wait upon the bank till morning: about ten o'clock, however, he saw a volume of smoke arise from his house, which presently after became involved in flames: he heard his children's shrieks; when, regardless of the peril of the act, he plunged into the current, and reached the bank; but alas! nature was exhausted in the struggle, and he lived only to hear that his house and family had been a prey to the destructive element.

The total amount of the actual payment out of, and future charge upon, the consolidated fund, for the year ended January 5, 1802, is £.24,385,224: 10.—The na-

tional debt, on the first of February last, amounted to £.477,989,894: 6: 5½.

At a meeting of the proprietors of bank stock in Dublin, it was agreed to purchase the parliament house for a national bank; they are to pay £.40,000, and £.240 per annum.

DIED.—Dr. Erasmus Darwin. He was born at 18th. Elston, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, Dec. 12, 1731, educated at Chesterfield school under the Rev. Mr. Burrows, he went, with two of his elder brothers, to St. John's college, Cambridge, and was elected to one of lord Exeter's scholarships, worth about 16l. a year. He resided in college for twelve terms successively, with the exception of one; afterward he went to Edinburgh; and on his return resided one term more at Cambridge, and then took the degree of bachelor of physick. As a physician, he first settled at Nottingham, where he did not obtain any practice; he went afterwards to Lichfield, where he soon rose into considerable practice. In 1757, he married Miss Mary Howard, daughter of Charles H. esq. by Penelope Foley, his wife. She died in 1770. By her he had five children, two of whom died infants; soon after the death of Mrs. Darwin, he began to write the "Zoonomia," though he did not publish it till within these few years. In 1778, he obtained a lease of a picturesque spot, consisting of about eight acres, two miles from Lichfield, with a strong spring which supplies a cold-bath erected by Sir John Floyer, an eminent physician in the beginning of the last century. This place, called *the Cold Bath*,



*Bath*, became his favourite retreat and amusement, as it had been formerly that of Sir J. F. He formed a botanic garden in it; and here he began his poem on the "Loves of the Plants." In the spring of 1781, he married the widow of Col. Pole, of Radbourne, in Derbyshire. On the 10th of April he was attacked with a severe shivering fit, followed by a proportionate hot fit, and symptoms of inflammation on the lungs, a disease from which he had often suffered, but most particularly last spring; it was removed, and in two or three days he became to all appearance quite well. He sat with his family in the evening, conversing cheerfully as usual; went to bed, and got up well at six the following morning; wrote some letters till after seven, when he went to a fire to warm himself, and desired a servant to make one in his library. His chilly fit increased, and was attended with thirst; he lay down upon a sofa by the fire, but becoming more cold and torpid, he was raised up and placed in an arm-chair, when, without pain or any emotion, he expired a little before nine. His death is supposed to have been caused by the cold fit of an inflammatory fever; some considered the disease which occasioned it to have been *angina pectoris*. Dr. Darwin has left a widow, and six children by his last marriage: besides two natural daughters. During the whole of his life he was remarkable for great benevolence of disposition, and it was particularly conspicuous in the care he took even of the lowest animals. He was of a middle stature, in person gross and corpulent; his features were coarse, and his coun-

tenance heavy; if not wholly void of animation, it certainly was by no means expressive. He was in habits of incontinence, and is reported by his best friends not to have believed in revelation.

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MAY.

At the Old Bailey, 1st. Henry Cock, an attorney, of Brewer's hall, and of highly respectable connexions, was capitally convicted of having forged three papers, purporting to be letters of attorney of the late Captain W. Storey, of Chatham, for the transfer of 7,000*l.* in the 5 per cents, thereby defrauding the bank of England. The prisoner was the relative and confidential agent of the late Mr. Storey, who dying in April last left the money in question in trust to his executors Sir A. S. Hammond and others. Mr. Cock, by the forged instruments in question, sold the stock previous to April 1801, but continued to pay the interest to Captain Storey, and afterwards to his executors; he admitted he had appropriated the money, but that it had uniformly been his intention to account for it. Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Alderman Price, and other respectable persons, gave him a good character; but the offence appeared so manifest to the jury, that they pronounced him *guilty*.

At the Old Bailey, 3d. J. Townsend, esq. a native of Ireland, was indicted for forging an order for the sum of 1000*l.* purporting to be the draft of H. Cavendish, esq. with intent to defraud Messrs. Snow and Co. bankers. From the evidence of



the Marquis of Thomond, and several gentlemen of the greatest respectability, the jury were satisfied that the prisoner's mind was deranged; they consequently pronounced a verdict of acquittal.

4th. A most affecting trial took place before the sheriff of Middlesex and a special jury. It was brought by the Rev. Mr. Markham, son of the Archbishop of York, against a man of the name of Fawcett, for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife. The plaintiff had been married to his lady in the year 1789, and at the period of the discovery of her adulterous intercourse she had become the mother of nine children. The defendant was a schoolfellow of the plaintiff, who introduced him to his family as a friend. Some of the most respectable characters gave evidence to the harmony which had always subsisted between the plaintiff and his wife. The damages were laid at 20,000*l.* and the jury returned a verdict for 7,000*l.* The most afflicting part of this melancholy event is, that the adulterous intercourse had existed upwards of five years before it was discovered. The defendant has fled to the Continent.

8th. At the Old Bailey, Sarah Hickson, a very young girl, was indicted for stealing three pair of shoes from John Smith: the charge was fully substantiated; and the child in her defence said, her mother used to send her out in the streets every day to get money, and if she did not return with a certain sum, she used to beat and whip her; that on the day stated in the indictment, she had not been able to obtain the sum her mother would expect, and,

fearful of returning home, she was tempted to take the shoes from the prosecutor's shop and pawn them. The jury were induced to acquit the prisoner, under an impression that she would be taken out of her course of life, and placed under the care of the Philanthropic Society. Every endeavour has been made to discover the unnatural mother, but without effect.

*Paris.* The Spanish squadron set sail on the 5th. 1st from Brest: the conduct of the Spanish officers and crews, during their whole abode there, has been exemplary. The First Consul has ordered, as a mark of his satisfaction, that there should be made a present of a pair of pistols and a sabre to each captain in the fleet. —*Moniteur.*

The new division of parishes in the diocese of Paris is completed; there are twelve rectors, and thirty-six succursals, for the city of Paris.

A report having been 6th. circulated that the importation of English merchandise, particularly the English manufacture of China and Delf ware, would be permitted by government, the minister of the interior has formally contradicted this report, by stating that the law of October 1797, which prohibits the importation of English manufactures, is still in force. And orders have been given to the officers of the customs, not only to prevent the importation of such merchandise, but to discover whether any has been imported, in order that the law which orders it to be seized may be carried into execution.

This afternoon a great 16th. part of the Marshalsea prison fell in; fortunately for its inhabitants,



inhabitants, no lives were lost. This prison has been in a ruinous state for some years.

17th. Early in the morning the cotton-mill, at Calver, in Derbyshire, was discovered to be on fire; and, notwithstanding every exertion to extinguish the flames, in less than two hours it was entirely consumed. It is not ascertained how the accident happened, the works were minutely examined late the night before, and every thing appeared in perfect order. The loss is estimated at 20,000*l*.

18th. At a meeting held at Lloyd's coffee-house, to consider of the money raised for a statue to Mr. Pitt, it was resolved—That the money should be laid out at interest until after his demise.

19th. In the evening, her Majesty gave a splendid entertainment at Buckingham-house. In order to accommodate as many visitors as possible, the whole suite of rooms was thrown open, and displayed a scene of great splendour and taste. About half past nine the folding doors of the great saloon were thrown open for dancing. The whole of the furniture is painted by the princesses, and surpasses in beauty any thing of the kind.

20th. About four o'clock, the soldier on guard discovered a fire that had broke out at the repository in Woolwich Warren. The alarm bells were rung, and the drums beat to arms, when every effort was immediately used to stop its progress. The gates of the warren were shut, to the exclusion of the town's people, who in their officious zeal might have

produced that confusion which it was the wish of the military power to prevent. Towards five o'clock the fire raged with uncommon fury, threatening the destruction of all the adjoining buildings. When it spread nearer and nearer to the laboratory, the consequences of an explosion were so truly alarming, that, at one time, to prevent a greater evil, it was in contemplation to batter it down with cannon. The wind, however, very fortunately confined the devastation to the repository. After two hours laudable exertion on the part of the soldiers, firemen, and some of the inhabitants of the town, who were afterwards admitted, the fury of the flames began to abate, and the fire was gradually mastered in such a manner as to dispel every alarm for its farther progress. The first and chief care was to remove the bombs and mortars from the imminent danger in which they were situated. Besides the fears for the laboratory, in another building, adjoining, were about 6000 gun-carriages, and vast quantities of ammunition, in store-houses and workshops. With the exception of three mortars, which made a terrible explosion, all the articles of a dangerous nature were removed. The curious articles destroyed consisted of arms of a rare kind—Tippoo Saib's gun—Indian wall pieces—a variety of cannon—rockets—in short, almost every article used in the military art, together with every specimen of warlike weapons.

A most splendid entertainment was given at the 24th. Mansion-house, by the Lord Mayor to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the brethren of the Britannic



Britannic lodge of Freemasons. After the lodge had been opened in the Egyptian Hall, by the Prince as grand-master, attended by the greater part of its members, the company were conducted by a band of music into an adjoining apartment, where dinner was served up, consisting of the greatest delicacies of the season, and decorated with many appropriate emblems of masonry, tastefully designed, and correctly executed.

The *School for Scandal* was performed at Drury-lane theatre, for the benefit of that veteran of the stage, Mr. King. The audience was uncommonly numerous, it having been announced that he would on that night take leave of the public. Mr. King seemed to have collected his remaining powers for exertion, in order to grace his exit from a stage which he has trod with the highest reputation for the long period of *fifty-four years*\*. Between the play and the farce, Mr. King came forward, attended by Mr. Charles Kemble (who kindly officiated as his prompter, lest on so trying an occasion his memory should happen to fail him), and delivered the following

### FAREWELL ADDRESS,

Written by RICHARD CUMBERLAND, Esq.

WHILST in my heart those feelings yet survive,  
That keep respect and gratitude alive—  
Feelings which, tho' all others should decay,  
Will be the last that time can bear [away;—  
The fate that none can fly from, I invite,  
And doom my own dramatic death this night.  
Patrons farewell!

Tho' you still kindly my defects would spare, [bear?  
Constant *indulgence* who would wish to Who, that retains the sense of brighter days, [praise?  
Can sue for pardon, while he pants for  
On well-earn'd fame the mind with pride reflects,  
But Pity sinks the man whom it protects.  
Your fathers had my strength. My only claim [fame.  
Was zeal; their favour was my only  
Of late, too often, when the whole was due, [you.  
I've paid *half service* to the Muse and  
Not what I was, I now decline the field,  
And ground those arms which I but feebly wield.  
The *Poet*, nearly breathless, lame, or blind,  
Whilst the Muse visits his creative mind,  
Continues wearing his immortal wreath,  
Lives in his fame, and triumphs over death.  
But every chance that deals the passing blow,  
Lays the poor *Actor's* short-liv'd trophies low.  
That chance has come to me, that comes to all;  
My drama done, I let the curtain fall.

During the delivery Mr. King was much affected; but he struggled to conceal his agitation. His feeling was more discoverable in the low faltering tone of his voice, than in tears, a white handkerchief, fainting, or other theatrical trick. He received the most thundering applause; and as soon as he had made his bow, Mrs. Jordan came on the stage, and gracefully led him to the green-room, which he found filled with the performers, who had nobly and generously done honour to themselves by seizing on this opportunity of presenting a handsome testimonial of their esteem and regard for their retiring elder brother. Mr. Dowton, after al-

\* He first appeared at Drury-lane Oct. 19, 1748, as *Allworth*, in "*A New Way to pay Old Debts*."



lowing Mr. King a little breathing time, came up to him, to beg that he would take a cheerful draught out of a silver cup, which his brothers and sisters of the *Sock* and *Buskin* requested him to do them the favour to accept, with a falver, as a trifling token of their regard and grateful remembrance of his merit as a comedian, and his uniformly friendly conduct towards them all, during the many years that he had continued to please the public before the curtain, and endear himself to them behind it. Mr. King, in a tone that expressed his feeling, declared the deep sense that he should ever entertain of this most affectionate mark of their regard and esteem; and assured them, that, if his health permitted, he should gratify himself with the pleasure of frequently coming among them. The cup was then handed round, and all the ladies and gentlemen of the theatre drank Mr. King's health. On the cup is an inscription, signifying the cause and occasion of the present, with all the performer's names (contributors to it); and on its base is the following motto from Henry V. Act 5.

“ If he be not *fellow* with the *best King*,  
“ Thou shalt find him the *best KING* of  
*good fellows.*”

The falver was richly decorated, and had the arms of Mr. King engraven in the center.

27th. A dreadful fire broke out in the town of Bedford, which threatened, in the first instance, to consume the whole town. It began at a blacksmith's shop, but from what cause has not been discovered. It has destroyed seventy-two houses, and deprived

seven hundred persons of their homes who have lost their all. A very liberal subscription has been set on foot for the relief of the sufferers.

Mr. Pitt's birth day 28th. was celebrated with extraordinary splendour and festivity. *For a full account, see Appendix to the Chronicle.*

A fire broke out in the castle of Roseneath, Scot. 30th. land, belonging to His Grace the Duke of Argyle, which was burned to the ground.

A duel was fought in the company's garden, at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 14th March last, between Lieutenant Rae of the marines, and Mr. Bremer, purser of the *Hindustan*, when, after firing three rounds, Mr. B. received a wound in the body, of which he died the next morning. The lieutenant and his seconds are arrived at Portsmouth under arrest.

A duel was fought at nine o'clock in the morn- 31st. ing, on Rathfarnham-strand, Dublin, between Sir Richard Musgrave, and Mr. William Todd Jones. Mr. May was second to Sir Richard, and Mr. T. O'Mara was second to Mr. Jones. Having taken their ground, Sir R. was wounded on the first fire, his antagonist's ball striking him on the side of the abdomen, and passing out near the left thigh. The cause of this unfortunate affair was, Sir R. having made some animadversions on the character of Mr. Jones, in his history of the “*Irish Rebellion.*”

In a sort of supplement to that work, intitled, “*Observations on the Reply of Dr. Caulfield, a Roman Catholic Bishop, and of the* Roman



Roman Catholic Clergy of Wexford, to the misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. and on other writers who have inadvertently on the "Memoirs of the Irish Rebellions," Sir Richard had the following passage:—

"Mr. William Todd Jones is very much incensed with me for having quoted part of a letter written by him in the year 1792, to that illustrious body the united Irishmen (of which it is said he was a member) in favour of the Roman Catholics. From some part of Wales, where he resides, he published a furious tirade of abuse against me, which has been circulated with malignant sedulity by his good friends, the united Irishmen. In framing it he seems to have extracted from the Billingsgate vocabulary a number of opprobrious epithets and appellations, which those who know me must be convinced are no more attached to my character than the scurrilous railings of a drunken fishwoman to an unknown passenger. I will not degrade myself by attempting to answer so contemptible a production. I shall only observe, that any thing coming from the pen of Mr. Jones can no more wound my feelings than it can injure my character; and, though I am not an adept at scolding, I dread his pen as little as I do his sword."

On Sunday, May 23, Counsellors O'Brien and O'Dwyer, waited upon Sir Richard Musgrave, and delivered to him the following written message:

"Sir Richard, Mr. Todd Jones considers your mention of his sword in your late publication, joined to your other expressions, as a direct

call upon him, and he desires you will please to appoint time and place for a meeting."

Sir Richard Musgrave then almost immediately signed the following paper, as previously drawn up:

"I am sorry for having imputed any unworthy motives to Wm. Todd Jones, Esq. and I retract every expression tending to wound his feelings."

"RICHARD MUSGRAVE."

Signed in presence of Us,

May 23, 1802,

MORGAN JOHN O'DWYER,  
DENNIS O'BRIEN, jun.

"The above transaction is to be published by Sir Richard Musgrave's consent, in the British and Irish Newspapers, and in the *Moniteur* of Paris; and a copy of Sir Richard's retraction is to be printed by himself, in nine days from the date hereof, in the new edition of his work now going to press.

"Promised in presence of us,

"MORGAN J. O'DWYER,

"DENNIS O'BRIEN."

The account adds, that Sir Richard Musgrave, conceiving his character had suffered by his retraction, wished to withdraw it. The duel was the consequence.

A splendid Gala was given by the Union Club, in Pall Mall, in honour of the peace; and it is admitted, that every idea which was previously formed of this grand and novel exhibition fell far short of reality.—The demand for tickets had been excessive, and the anxiety of the fashionable world to arrive in time was so great, that every avenue to Cumberland-house was completely blocked up before midnight.—By one o'clock the house



house was completely filled, and a more varied or more splendid assembly it is not easy for the imagination to conceive. All that the inventive taste of luxury could devise was combined in the dresses and metamorphoses of the company. The decorations were profuse in the extreme; and as the exclusion of dominos gave scope for the display of a variety of characters, the whole was the most motley group ever remembered. The grand saloon being filled with company, there was no opportunity for dancing, nor did the visitors seem inclined to partake of that amusement. The terrace adjoining the saloon, at the back of the house, was illuminated with painted gauze lanterns, hanging from a shrubbery, planted on each side of the walk. The effect was charming, and universally admired. The long walk from the house to the Park was illuminated in the same manner, and would have afforded a delightful promenade, had not the weather been cold. The walk was planted on each side with fruit trees in full bearing, and flowers of every description.—The billiard room was appropriated to the use of the Prince of Wales and his friends. The tables were here laid with a brilliancy that excited universal admiration. The wreaths of flowers, the elegance of the frame-work, and the festoon ornaments were unparalleled. On the principal table was a beautiful *water piece*, the centre of which was occupied by *Neptune* in his car, surrounded by Naiads, trophies, and other naval devices, and in the parterre were complimentary trophies to his Royal

Highness, with allegorical designs. The canopy erected for the Prince evinced a magnificence suited to the rank of the Royal Visitor. The ground was of crimson satin, and the effect was greatly heightened by superb fringe, and trimmings of gold and silver.—The supper-rooms above stairs were also comparatively splendid. The tables contained frame-work, down the middle, beautifully painted in a variety of colours, and ornamented with trophies and small statues of the most exquisite workmanship. Over the tables were arches, hung with silver gauze in festoons. In the large card-room there were two tables 41 feet in length, both superbly ornamented. The supper-room of the club contained two tables 23 feet each, on which were two sets of ornaments, in the Arabesque style, very superb; in the centre of one, in an ornamented vase, were introduced live gold fish.—When the time of supper approached, a great scene of confusion occurred. The company were obliged to ascend to the upper rooms by a narrow staircase, where hundreds were wedged in for the space of two hours. The rooms had been filled in a few seconds, and the company pressing from below, prevented those who had ascended from returning. With respect to the supper, it is only necessary to say that it consisted of every delicacy which art and nature could afford. The principal character of the evening was the Prince of Wales, as King Henry VIII. in a very superb dress, and a cap surrounded with diamonds. Several accidents happened in Pall Mall; some coaches were overturned, and others dashed to pieces; but



but no lives were lost. We understand that upwards of 1200 persons got admission by means of forged tickets.

The net produce of the income-tax last year was 5,710,572l. 13s. 6d. of which 1,175,836l. 16s. 1d. arose from trade. The charges of collection were 162,825l. The deductions for children amounted to 371,040l. 17s. 3½d. The number of assessments was 320,759, and of these, upwards of one-sixth part, viz. 54,321, were upon incomes from 60l. to 65l. a year.—Of incomes from 200l. to 500l. per annum, the assessments were 42,694.—From 2000l. to 5000l. the number was 3657, and those which returned above 5000l. per annum 1020.—The total aggregate of income brought under the operation of the tax was 80,217,215l. 3s. 9¼d.—The county of Durham paid on incomes below 200l. per annum, 7914l. 5s. 1cd.—on those above 200l. per annum, 36,145l. 5s. 9d.—total, 44,059l. 11s. 7d.—Northumberland, below 200l. per annum, 9880l. 7s. 4½d.—above 200l. per annum, 66,347l. 2s. 0½d.—total, 76,227l. 9s. 5d.—Cumberland paid in the whole 21,950l. 12s. 8¾d.—The City of London, exclusive of Westminster and the Borough of Southwark, paid on incomes below 200l. per annum, 29,557l. 18s. 11d.—and on those above 200l. per annum, the enormous sum of 1,084,496l. 9s. 5¼d.—total, 1,114,054l. 8s. 4½d. being more than three times the amount paid by all Scotland, which was about 344,015l. 10s. 10¼d.—Yorkshire paid 311,008l. 18s. 6½d.

The following is an account of the commerce of this country for the last year:—Exports in colonial-

produce, 21,921,000l.—British manufactures, 24,000,000l.—Foreign merchandize, 17,000,000l.—Number of ships employed, 18,898—seamen, 143,000.

It appears, from the annual report of the Society for the Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts, that in the course of the last year, 1125 debtors have been liberated from different gaols in the kingdom; amongst these were 13 from Kingston-upon-Hull, 1 from Halifax, 1 from Ouse-bridge-gaol, York, 8 from York castle, 15 from Appleby, Cumberland, 14 from Carlisle, 2 from Durham, 15 from Lancaster-castle, 6 from Rothwell, near Leeds, 3 from Richmond, and 1 from Morpeth, in Northumberland.

Near Hillingley in Suffex, William Reed, a youth aged about fifteen, while employed in driving a plough-team, incautiously ate part of the root of a plant turned up by the plough, and brought thither with a quantity of mould, collected from cleaning out the moat which surrounded Horse-lunges-house; in botany, it is named *cenanthe crocata*, and commonly called hemlock dropwort, or dead tongue. In three quarters of an hour after having eaten the root, he was seized with dizziness, sickness, locked-jaw, and a violent convulsive constriction of the muscles of the throat, and all the other symptoms usually produced by poison, and notwithstanding various efforts to give him medical relief, he died in four hours, in most agonizing contorsions. Another boy who partook of the same root was attacked, at the same time, with the like symptoms, but was relieved from its deadly effects,



effects, by a strong emetic, consisting of large and powerful doses of white vitriol, from fifteen to twenty grains, and repeated in smaller quantities, the active operation of which is more expeditious than any other remedy. Acids he took also, to decompose the noxious matter, but afterwards combined with alkali in the act of effervescence, to excite a fresh action on his stomach. Hemlock is a species of vegetable poison, which does not destroy life, by producing inflammation or other caustic effects on the coats of the stomach (as mineral poisons do) but kills by its effects on the nerves, and consequently on the vital energies of the system.

The Paris papers have given copies of the letters which passed between the French Generals Reynier, Destin, and Menou, on the subject of Egypt, and which led to the unfortunate duel between the two first-mentioned officers. The points of this correspondence are briefly as follow: General Reynier having, in his work on Egypt, lately published, accused Destin of retiring from the field in consequence of a very slight wound, the latter sent him a challenge. The letter of the former, in answer to Destin, contained this remarkable passage: "General Reynier ought to fight no man but General Menou, on the subject of the affairs of Egypt. As a General he ought to refuse that honour to a contemptible fellow, but as a private individual he will be at the Gate Chaillot of the Bois de Boulogne, at seven o'clock in the morning." The result was, that they met, and Destin was killed. Reynier then sent a very

violent letter to Menou, in which he accuses him of mental derangement, in yielding to the artifices of an *intrigant*, and ensuring unmerited success to the English. In the course of this letter he says, "A simple narrative of events, and of your conduct, is enough to load you with infamy; and should your name go down to posterity, it will be classed with those whose memory historians have preserved, in order to contrast their character with the talents and the virtues of the great men, who have sometimes betrayed the same indulgence which Bonaparte has been pleased to bestow on you." After accusing Menou of ingratitude, he concludes with the following violent declaration: "Should you continue to vegetate under the infamy to which public opinion must consign you, I will cease to notice the remains of a life sullied by so many acts of perfidy and baseness; but should you again, by dint of intrigues, succeed in puffing yourself into notice, be assured you shall not be able to avoid me, even should you be dastard enough to solicit an order for our separation." In consequence of this letter, as more bloodshed was to be apprehended, Reynier has been ordered to retire to the distance of thirty leagues from the capital.

DIED.—At Guernsey, aged 40, Serjeant Samuel Macdonald, well known by the appellation of "Big Sam." He was a native of the county of Sutherland, in Scotland; and during part of the American war, served in the Fencible Corps raised there; he was afterwards flugel-man to the Royals, and continued in this situation till the year 1791. At that time, his extraordinary



extraordinary stature and obliging disposition procured him a recommendation to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with whom he lived as lodge-porter at Carleton-house till 1793. He was then appointed serjeant in the Sutherland Fencibles; but, on account of his prodigious height, which made the rest of the corps, though the stout men, look like so many dwarfs, he was chiefly employed in the recruiting service; he, however, continued with them after they were formed into the 93d, until the day of his death. He measured six feet ten inches high, four feet round the chest, extremely strong-built and muscular, but yet proportionable, unless his legs might be thought even too large for the load they had to bear. His strength was prodigious; but such was his pacific disposition, that he was never known to exert it improperly. He always displayed a degree of manly pride, and, notwithstanding very considerable offers were made to him, upon condition that he should allow himself to be exhibited as a show, he spurned at what he thought the hire of degradation. Once, and only once, he was prevailed upon to make a public appearance; nor was this obtained from him by less authority than that of His Royal Highness, whose servant he then was. This took place at the Opera-house, in the Haymarket, then occupied by the Drury-lane Company, where Sam appeared in the appropriate character of Hercules in Cymon and Iphigenia. His death was occasioned by a collection of water in the thorax, an insidious and almost incurable disease, to which the robust are more particularly liable.

It is sometimes the consequence of excessive bleeding in plurisies, and other complaints that affect the breast, but its origin is not unfrequently quite obscure. It generally lurks under the mask of an asthma, and continues increasing, till at length the patient can hardly breathe, unless upright in bed. At length a fit of coughing terminates the tragedy, though very often sudden exertion cuts the sufferer off at once, before the quantity of water would otherwise have occasioned suffocation. Sam continued healthy and active till his 35th year; his health then began to decline, and it is by no means improbable that this was the first formation of the disease which finally terminated his existence.

Aged 100, the widow Palmer, of St. Martin's, Stamford Baron. Her brother and sister died this year; the former aged 75, and the latter aged 87. Two other brothers also within these three years, the one 95, the other 77. Their father attained the age of 103; and the surviving brother is 88 years of age.

Lately, at Rosenburg, in Silesia, at the great age of 115, a widow woman, named Marianne Stanzy. She was born at Suly, in 1686: in 1711 she married a farmer, whose name she bore, and who died in 1776; from this union, which lasted sixty-five years, she had three sons and five daughters, who brought sixty-eight grand children, fifty-three great grand children, and two children of the fourth generation. She retained her hearing and sight to the last, was never ill in the course of her life, and expired like a flame which has no more aliment to support it.

JUNE.



J U N E.

2d. The gentlemen of Boodle's Club gave a grand entertainment at Ranelagh; and though it was not equal in point of splendour to that of the Union Club, yet of the two it was preferable, as there was more space, and consequently better accommodation for the numerous company which attended. At ten o'clock the lottery began drawing as the ladies presented their tickets. All prizes and no blanks. The prizes consisted of shawls, parasols, handkerchiefs, quizzing glasses, &c. and the drawing occasioned great mirth. The miniature opera performances began about eleven. The ball began about half-past eleven, and about thirty couple danced. The prince entered alone at half-past eleven, dressed in scarlet regimentals, the uniform of a field marshal; and Sir Willoughby Aston immediately attended his highness round the room. The Duke of Cumberland entered arm in arm with Sir Sidney Smith. Some persons came in masks, but they were refused admittance. The business was well conducted by several gentlemen of the club; and the supper consisted of every variety.

On the motion of Admiral Berkeley, and seconded by Sir Henry Mildmay, the House of Commons voted 10,000*l.* to Dr. Jenner for his very important discovery of the vaccine inoculation, by which mode the dreadful malady the small-pox was prevented. 1200*l.* were voted, at the same time, to Mr. Henry Greathead, for his ingenious invention of the life boat.

3d. About two this afternoon, a tremendous fire broke out at a warehouse in Great Alie-street,

Goodman's-fields, supposed to be occasioned by a candle being left burning near some straw, while the labourers were gone to their dinner. Several of the disbanded Tower Hamlet Militia attended, with an officer, to clear the place of improper persons. The flames were nearly subdued by five o'clock, without spreading any farther; but the damage sustained is very great. This was "the old play-house, first founded by one Odel 1728, rebuilt in an expensive manner, by Giffard 1737, but suppressed by the excellent act for licensing places of dramatic entertainment. It was supported a few years by an evasion; during which time Mr. Garrick entered himself of the company, and drew a crowd of nobility and gentry, whose carriages filled the whole space from Temple-bar to Whitechapel."—Penant's London, page 250. After it fell into disuse, it was converted into warehouses, and was filled with cotton when it was thus completely destroyed.

About noon, a most tremendous fire suddenly broke 7th. out amongst the rags in one of the upper-rooms of the paper-mill at Swanton, Norfolk, and raged with such extreme violence, that great part of the building, with a very large stock of paper, was, in less than two hours, burnt down to the water's edge. The conflagration was so rapid, that, notwithstanding the great exertions of the workmen and inhabitants of the neighbourhood, it was impossible to extinguish the flames. The damage is estimated at upwards of 4000*l.*; about half of which is insured. A barn and cottage, at about 300 yards distance from the mill, caught



caught fire from the flames; but, being instantly discovered, no damage ensued to them.

8th. A party of gypsies were brought up to the Public-Office, Bow-street, charged with kidnapping a female child, named Mary Kellen. It appeared that on Friday last this child, in a most wretched state, applied to some persons at South End, near Lewisham, for relief; and said she had just made her escape from some gypsies, who had stolen her from her friends at Plymouth. On being interrogated, she asserted, that she was the daughter of Captain K. of the marines; that she was stolen about seven months ago, and that, after having been stripped of her cloaths, and dressed in a filthy garb, she was forced to wander with the gang, who treated her with the greatest cruelty. She also stated, that they lately entrapped a little boy, whom they treated in a similar manner. The gypsies admitted that she had been with them; but, instead of six or seven months, as she said, declared that she had only come to them about ten days ago, and then by her own request, one of the women meeting with her on Kennington Common apparently in the greatest distress, and she begging to be received among them. This assertion was positively denied by the child; and the vagrants were committed to the house of correction till the matter could be investigated. The consequence of further enquiry has been to prove, that the statement of Mary Kellen, respecting her being kidnapped by gypsies, was a complete fabrication. The girl ran away from the Rotherhithe poor house, and offered to go with these gypsies who met

her at Kennington. She did not appear much disconcerted at being detected in her combination of falsehood; the magistrate committed her to the house of correction, and dismissed the gypsies, for whom a handsome collection was made in the office.

*Naples.* Charles Emanuel the IVth. King of Sardinia, 9th. having by an instrument, dated at Rome, the fourth of this month, resigned his crown and dominions in favour of his brother the Duke de Aost, his Royal Highness has acceded to the crown, under the name of Victor Emanuel.

Carey v. Kearsley.— 11th. This was an action for copying and pirating the book of the plaintiff, called "Carey's Itinerary," by a publication of the defendant, called "The Traveller's Companion," &c. It appeared in the course of examination of the two publications, that the defendant's book contained much of the matter which before was to be found in no other publication than the plaintiff's book, and therefore was taken from it, but that not a page of it was selected in which the copy was not accompanied by substantive matter that was original, and the whole arrangement of the defendant's book was different from that of the plaintiff; indeed, they were both taken from the book of Patterson's roads. Lord Ellenborough was of opinion, that upon this issue the plaintiff had not made out his case, for that there was no evidence that the defendant's book was a piratical publication, or copy of the plaintiff's book; and this, his lordship said, he was prepared to submit as his opinion to the jury. The plaintiff's counsel observed,



served, that the main object of the action was, to protect Mr. Carey in his exclusive right of publication of his own book ; and as this was deemed not to be a copy of it, that right remained entire, the plaintiff's anxiety was at an end. Lord E. said, that, certainly this cause did not touch the plaintiff's right to the publication of his book ; that right remained in the same situation as it stood in before this action was brought. Plaintiff nonsuited.

*Memel.* Royal interview between the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia. In the forenoon of the 9th inst. his Majesty of Prussia, after the review, accompanied by her Majesty, visited the apartments designed for the Emperor of Russia. The town had two triumphal arches erected ; one before the gate of Lieban, the other at the end of Linden-street. On the 10th his imperial Majesty arrived, under the name of a " Comte de Russie," at Polangen, the last frontier town of Russia, three German miles hence, where he was received by Comte Kaikruth, General of Cavalry, who accompanied his majesty to the entrance of this town, on the way from Polangen to Bommels, half a mile off, where the royal state coach, with eight horses, was ready to receive him ; he was accompanied by several picquets of hussars, placed there for the purpose, and thence to the town by a squadron of dragoons, and by the merchants' guard of this place. His majesty did not accept the state-coach, but remained in his chariot, attended only by an adjutant. His imperial Majesty had put on the insignia of the Order of the Black Eagle. He

was saluted from the camp with 100 guns. His majesty the king, ornamented with the Russian Order of St. Andrew, rode in the meantime, on horseback, about a quarter of a mile from the town. On perceiving the emperor's chariot, his majesty dismounted, as did the emperor likewise, and the two illustrious personages welcomed and embraced each other. The Emperor then mounted one of the king's led horses, and the two monarchs rode side by side, followed by their united suites, all on horseback, into the town. Before the house of Mr. Lorck, where the king and queen were lodged, her Majesty the queen came to meet the illustrious guest, and surprised him with an embrace, which the emperor returned by pressing her majesty's hand to his lips. He remained to dinner with their majesties ; and about four o'clock, accompanied by the royal princes, went to his apartments at the merchant Glagon's, in Linden-street. Before entering, his imperial majesty passed twice before the guard of 172 men and four officers, and inspected the grenadiers with visible satisfaction. He then presented Major Von Bulow with a gold snuff-box, set in pearls, and each of the officers commanding the guard with a gold one, and each private with a ducat. His imperial majesty passed the evening also with their majesties, the bands of three regiments performing Turkish music before the house all the time. On Friday morning he was present at the review, dined again with the king, and afterwards both, accompanied by the queen, who rode between them, all three on horseback, took a ride to the camp, and through a



great part of the town. This morning early the troops were again exercised, to the great satisfaction of their Majesties. To please the queen, the emperor had ordered 20 cossacks, commanded by Col. Platon, and three officers from Polangen, to the camp, where they went through the manœuvres peculiar to them, in riding and fighting with great dexterity. The king presented the commander with a brilliant ring and gold snuff-box, each of the officers a gold snuff-box, and each cossack four Frederics d'or. To-day their majesties again dined together, and numerous instances of politeness and condescension occurred.

16th. The departure of his majesty the Emperor of Russia was at first appointed for the 15th instant; it did not, however, take place till to-day, when, between ten and eleven o'clock, he set out on his return, under the discharge of 100 pieces of cannon, with the same retinue and in the same order as he arrived. About noon the King and Queen of Prussia likewise left this city, amidst the acclamations of the populace, and proceeded to Tilse, whence they will go, by the way of Trakehnen and Rastenburg, to Jerutten. The following anecdote is told of the Emperor and the King of Prussia:—The two monarchs were walking in the port when an English vessel arrived there, the captain of which did not know that their majesties were in that town. The English captain wore a Russian Order. The emperor asked him how he had obtained it? He replied that it was at Ancona. The King of Prussia then told the captain, that he was speaking to the Emperor of Russia. The

officer was considerably disconcerted at this information; but when the Emperor added, that the personage who was with him was the King of Prussia, he recovered his natural ease, and left them, saying, “Gentlemen, I am not to be *made a fool of*, I assure you.”

A masked prisoner of state, lately embarked at Cadiz, was, it is now reported, the unfortunate Don Urquijo. This nobleman resided for a considerable time in England, as ambassador from the Court of Madrid. His offence is said to have been an attempt to abridge the power of the inquisition. He is to be transported to one of the Philippine islands, there to remain in close confinement for life. A number of his friends have also become victims to their zealous co-operation with him in promoting the cause of humanity. Among these is the learned Jovellanus, who, it appears, had expressed his sentiments with too much freedom, in a memorial, which he drew up at the express request of the government, on the best means for meliorating the internal organization of the Spanish monarchy.

Letters from Madrid, of the 15th of May, state, that the city of Lorea, situated in the kingdom of Mercia, experienced on the 30th of April a dreadful disaster. The reservoir, which is of several leagues extent, and served to water the surrounding countries, suddenly burst, and inundated a space of more than 20 leagues, as also a part of the city. Five hundred houses have been destroyed. Above 1000 persons have lost their lives, and a great number of beasts have been drowned.

D. Michaels went to Newgate



to see his brother, who is under sentence of death for uttering counterfeit silver; and, while in the act of presenting him half a guinea, the villain in confinement ripped open his belly with a knife. He was immediately confined to his cell, and his brother was taken to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

A letter from Roseau, inserted in the Barbadoes Mercury of April 24, relates the dreadful circumstances of a revolt at Dominica. This letter is dated April 14. On the 9th, the 8th West India Regiment, composed of blacks, mutinied, and in a most barbarous manner put to death Capt. Cameron, Lieut. Mackay, Lieut. Wasteneys, Commissary Laing, and Quarter and Barrack-Master-Sergeant M'Key, Clerk of the Cheque Barron, and Quarter-Master-Sergeant Young, were both wounded; the former dangerously. His excellency the Hon. A. Cochrane Johnstone, who is colonel of 8th West India regiment, and governor of the island of Dominica, immediately collected all the troops, militia, and other European forces he could muster, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, where the black regiment was stationed, and where they had committed the atrocities above recited. Fortunately some ships of war were in the bay, the marines of which were landed, and assisted in the reduction of the mutineers. The governor found them drawn up in their usual place of parade, with two of their officers, whom they had spared, in the front. They refused to obey the governor's order to ground their arms, and were immediately fired upon with such effect, that those who did not fall attempted to save themselves by flying to the hills.

The disposition, however, made by the governor of his force, frustrated their designs, and the whole were exterminated, excepting about 130, who were secured, and sent as prisoners on board the ships of war. Lieutenants Mackay and Wasteneys appeared to have been peculiar objects of their rage. Lieut. Wasteneys's fate was truly lamentable. These barbarians having stripped him, fastened him to a tree, pricked him with their bayonets, and mutilated him in a most shocking manner; even retarding that death which would have been a boon, as terminating his sufferings; and the dead body of Lieut. Mackay, the first victim of their wrath, they equally insulted, by dragging it about the post in a manner too horrid to relate. The following is the account of the loss sustained by his majesty's troops:—68th regiment, 3 men killed, 15 wounded.—Two marines of the Magnificent badly wounded.—Militia, 1 man killed, 6 wounded.—One volunteer sailor badly wounded. The loss of the 8th West-India regiment is stated to be, at the least, 100 killed and wounded.

A rebellion against the Emperor of Morocco lately broke out, and the insurgents were headed by the emperor's nephew, who has however, been defeated with great loss, as appears by the following letter from Tangiers, dated May 19. "We have this day received intelligence of an action having taken place between the Emperor of Morocco and his nephew, in which the latter has been completely defeated with great loss; it is already known that there are 8000 killed, 2400 taken prisoners, besides an immense number of wounded. The emperor



speaks in the highest terms of the very great assistance he received from an officer who arrived at the camp the night before the action, and requested the emperor to accept his services. He had the command of a squadron of horse, and contributed in a great measure to the defeat of the enemy. It is expected that this week will put an end to the the war, as ambassadors are now going from the emperor in answer to terms proposed by the nephew. The officer who distinguished himself so much belongs to the City of London Light Horse, and was deputed, from some of the principal merchants in that city, to procure the release of two ships detained by the Emperor of Morocco. In consequence of his great services on this occasion, the emperor has lent a favourable ear to the object of his mission, and conferred some distinguished honours upon him."

A letter from Genoa says, that place is nearly blockaded by brigands. Their chief, who, with some reason, has been called the *Devil*, has established his headquarters at Capenardo, from whence his myrmidons make excursions for the purpose of levying contributions upon travellers. Some time since they robbed an English merchant, named Lidven, of two bales of merchandize, shortly after which the merchant received a letter from the chief of the banditti, offering the goods to him for 2500 livres. "We promise *upon our honour*," say the brigands, "to transmit Lidven's goods, so that he may transport them to Genoa. If he wants an opportunity of so doing, we engage to transport them ourselves. Nay, more; we will give

him all the necessary passports and cards of safety, in order that he may not be incommoded by our patrols: and, if he desires it, we will give him a guard of safety unto the first post occupied by Ligurian soldiers. Done at our residence at Capenardo, the 26th of April, 1802, in the third year of our Government. (Signed) "JOSEPH MUSSO.

General, furnished the Devil."

In the early part of May, Capt. Pico marched at the head of a body of troops to attack this Devil. He had 100 grenadiers under his orders. May 22. The famous Musso, chief of the brigands, better known by the name of *The Devil*, has quitted his head-quarters at Capenardo, about three leagues from that city, and established himself in the highest mountains of the Appenines, where he is acquainted with all the roads. Having a desire to treat with our government as between power and power, he has made a proposition in writing, the purport of which is, that 6000 livres shall be paid to himself, and 3000 to each of his comrades; and he promises, that they will henceforth live in the world as honest men, if the government will grant them a complete amnesty. This proposition has not been answered.

*Eton Montem*.—This triennial ceremony took place on 18th. Tuesday. Their Majesties and the Princesses attended at eleven o'clock, and gave their usual donation to the salt-bearers, after which the procession moved to Salt Hill, where an elegant dinner was provided for gentlemen. A great portion of *salt* was collected; every person who entered Windsor on Tuesday, being obliged to contribute to the box.

Robertson



Robertson v. Badcock.

19th. — The plaintiff is Miss Robertson of Blackheath, and this lady has published her life. It is needless to say any more respecting her, but refer our readers to it. The defendant is a bookseller in Paternoster-row, who solicited as a favour that Miss Robertson would employ him as her publisher, which she did, and this action was brought for the recovery of the profits of two pamphlets that passed through his hands. The contract made in November last was, that the defendant should employ a printer, whom he was to pay out of the profits, and take the rest on sale, or return to account for the end of January following. Miss Robertson had several interviews with the defendant, who seemed much pleased with his engagement. When the time was expired. Miss Robertson made application for a settlement, which the defendant evaded. In February following Miss Robertson sent for 100 of the pamphlets; the defendant could not produce any, and sent her servant to another bookseller for some, when only twenty could be procured. This proof of their being sold induced Miss Robertson to ask a friend to call with the bill, and urge a settlement. The defendant then admitted the account to be just. Some days after he called upon Miss Robertson with his account, and offered her 11. 8s. and said that balanced the account. This she refused to take, and requested the account might be left for inspection; on which he crushed it up, and put it into his pocket, went out saying, he would have no more to do with it. Miss Robertson's attorney then applied for the money, and had several interviews with the

defendant, who acknowledged he was indebted to Miss Robertson; but wished her solicitor not to proceed in the business, and offered him a few guineas, which was refused. The action was then brought, and proceeded on with a laudable expedition by the plaintiff's attorney. The above facts, as stated by counsel, as well as the contract between the parties, were proved in evidence. The defence set up by the defendant was, that the plaintiff being Miss Robertson, of Blackheath, whom all the world knew by public report, the mere mention of her name was sufficient to entitle him to a verdict, and the counsel addressed the jury to that effect. This produced a very able and spirited reply from Mr. Sergeant Cockell, who said he was sorry to hear it insinuated in a court of justice, that because a lady had unfortunately been involved in difficulties and distress, she had no right to sue a person for a legal debt. Such a defence he reprobated, and he was sure his noble and learned brother on the bench would do the same. There never was, he said, any thing more clear than that Miss Robertson had proved her property in the work in question; and was he to be told in a free country, that she should have no redress for the wrong she suffered; that she was not entitled to recover her property, because she had contracted debts for which she was now in confinement. Another part of the defence was, that a partnership existed between the plaintiff and Miss Sharp, and that therefore she could not sue singly. This, however, was not proved; but, on the contrary, it appeared, that the partnership had been dissolved since



Midsummer 1800; and that this was a distinct concern of Miss Robertson's. Lord Alvanley, in his able and impartial charge to the jury, said, from the evidence before him, he saw nothing to warrant the insinuations thrown out by the defendant's counsel; but on the contrary, it appeared to him that Miss Robertson had acted in the business of this suit with great fairness. The jury after deliberating about twenty minutes, found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 62l. 4s. 6d.

The most tremendous storm came on at Melton Mowbray, that has ever been remembered, attended with a whirlwind and water spout from the S. W. Many buildings were stripped of their roofs; trees were torn up by the roots; and the rain descended in such torrents as to deluge the lower floors of the houses. The lightning killed a bullock, but no person received any serious injury.

26th. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by several of his Majesty's ministers, the governor and deputy governor of the Bank of England, and many other persons of distinction, went in procession to the site for the London Docks, where the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Hawkesbury, Sir Richard Neave, Bart. chairman, and Edward Forster, Esq. deputy chairman, laid the first stone, in which were placed two bottles, containing the gold and silver coins, and some of the medals of the present reign, and over them a plate of pewter, with the following inscription:—

## THIS STONE

Was laid on Saturday, the 26th day of June,  
Ann. Dom. 1802.

In the foundation of the entrance basin  
of the

## LONDON DOCKS

Undertaken by private subscriptions  
for the

Greater accommodation and security  
of

SHIPPING, COMMERCE, and REVENUE,  
within the

PORT of LONDON,  
and

Pursuant to an act passed on the  
20th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1800,  
In the 40th year of the Reign of Geo. III.

This day his Majesty 28th.  
went, in the usual state, to  
the House of Peers; where, in a  
short but excellent speech he was  
pleased to prorogue the Parlia-  
ment.

An elegant afternoon breakfast was given at Ranelagh by the directors of the *Pic Nic* Society, of which about 2000 persons of the first distinction partook. About five o'clock, Mr. Garnerin, the celebrated aëronaut, accompanied by Capt. Sowden, of the navy, ascended in his balloon. Its ascent was, in the first instance, very gradual, in order that all possible gratification might be afforded to the crowd of spectators. Having evinced his skill in the management of his stupendous vehicle by manœuvring for a few minutes immediately over the gardens, M. Garnerin took his leave of the company, and saluting them with a flag which he held in his hand, proceeded in a North-Eastern direction over the town, at so moderate a height, as to be distinctly observed in every part of the metropolis. The atmosphere being exceedingly clouded and heavy, he was under the necessity of part-  
ing



ing with the greater part of his ballast to enable him to ascend to the desired height. This, however, in a very short time he effected. The balloon was about 30 feet in diameter, and about 45 in height; the car, about six feet by four, and about two feet and a half in depth, with a seat at each end, and a space between for ballast, hung from the extremity of the netting with which the balloon was covered, at a distance of nearly eight feet, suspended by no more than four cords. The figure and proportions of the balloon were grand and beautiful; its colours alternate sections of dark green and yellow, diversified by the netting. At their first ascent Capt. Sowden was seated; but M. Garnerin, for what reason is not known, desired him to rise, or the consequences might be fatal to him. Near the gardens, every window, every house-top, every tree, was filled; Chelsea gardens were crowded; the river was covered with boats; while the banks on both sides, and every avenue from them towards Ranelagh, was so thronged, it was difficult to find a passage through them. The balloon took its direction toward Westminster, passing over Duke-street, whence it kept its line, between the river, and the Strand, Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, and St. Paul's Church-yard, &c. No balloon that ever before went up took a course so directly over London (from West to East) as M. Garnerin's did. It passed over Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, and could be distinctly seen above every street. Every house and shop was totally deserted; every soul flocked into the

street as if there had been an earthquake.

Capt. Sowden's narrative of this truly extraordinary journey is given for its curiosity.—“As numberless questions have been put to me, respecting the sensations I experienced while in the upper regions, I think it a duty incumbent on me to inform the publick, and to set them right as to the erroneous ideas they have of an ærostatic voyage. On our first ascending, we felt a few drops of rain. After we had gained the height of about 3000 feet, I desired Mr. Garnerin not to ascend any higher till he had passed the metropolis, that the inhabitants might be gratified with a fair view of us. When we had got at a small distance from London, we ascended through some very thick clouds, of which I could perceive three distinct rows, at the lower one of which we found the quicksilver of the thermometer at 15 deg. and I was obliged to put on my great coat; but on ascending still higher we found the air more temperate, and the quicksilver rise gradually to five deg. above summer heat. We then seemed to be stationary, and felt no more motion than one would feel in sitting in a chair in a room. I then proposed to Mr. Garnerin to overhaul our lockers, where we found a ham, a cold fowl, a cake, and two bottles of orgeat, wines or spirits being dangerous to take, owing to the rarefaction of the air. The chill of the clouds having given us an appetite we made a table on our knees with the seats of the car, and eat a very hearty meal. The clouds then dispersed from under us, and we had a delightful



lightful view of the country. Whether it is owing to the rarefaction of the air, or to the strong light thrown on the earth, I cannot determine, but I found that my sight, which at all times is rather weak, became so strong, that I could easily distinguish the minutest objects on the earth: *it appeared like a vast panorama, or map, of about 50 miles in circumference, where we could not only follow with our eyes the different cross-roads and intersections on it, but even distinguish the ruts on them, and the very furrows in the field.* The sense of hearing was stronger here than on earth; for at the height of 15,000 feet, we could distinctly hear the rattling of the carriages on the roads, the lowing of cattle, and the acclamations of the people who saw us; though at the same time we could hardly hear ourselves speak; and I am persuaded that a person on the earth, with a strong voice and a speaking trumpet, might make himself perfectly understood by any person at that height in the air. I have observed, that almost every sensation I experienced while in the upper regions was exactly the contrary to what is the general opinion of the publick. I was assured by a number of the most celebrated *literati*, who pretended to be very learned on that subject, that I should find the cold increase, the higher I ascended; instead of which, I found the heat increase to that degree, that I was obliged to take both my great coat and jacket off. It is also the general opinion, that looking down from so stupendous a height renders a person so giddy as not to be able to keep his seat: on the contrary, I found that I could look down with a vast deal of pleasure, and without experiencing

that inconvenience; whereas looking round on the vast expanse that surrounded us rendered my eyes so dim, that I was sometimes a few minutes before I could perfectly recover my sight. I experienced no difficulty of breathing, or inconvenience from the motion of the balloon; for, though we moved with immense velocity, we felt not the least wind or pressure of air, it being so perfectly calm, that the flags in our hands, and those with which the balloon was decorated, hung supine, nor did they stir. I observed, that between every row of clouds, not only the atmosphere, but the wind, varied several degrees; for, on our passing through the first cloud after leaving London, the wind, which had before been nearly South-West, changed to South-South-East, by which means we found ourselves over St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire. On ascending still higher, the wind became nearly West, which drove us over Epping Forest, which I distinguished very plainly, it appeared like a gooseberry bush. I then pointed out our course to Mr. Garnerin on the map, and observed to him that we should soon perceive the sea, which in a short time we saw very plainly. Mr. Garnerin then told me we had not a moment to lose, and must descend with all possible speed; at the same time pointing out a very heavy cloud to me, nearly under us; and said “*Il faut que nous passions a travers de ce drole la; accrochez vous ferme car nous allons nous casser le col.*” I answered—“*De tout mon cœur.*” We then opened the valve, and we descended with rapidity. On rushing into the cloud, I found, as he had conjectured, it contained as violent a squall



a squall of wind and rain as ever I experienced. The attraction of the water, the force of the wind, and the constant emission of gas from the valve, hurled us with such velocity towards the earth, that I expected to see his prediction verified, though, I can assure you, my ideas at that time did not coincide with the answer I made him. Mr. Garnerin still retained all his coolness and presence of mind; and, while we were descending with that extreme swiftness, desired me, the moment I should find the car about to touch the earth, to catch hold of the hoop which was fastened to the bottom of the net, to which the car was suspended, and shift myself up into the net; by which means we saved ourselves from being dashed to pieces. The balloon did not re-ascend immediately, but dragged us along the ground, with astonishing swiftness, for the length of nearly three fields, before the grappling iron took good hold, and then we thought ourselves safe, being close to a farmhouse, from which several persons came out to see us; but though we threw out ropes to them, and called for help, they were so consternated that neither threats nor intreaties could prevail on them to come to our assistance; for, as I afterwards heard, they took us to be two forcerers, it being rather an unusual thing to see two men coming down post-haste from the clouds. We were for about three minutes in that situation, till another gust of wind broke our cable, and we ascended again nearly 600 feet. In the bustle of preparing the ropes for the farmers, Mr. Garnerin had let the rope belonging to the valve slip out of his hand, by which

means the bottom of the balloon was pressed upwards by the wind. Mr. Garnerin desired me to try to regain it, which I at last effected by climbing up in the net, though the force of the wind struck the tin tubes fastened at the bottom of the balloon, and through which the rope led, with such violence against my face, that it had nearly stunned me. Having recovered, we re-descended, but were borne with such violence across the country, sometimes along the ground, sometimes in the air, that I several times proposed to Mr. Garnerin to abandon the balloon, and to save ourselves; but he continually objected to it, and reminded me of my promise not to quit him. In the mean time, we were dashed against several trees, one of which had nearly destroyed us. Being with my back towards it, I received a blow on the head, which threw me at full length at the bottom of the car. Mr. Garnerin, in attempting to assist me, was nearly thrown overboard; two of the cords that held the car broke, and at the same time some of the branches tore the balloon; upon which Mr. Garnerin cried out, "The balloon is torn, and we are saved." Another gust of wind disengaged us from the tree, and we touched the ground once more, with a less violent shock than before. We then both got out, but so exhausted with our numerous exertions, that we had hardly strength to follow the balloon, which fell again about 200 paces further, when we completely mastered it, by throwing ourselves upon it, and by that means pressing out the remainder of the gas. It rained so very hard, that I proposed



posed to Mr. Garnerin to leave the balloon in the field, and go in search of some house for shelter and refreshment. We accordingly made the best of our way to a house, which we espied about half a mile off, belonging to a Mr. Kingsbery, and here a very curious mistake took place. When we inquired for the master of the house, Mr. Kingsbery appeared, but seeing two persons of so strange an appearance (Mr. Garnerin having a French hat on, with the National Cockade, bearing the tricoloured flag, and myself being in a sailor's dress, with the union jack in my hand,) he imagined we came on account of the election; and before we could address him, said, "Gentlemen, though I am a freeholder, I have made a determination not to vote for one side or the other." So much was he impressed with this idea, that it was some time before we could make him sensible that we had nothing to do with the election, but that we came in a balloon in three quarters of an hour from London; that we were very much bruised and tired, and that we required his assistance and shelter. He then received us in the most hospitable manner, not only providing us with refreshments and dry clothes, but even offered us beds, the use of his house and horses, and sent immediately some farmers with a cart, to carry the balloon from the field, and convey it to a place of safety; and as we expressed a wish to get to Colchester that night, he sent for a postchaise to convey us thither, where we were received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants. The next day we returned to Fingering Hoe, where we had left the balloon, and after drying it

on the grass, packed it up, and made the best of our way to town, where we arrived about four o'clock the next morning. I cannot help admiring the coolness and presence of mind Mr. Garnerin preserved, even in the most imminent danger; and I am so confident of his great talents and skill in conducting a balloon, that I would venture to go to the end of the world with him. This is as near a statement as I can recollect; and I should take it as a favour if you would insert it in your publication, as you will thereby save me a great deal of trouble, having hardly breath enough to answer the numerous inquiries concerning our aërial excursion.

R. C. SOWDEN."

This day was issued the Royal proclamation for dissolving the Parliament. 29th.

A plan is in agitation for improving the harbour of Bristol, by floating docks, which, according to the report of Mr. Jesson, the engineer, will render it as commodious as any in the kingdom. A subscription has been lately entered into at Bristol, for the purpose of carrying the plan into execution. The sum of 100,000*l.* was subscribed in about three days time, being about two-thirds of the sum which, it is calculated, will be requisite.

The Creek Indians being desirous of making peace with the Spaniards proposed to the Governor of St. Augustine, that they would deliver up to him the famous Bowles, the chief of one of their tribes, together with all the Spanish prisoners, negroes, and property of every description, that they had taken from Florida; in return, they demanded that the Indian prisoners



prisoners in the Spanish fortresses should be delivered up, and that the Indians should be admitted to have intercourse with the Spaniards, and some other conditions, which were acceded to.

On an application to the court of chancery, to set aside the charter of *Downing College*, as having been unduly obtained, after an hearing of three days, the validity of that charter was established.

A very singular circumstance occurred towards the end of April at Baltimore: as the ship *Birmingham*, Captain M'Carthy, was entering the river, the mate blew out his brains in the fore-castle; and immediately afterwards, a young lady, a passenger in the ship, threw herself over-board, and was drowned. The mate had a wife and family on shore, and the father and brother of the young lady were on board the vessel.

VACCINE INOCULATION.—The Central Committee of the Vaccine Inoculation in France have lately published a very succinct account of their correspondence; from which it appears, that there are uniform accounts from all parts of France in favour of the Vaccine. All the medical men who, during the last year, adopted this mode of inoculation, and who have noticed the present appearance of the small-pox, declare, that none have contracted it who have received the inoculation, although they have all lived among those who were infected with the small-pox. "If," say the Committee, "we add, to all the evidences of cohabitation, those which have been proved by inoculation for the small-pox, we shall

acquire a degree of certainty which no other discovery has ever yet attained. Hitherto no circumstance can be adduced in evidence against the Vaccine. A few partial declamations, and assertions proved to be essentially fallacious, have been urged by doubting and deceitful men. The Committee have enlightened the former by a candid communication of their experience, and have silenced the perfidious suggestions of the latter by authentic documents. As they are about to publish a general account of their labours, they have thought it their duty to gratify the natural impatience of the publick, by proclaiming that, *for the last two years the Vaccine Inoculation has continually afforded them satisfactory consequences; and that they will deliver with pleasure to any medical man, or to any other person who may apply, the vaccine fluid gratis.*"

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## JULY.

*Vienna, June 23.* We learn from Hungary, that a terrible fire has happened at Debretzein (between Tockai and Wardin), by which two thousand houses have been reduced to ashes, together with the college and the reformed church. A great number of cattle perished in the flames. The damage is estimated at more than 2,000,000 of florins.

Within the space of two months forty-seven suicides have been committed at Vienna, and it is said to be in contemplation to order that the dead bodies of those who shall kill themselves, shall be hung on the gallows by the public executioner,



tioner, in order to deter others from this desperate act.

3d. At *Corva*, near St. Ives, a woman whose name is Brey, whilst her husband was on his business at a tin-mine (where he is a Captain), and no one in the room with her, took an infant child, of about ten months old, out of the cradle, wherein it was fast asleep, undressed it, and laid it on a red-hot baking iron, which was then on the fire, then throwing a sheave of reeds over the infant, set it in a blaze; but the child, through the torture, was heard to cry vehemently, which immediately brought her sister-in-law and daughter, who were in another part of the house, into the kitchen, where this horrid barbarity was committed. They found the child just taken off the fire by this unnatural monster, burned in a most shocking manner. A surgeon and the child's father were immediately sent for, but to no purpose; it languished a few hours, and then expired in great agonies. This wretched woman, it seems, has been in a kind of melancholy for some months past; and sometimes so outrageous, that her husband was obliged to bind her for some days together; but that morning she seemed to talk sensibly, and desired him to let her loose, which he consented to, in an unguarded hour. The jury, after examining the child and its inhuman mother, gave a verdict—*Insanity*. The Mayor, who attended, ordered her husband to confine her in future, and by no means to let her loose again.

The inhabitants of Glasgow have resolved to raise a subscription to erect a statue, without de-

lay, in that city, to our late Prime Minister.

At a meeting of the Lord Provost, magistrates, 5th. and council of Edinburgh, it was unanimously resolved to erect by subscription a statue of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

*Flushing*.—The 4th inst. 6th. a small cutter arrived here from London, laden with piece-goods. This vessel, immediately on her arrival, was stopped by the French Custom-house Officers, and taken possession of, under pretence that it was laden with contraband goods. This seizure, however, which was likely to have produced the most serious consequences for our city, did not occur without violent opposition on the part of the people on board, who positively insisted that there was nothing contraband in the ship. In the mean time this circumstance had attracted a great number of persons towards the quay where she lay. The mob, with indignation at what had happened, manifested their displeasure towards the officers, by pelting them with stones. The French guard having got intelligence of this, a corporal and four men were sent to keep the people off from the ship. But the mob having by this time considerably increased, the choler of the people was so greatly heated on seeing these French military, who were unable to cope with them, that they pushed one into the water, and compelled the others to flight. The French Commander immediately caused an alarm to beat, and ordered the whole garrison under arms. This seemed as if it were the signal of a frightful carnage: the whole city collected; and



and the rage of the mob being wound up to its height, on beholding the French troops, a terrific cry for vengeance ascended from among them. A particular class, called *Bylties*, singularly distinguished themselves, exclaiming, "We have arms too!" and made a motion to go and fetch them. In this critical moment, our Bailiff ventured himself in the midst of the rabble, and succeeded in quieting them by the force of argument: in consequence of which every thing ended without further misfortunes. There is still a French guard on board the vessel in question.

8th. Between the hours of nine and ten o'clock, a terrible fire broke out at *Waddon*, near *Croydon*, in the house of Mr. Hume. It raged with such violence, that no part of the furniture or effects of any kind could be saved. The family, by not being in bed, were preserved, except an infant child of four years old, a granddaughter of Mr. Hume, which was suffocated in bed by the smoke, but it was not injured by the fire. As no cause for this dreadful accident can be assigned with certainty, it is supposed to have been occasioned by a beam communicating with the kitchen chimney; but this is merely conjecture. The house being old, the fury of the fire was such, that, had it taken place an hour and a half later, every soul in it must have perished.

The Board of Treasury has adopted a regulation admirably calculated to promote an emulation among the professors of sculpture, and at the same time tending to secure immortality to the memory

of those great men who have fallen in the defence of their country. A Committee of Taste has been appointed, of which Mr. C. Long is the president: it is composed of five or six gentlemen, who are authorized by the Treasury to examine the models.

Specimens of a herring net wrought in a loom, were laid before the Royal Highland Society, the knots of which are more firm, and the meshes more equidistant than those wrought with a needle. The machine is the invention of a Highlander, and did not cost more than 5l. to complete it; and has this advantage, that a child ten years of age may work 36 square yards in a day, of 36 meshes in breadth.

*Hague.*—Citizen Schim- 12th.  
melpenninck, who has been so long Ambassador from our Republic to the French, is appointed in the same capacity to the Court of London. Before the revolution, he was the most celebrated advocate of Amsterdam.

On the night, of the illu- 14th.  
mination, Mr. Cobbett, commonly known by the name of *Peter Porcupine*, who within the last two years had removed from America to England, refused to put up any lights. As this determination was well known, and indeed published by himself, a mob was assembled before his house a little before nine o'clock, who began to break his windows. About 10 o'clock three young gentlemen, Mr. Charles Beloe, Mr. Charles Wagstaff, and Mr. John Harwood, accidentally passed through Pall-mall, and, elevated partly by the occasion, and partly from having dined together, very foolishly and thought-  
lessly



lessly threw *bricks* at the house. The young gentlemen were seized by the police officers, and taken to Bow-street, and committed to Tottenham-fields Bridewell for the night, brought up again next morning, and *not admitted to bail*, but ordered again to be brought up on the Tuesday for re-examination; thus suffering six days imprisonment. The prosecutor refusing every apology, and every extent of compensation, the parties were indicted, and after three months, during which they sustained much feurrility from the prefs of Mr. Cobbett, their case came on to be tried. The jury after a full hearing pronounced a verdict of guilty, but recommended the young men in very strong terms to the clemency of the court. The prosecutor was urged to join in the recommendation. His reply was—Certainly not: I came here for justice, and not for mercy. The first two defendants, all of whom were accompanied by a number of the most respectable individuals, zealous to testify their irreproachable characters, were fined 30*l.*; and the latter 10*l.*

21st. *Blake v. the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.* This was an action against the Bank of England, on one of their promissory notes for 1000*l.* which they refused to pay, on the ground that it was a note which had been lost, and the value of which they had already paid, being indemnified by the assignees of the bankrupt, who either lost the note, or, with a fraudulent intent, pretended to have lost it.—Mr. Park stated the circumstances of the transaction as follows:—On the 5th. of April last, the plaintiff

received a letter by the post, having the Bath post-mark on it, signed “R. Dallow,” in which the writer described himself as a person who expected a large sum of money from an uncle in order to set him up in the business of a silversmith at Bath; he therefore desired the plaintiff to send him an account of the prices he would charge for an assortment of goods, specified in the letter, at the same time mentioning, that as he should pay ready money, he would expect to be charged at the lowest price. In consequence of this letter, the plaintiff sent down a list of prices he charged for the articles therein specified. Another letter came by return of the post, giving a positive order for the goods to the amount of 800*l.* and desiring that they might be got ready as soon as possible. On the 21st. of April, the person who styled himself “Dallow,” called upon the plaintiff, and asked for so much of the goods as were ready for delivery pursuant to his order; the plaintiff accordingly delivered him goods to the amount of 545*l.* 10*s.*; he also delivered in cash, bank-notes and checks upon bankers, the difference between the value of the goods so furnished, and the amount of the bank-note for 1000*l.* Dallow went off the night he had so received the goods and cash, and has not since been heard of. The plaintiff considered himself entitled to recover against the bank for the amount of their note, which he had so received in the course of his business for a full consideration. The note was admitted to be a note of the bank of England.—Mr. Erskine, on the part of the defendants, observed, that it was not the



the bank, but those gentlemen to whom the bank had already paid the full amount of this note (as a lost note), that were the real defendants in this action; that this action must be judged by the peculiar circumstances attending it. Was it not suspicious that so large an order should have been at once executed for an utter stranger? That an old note to the amount of 1000*l.* should be taken without the least inquiry from a total stranger? If the jury could not conceive a tradesman of common prudence and discretion to act in this manner in the ordinary course of his business, they must suppose that he had not taken this bill *bona fide* in the course of business, and must have known, or at least strongly suspected, that the person who offered it in payment had not come fairly by it. In such case they must find their verdict for the defendant. Mr. Kay, solicitor to the bank, proved, that in a conversation he had with the plaintiff a few days after the bill had been presented and refused payment at the bank, the plaintiff positively refused to take any trouble in tracing out this person, calling himself "Dallow," unless the bank would pay his expenses.—Mr. A. Newland proved, that it was a very uncommon circumstance to have a note of 1000*l.* which was nine years old, presented to the bank for payment; he said, that notes which were more than a year old always underwent a particular examination at the bank before they were paid. An old gazette was also produced, which contained an advertisement of this note as being lost. Lord Ellenborough summed

up the evidence, and pointed out every minute circumstance that could direct the jury to form a right judgment on the fact, whether the plaintiff had conducted himself with such common prudence and discretion, as to deserve to be considered a *bona fide* holder of the note in question. If he either knew or suspected that the bill was not fairly obtained, or if such strong grounds of suspicion presented themselves as that any man of common caution could not avoid suspecting it, in such case, this strong suspicion would have an effect like a formal notice to prevent his being considered a *bona fide* holder of the note, even though he might have given consideration for it. Whether this transaction was or was not, under such circumstances of suspicion, it was the province of the jury to decide. The jury found for the plaintiff—Damages 1000*l.*

*Before Lord Alvanley and a Special Jury*—Breach of Promise of Marriage.—*Hand v. Kisten*.—Mr. Serjeant Cockel stated, that his client was a young lady who sought redress for one of the most cruel injuries that could be offered to her sex. She resided at Harbrow with her brother, a respectable tradesman in that town. The defendant was put apprentice to Mr. Hand, and in the course of some years a mutual affection sprung up between him and Miss Hand. An *eclaircissement* at last took place, and the lovers vowed eternal constancy. The term of the defendant's apprenticeship was now nearly expired, and he resolved to try his fortune in London. After a tender parting he accordingly set



out. Miss Hand was much depressed, and her fears of the dissipation of the Metropolis proved to have been prophetic. For some time, however, he remained true to his promises. He wrote her affectionate letters, and having seen her once in town, he testified all the fondness for her which had formerly marked his passion when at its height. But when he ought to have led her to the altar he forgot his plighted troth, and drew back from his sacred engagements. She was thus disappointed in her views of future happiness, and held up to the ridicule of all her acquaintance. The learned Serjeant added many other particulars, and described in the most glowing terms the ill usage which Miss Hand had received. The evidence consisted chiefly of the letters which the defendant had written from London to his mistress at Harbro'. These occasioned infinite merriment. In the first place they disclosed the fact that Mr. Kisten was a *journeyman tallow chandler*. In painting the ardour of his attachment, he likewise borrowed many terms from his art. Although it appeared that he was not always in a *melting mood*, he talks of his soul being *dissolved*, of being *dipped* in wretchedness; of his heart being *cast in a delicate mould*, of the *store* of happiness which he conceived was awaiting him; of his love *burning clear*; of his liver being consumed like the *wick of a candle*; of his fears lest her passion died away like the *flame in the socket of a candlestick*, &c. &c. There was one passage which afforded peculiar amusement, as it reminded every one of the style of a noble Marquis, who after paint-

ing the ardour of his passion, stops suddenly short, and descants upon the price of wheat in Reading Market. "My love (says Mr. Kisten), my Angel, my HAND, when shall we be joined together, *and mix like wax and spermaceti*? By the bye, I have news for your brother. Tallow is as high as ever, and at present there is a prospect of its rising higher still. As such he cannot do better than buy any that comes in his way?" From an able cross examination, it came out that this disconsolate virgin is 37 years of age, and the fickle swain might almost be her son.—Mr. Serjeant Best addressed the jury in behalf of the defendant. He allowed that the young man had acted very indiscreetly, but strenuously contended, that the plaintiff had no reason to complain. He thought it unnecessary to call any witnesses, as it already appeared that the match was quite disproportioned, and that if it had taken place, it could have produced nothing but misery. Lord Alvanley observed to the jury, that though cases of this kind were often very serious, yet that the present could scarcely be considered of such a complexion. From the rupture that took place, Miss Hand could scarcely be supposed to have been deprived of much happiness. Where the ages of the parties were so unequal, and where there had been no consent of parents, little could be expected but discord and misery. However the lady had met with a disappointment, and was certainly intitled to some compensation. Verdict for the plaintiff—damages 100*l*.



22d. A very melancholy event took place, at the eastern entrance into the West India Docks, at Blackwall. In order to bay out the water at the entrance of the basin, next the Thames, a coffer-dam had been constructed, which had hitherto bid defiance to every returning tide. It appeared, by the evidence of Mr. Kent, the Master Bailiff, that about ten minutes before seven, the tide being at its height, he was looking towards the south coffer-dam, when he observed the head of one of the piles decline towards the river. He instantly called out to the people who were at work below, at a depth of about thirty feet, exclaiming, "For God's sake, come up; the coffer-dam is blown." The people ran in all directions; the water rushed in with a dreadful noise, and, dashing against the gates, returned by the eastern wall, and swept away all who had not had time to get up. The basin in an instant filled to the depth of 22 feet. Some, by the violence of the torrent, were forced against the piles, and jammed between them. At first, it was supposed the whole of the docks would have been prematurely filled; but this fear was happily dissipated, by the effectual resistance of an inner dam, which stopped the progress of so destructive an inundation. There were about twenty men at work, cutting away the earth on the inside; but by the alarm being given, all were enabled to climb on the wharf in the centre, and save themselves, except eight persons, who unfortunately lost their lives. Among the sufferers, was a Mr. Bough, the brother of the super-

intendant of the works. It is a circumstance of infinite regret, that the melancholy effects of this accident might easily have been avoided, had the warning voice of prudence been attended to. It appeared, by the proceedings before the coroner, that Mr. Kent foresaw what would happen, and that a committee was called; who, instead of acting upon his report, paid a fatal deference to the opinions of the surveyors, who pledged themselves for the security of the dam. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of *accidental death*.

The cloathing factory 21st. belonging to Mr. Nash, of *Trowbridge*, was set on fire and burnt to the ground. It seems the woollen-manufacturers are incensed at the introduction of new machinery, which deprives them of a part of their employ. And July 23, the cloathing-mills at *Clifford* were set on fire, and entirely consumed.

A statue of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, by Rossi, seven feet high, on a pedestal eleven feet high, has been lately placed in the front of the new buildings called the Royal Crescent, at Brighton. The Prince is represented as dressed in his regimental uniform, with his arm extended towards the sea. The likeness is thought to be very striking.

The sides of a well, near Blackburn, in the neighbourhood of Manchester, thirteen yards deep, fell in while two men were at work. The accident happened at two o'clock in the afternoon, and after incessant labouring till ten at night, R. Wilson, a sinker, was heard



heard to speak; at twelve, the other person was found dead. At this period, from the pressure of a crowd, the earth again gave way, and the dead and living man were once more buried. About four in the morning the latter was released, not only without broken limbs, but little bruised.

The following shocking circumstances occurred in Birmingham: a soldier who had been absent nine years, returned, and found his wife cohabiting with another man: he demanded her, and she went with him; but having left some writings in the hands of her paramour, she went to fetch them, when the wretch first cut her throat, and then his own.

23d. Lord Nelson and Sir W. Hamilton were presented by the corporation of Oxford with freedoms of that city, in gold boxes.

25th. A fire broke out at the house of Mr. Bond, farmer, at Shobrook, which was attended with very melancholy consequences. When the accident happened, Mr. B. and part of his family were at church, and at home were two of his daughters, one 18, the other 15 years of age. After dinner, they had both reposed themselves on a bed, and did not awake till surrounded by flames. The eldest immediately flew to the window, and descended in safety; the other attempted to follow; but some fire falling before her, she became alarmed, and ran to another part of the house; she soon returned to the window, but, overcome with the suffocating flames, she fell

backwards, and perished! Her body was soon discovered, but in a state too shocking to describe. A servant maid approaching too near while a chimney was falling, had her skull fractured.

Hadfield, the maniac, 28th. who has for some time been confined in Bedlam for firing a pistol at his Majesty, escaped from that place with another madman, formerly a purser in the navy. They were retaken at Deal.

The Surry Iron Railway is now completed over the high road through Wandsworth town. On Wednesday, June 8, several carriages, of all descriptions, passed over the iron rails without meeting with the least obstacle. Among these, the Portsmouth waggon, drawn by eight horses, and weighing from eight to ten tons, passed over the rails, and did not appear to make the slightest impression on them. The road will be immediately opened for traffick up to Mitcham, as there only remains the iron to lay down, which is considered to be a very expeditious process.

A level has been lately taken to prove the practicability of making a canal, which may effect a junction between Paddington and the West India docks. This canal is intended to be brought in a direct line from Paddington to the field below the New River Head; then to proceed across the City Road, and skirt Shoreditch and Spital Fields parishes, through the centre of the parish of Bethnal Green; and then to pass Whitechapel parish at the Mount, and to communicate with the commercial road;



road; and likewise with the London Docks, in the parish of Saint George in the east.

Account of the number of cargoes of fish brought to the port of London, and sold in Billingsgate market, as lately laid before the House of Commons:—From the 25th of March, 1792, to 25th of March 1799, 1407 cargoes.—From the 25th March 1799, to 25th March 1800, 1623 cargoes.—From 25th March 1800 to 25th March 1801, 2167 cargoes.—From 25th March 1801, to 25th March 1802, 2668 cargoes.

By papers laid before the House of Commons, it appears that the value of exports of British manufactures within the last year, amounted to the sum of 417,703, 541*l.* and that within the last eighteen years, the amount of British exports has been doubled.

Among the grants lately voted by the legislature, was 1700*l.* for the expence of copying manuscripts found at Herculaneum and Pompeia; in the kingdom of Naples. A few thousand pounds judiciously employed in objects of this useful and interesting nature would indeed reflect honour upon the nation, and serve the cause of humanity in general.

Lieutenant Grant has lately arrived in London from Port Jackson, New South Wales, with specimens of a kind of wood lately discovered on the banks of Hunter's River, in that settlement, in great plenty, well qualified for the masting of shipping. The top masts, the top gallant masts, and yards of the vessel in which he came, the *Ann Josephine*, a brig, were all made of this wood, and ap-

pear to have answered remarkably well. Mr. Grant has had particular opportunities of proving the excellent qualities of this wood, in consequence of the very heavy weather usually met with in those seas. A non-descript wood, resembling fustic, has likewise been found there. From further information by this conveyance, it appears that the colony of New South Wales is no longer in want of that staple commodity, coals; this article, of an excellent quality, being likewise found in great abundance in the vicinity of Hunter's River. Mr. Grant, on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, sold the coals, (the brig being laden with spars for masts, and coals), at 36 rix-dollars per ton, amounting to nearly 6*l.* sterling. Governor King has formed a settlement at Hunter's River, for the purpose of working the coal, which is much of the same nature with that at Newcastle. Mr. Grant proceeded up this river in the boat of the *Lady Nelson*, to an extent of nearly 70 miles, without being able to discover its source. On his return, Mr. Grant, by order of Governor King, surveyed the coast of Van Diemen's Straights, (and gave a very favourable report of the same), from Wilson's Promontory, to Western Port; which last is a capacious and well-sheltered harbour. There is a great abundance of wood easy to be got, and plenty of water; though the latter is difficult to be procured, on account of the distance, and from several shoals lying in the way, which render it necessary to take advantage of the tide.

A most outrageous and alarming  
\* F 3 affray



affray took place in the market-place of Hull, originating in a dispute respecting the price of green peas, a cart load of which a dealer in vegetables having purchased at the rate of 4d. per peck, attempted to retail to the people at an advance to 6d. or 7d. Irritated by this, the mob immediately destroyed the peas, and then proceeding to open hostility overturned the stalls, without discrimination, of every person in the market. Meeting with little or no opposition, the shops of the butchers next became their object, several of these they forced open, and plundered the contents, which were carried away by men, women, and children, some of whom being apprehended were conveyed to the house of correction. Finding that several of their companions were in confinement, they attempted to rescue them by breaking open the doors of the Guildhall; which proving ineffectual, they turned their attention to the windows, every one of which they broke with the most determined fury.

*York Assizes.*—Breach of Promise of Marriage.—*Storey v. Eagle.*—Mr. Serjeant Heywood stated the case of the plaintiff, who was in a very humble situation in life, a maid servant to Mr. Stockdale of Knareborough; but the feelings of the humblest individual are not wantonly and barbarously to be outraged, nor solemn promises to be broken, without giving that individual a right to appeal to a jury for a compensation adequate to the injury sustained. It was not merely to recover damages that his client brought the present action, but

also to vindicate her character, which she found might suffer from so sudden and unaccountable a desertion as she had experienced from the man who had publicly professed himself her lover, and courted her for two years, and yet quitted her the day before that which was appointed for their marriage. The defendant in this action was also himself in an humble situation in life, he had been an ostler in the town of Knareborough when first he began his courtship, but is now an innkeeper in that town, and worth 600l. by his own confession. The plaintiff, who was at first adverse to his suit, had consented to it at last; the day of marriage had been fixed, and preparation made for it, when the defendant suddenly, and without reason, changed his mind, married a girl then resident at Harrowgate, and has now set up an inn at Knareborough. Ellen Sly was the principal witness for the plaintiff, she had known her for the last two years. The witness washed for Mr. Stockdale during the whole of that time; and almost every washing day she had seen the defendant by the side of the plaintiff's tub paying his addresses to her. He appeared to be sincerely in love with her, and often talked of marriage, but at length told her of his taking the house, and consulted her about the furniture and the provisions he was to lay in, and whether it was best to get corn or flour. At that time the marriage seemed very near, when he told the witness that he was in a very distressing situation; there was a d—d girl at Harrowgate, to whom he had promised marriage before two witnesses, and

who



who vowed she would prosecute him if he did not keep his promise. He accordingly went to Harrowgate, and on his return told the witness he had settled with that girl, and asked if Mary (the plaintiff) would marry him the next day. The witness bid him ask Mary; he accordingly did so; and the plaintiff that day gave her mistress warning, and gave the witness a gown, petticoat, and a pair of stockings, to be washed against the next day, and made some other little preparations for her approaching nuptials. Before the next day came, the defendant disappeared, and in a day or two after married the Harrowgate girl. About a fortnight after he paid a visit to the witness, with whom the plaintiff was then sitting; the plaintiff told him "She would be glad to wish him joy, but his bad behaviour would not allow her." The defendant said, "he was very sorry, and would make her any compensation in his power." Mrs. Sly said, he ought to give her 30 guineas; he replied "she will never take that." Mary then burst out a crying, and left the house; the defendant followed and overtook her, and the next day told the witness she had cried a great deal, and he was extremely sorry for her. One *Piercy*, a servant of Mr. Stockdale's, proved, that the defendant had applied to him to procure a licence, and that the plaintiff had made preparations for the marriage; and, in particular, had borrowed linen and other things from him. On his cross-examination, he was asked why those things were borrowed only? he answered, because the marriage

bore a very *numplush* kind of appearance. Being requested to explain the meaning of the word *numplush*, he said the defendant did not know his own mind, and therefore it was a doubt whether the marriage would take place or not. Mr. Park for the defendant, said, that although this little ale-house which the defendant had taken at Knareborough, was for the purposes of this cause swelled into a *great inn*, and it was attempted to insinuate, that the defendant was a man of property; yet, in truth and in fact, he was a poor man now, and had been an humble hostler, when first he paid his devotions at the shrine of his adoration, the *wash-tub* of the plaintiff in this action: his client was a most unfortunate poor devil, and he trusted the jury would not, by giving heavy damages in this silly case, immure him in a jail for the rest of his days. For two long years his client had paid his addresses, and offered his sincere love, at the plaintiff's *wash-tub*; all that while the scornful *lady of the suds* refused his suit, and treated him with ineffable contempt; at length, wearied of her scorn, in a moment of despair and vexation, he talked of love and marriage to the Harrowgate girl, and, unfortunately for him, before two witnesses: in the mean time this scornful beauty, who brought the present action, hearing that he was going to take a house, and had some money, relaxed from her wonted cruelty, and consented to be his bride.—What was his poor client to do in such a dilemma? On the one hand, there was a most unexpected consent from the scornful *nymph of the*



the *Suds*, who exclusively possessed his heart, and on the other, that *d—d Harrowgate girl*, as he had called her, with her two witnesses, threatening him with prosecution and a jail if he did not marry her. Was ever man (to use the expression of the witness) in such a *numpluss*? Indeed, if the jury were to give much encouragement to these actions, every maid servant in England would be bringing her action; for all of them have had, no doubt, in their turn, nonsense talked to them by idle fellows about love and marriage, and in the presence of some *Mrs. Sly*.—Lord Ellenborough said, it had been clearly proved, that the defendant had, both by his conduct, and by his express promise, raised expectations which he had defrauded, and hopes which he had deceived: the jury were, therefore, bound to give compensation in damages for the injury so received from the defendant by the plaintiff.—The jury after a few minutes consideration, found for the plaintiff—50*l.* damages.

ELECTIONS.—In consequence of the dissolution of Parliament, several spirited contests were maintained in various parts of the kingdom. The following were among the most conspicuous:—

The contest for the election at Worcester terminated July 9. At the close of the poll the numbers were as follow, for

Mr. Robarts	854.
Mr. Scott	486
Mr. Wigley	463.

The latter gentleman then sent a letter to the sheriff declining to continue the poll.

The following account of the

election at Nottingham is taken from a democratical publication. At the final close of the poll, July 13, the numbers were as under: for

Sir J. Warren,	972
J. Birch, esq.	912
D. P. Coke, esq.	634.

Mr. Coke declined any further contest on the 12th. The procession, at the chairing of Mr. Birch, the popular candidate, was truly novel, grand, and interesting; his friends, besides other decorations, were attended and accompanied with various symbols of civil liberty, a band of music playing all the while to patriotic airs and hymns, which were sung with great spirit and enthusiasm, by those who formed the procession. Mr. Birch was preceded by 24 young damsels dressed in white ornamented with wreaths of flowers, and carrying leaves of laurel in their hands; the foremost supporting a standard of the arms of the worthy representative. Sir J. B. Warren thought proper to decline the honour of being chaired.

At Hull, Mr. W. Bell, auctioneer, announced himself as a candidate, but very soon, in his usual eccentric manner, resigned his pretensions, having only three votes. The successful candidates were S. Thornton, esq. and J. Stamford, esq. J. W. Dennison, esq. was the other unsuccessful one. The canvas of this last gentleman was very spirited, and the contest thought to be severer than any ever known at that town.

The contest at Coventry, which was one of the most violent in the kingdom, finally closed in favour of Captain Barlow, and N. Jefferys,



ferys, esq. Mr. Bird, and Mr. Peter Moore, were the unsuccessful candidates.

The numbers at the close of the poll for the county of Norfolk were, for

Mr. Coke	4317
Sir Jacob Astley	3612
Col. Woodhouse	3517

When the poll for the election of the representatives was finally closed for the city of Norwich, the numbers appeared as follow :—

Mr. Fellowes	1515
M. Smith	1427
Mr. Windham	1339
Mr. Frere	1318.

In Kent the numbers were, for

Mr. Honeywood	4763
Sir William Geary	4085
Sir Ed. Knatchbull	3933.

In Bristol, an opposition altogether unexpected started up on the day of election, which was crowned with success. Against Sir Morton Eden, appeared Mr. Evan Bailie, a respectable merchant. On his nomination on the hustings, he, together with Mr. Bragge, was unanimously elected, no poll being demanded.

At the final close of the poll for the city of London, July 14, the numbers stood as follows :

Mr. Ald. Combe	3377
Mr. Ald. Price	3276
Sir W. Curtis	2989
Sir J. W. Anderson	2287
Mr. Travers	1371
Sir W. Lewes	652
Mr. Lushington	113.

In Westminster, Mr. Horne Tooke, by an address to the electors, declared that he should have offered himself as a candidate, had he not been prevented by an act of Parliament, framed, as he

pretended for that sole purpose. An obscure person, one John Graham, an auctioneer and sheriff's broker, however presented himself as an opponent to Mr. Fox or Lord Gardner, and, strange as it may seem, met with such support as to draw forth the exertions of all Mr. Fox's friends. On the 15th, his pretensions terminated, the numbers polled being, for

Mr. Fox	2673
Lord Gardner	2434
Mr. Graham	1691.

Mr. Thornton and Mr. Tierney were returned for the Borough of Southwark ; Sir Thomas Turton was the unsuccessful candidate.

In Middlesex, Mr. Mainwaring who had represented the county in three successive parliaments, was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, whose pretensions though disclaimed at the first, were, toward the end of the poll, openly supported by Mr. Byng. After a scene of riot and every kind of turpitude, which lasted fifteen days, a fictitious majority was gained against Mr. Mainwaring ; the numbers being at the close of the poll, for

Mr. Byng	3848
Sir F. Burdett	3207
Mr. Mainwaring	2936.

DIED—21st. At his house in Stanhope-street, May-fair, after two days illness, in his 76th year, the Right Hon. Isaac Barré, clerk of the pells. His health was declining for a considerable time past ; and, a few hours before his dissolution, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which was the immediate cause of his death. Though blind for nearly the last 20 years of his life, he continued a cheerful companion to the last. He began



began to distinguish himself in his political career at the same time with his countryman Edmund Burke; and was a celebrated parliamentary debater during the American war. The office which has become vacant by his death he had held about 15 or 16 years, it having been granted to him during the early part of Mr. Pitt's administration, in order to save the country the expence of a pension, which had been previously granted to the Colonel, and was in consequence relinquished.

In this month, the person known by the name of M. De Verdion, whom almost every one must have remembered about the streets of London, and particularly at book auctions, for a great number of years, wearing a little bagwig and a large cocked-hat, and carrying an umbrella, died of a cancer in the breast, being, it appears, a female, though she always wore a masculine habit. By papers found in her apartments it seems she was the natural daughter of a former King of Prussia, and came to England with Madame Schwelkenberg, mistress of the robes to her majesty. It is understood she was once in possession of property to the amount of 8000*l.* which trusting in the hands of a foreign banker who failed, she entirely lost. She afterwards obtained a genteel subsistence, chiefly by translating German; but, for some time previous to her death, in consequence of her increasing infirmities, she was nearly reduced to poverty. It is somewhat remarkable, that, though she was in the constant habit of sacrificing very copiously to Bacchus, she never inadvertently

revealed the secret of her sex. About a week before her death, the tortures arising from her disorder, which she had long endured without complaint, induced her to reveal her situation and her sex to a German physician who lodged in the house where she resided, and who not only faithfully kept the secret, but procured for her, from some German friends, a liberal subscription, which rendered the small remnant of her life as comfortable as the nature of her situation would admit. In her lodgings a number of valuable suits of cloaths have been found, in which she used, till within these few years, to attend at Court on gala-days, in the male character, having never been known in any other since her residence in this country, except to her patroness. Her exterior form was, however, such as almost to have caused a suspicion of the real fact. The *ensemble* of her figure, when decorated in its usual paraphernalia, was whimsically grotesque. By a paper found on her table she has bequeathed what little property she possessed to a person who keeps a coffee-house in the neighbourhood, which she had been in the habit of frequenting many years.

At West Bromwich, aged 102, Mr. J. Sheldon, leaving nine children, 51 grandchildren, 95 great-grandchildren, and five children of the fourth generation.

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## AUGUST.

As some workmen were employed in repairing the 4<sup>th</sup>. New Church in the Strand, one of the



the ornamental vases fell into the street, and striking the face of a sailor, literally deprived him of his nose. These vases from their decayed state, being considered dangerous, have been since removed.

5th. *Woolwich.* Several of the convicts who are to be transported to New South Wales, formed a plan for an escape, which they endeavoured to carry into execution this day. They were all on shore, to the number of about 170, and were confined within a building near to the water side, where they are accustomed to work, and which is fenced round with a high wall. On a sudden they rushed out and seized some of their keepers, and others they knocked down. The ringleader had armed himself with a large knife, and on finding that the convicts had secured the keepers, proceeded to the outer gate, where a sentinel was placed. To him the armed convict, and several others addressed themselves, and insisted upon the gate being opened, or they would instantly run him through. The soldier fell back a few paces, and shot the ringleader through the head. At the instant he saw the sentinel about to fire, he turned away his head, but the ball entered the back part of it, and he died immediately. Another of the convicts was attempting to scale the wall, and was shot by another soldier. It was their intention to have seized those boats which are generally in waiting to take the convicts on board the hulks; when many of them would have got clear off.

The powder-mill at Cork blew

up this day with a tremendous explosion; by which accident seven men lost their lives.

A few days since a child went to bathe in a pond in St. George's Fields, when it immediately sunk, and was drowned. A man who was standing in his room saw the child sink, without any emotion or offering to give assistance. On being dragged for, it proved to be his own son.

*Bath.* Mrs. Evans, a widow lady, sister to the Rev. 7th. Dr. Sheppard, of Andover, stopping at a house in Westgate-buildings, seated in a wheel chair, while the servant went to deliver a message by her direction, the chair, running back, upset, and this unfortunate lady was precipitated into the road-way: a coal waggon passing at this critical juncture, went over her head, and her almost immediate death followed. No blame whatever can be attached to any party in this lamentable affair.

H. Ibbetson and his wife were committed to Wakefield 9th. House of Correction, for violently assaulting and wounding E. Berry, their niece, who had been married a few days before. These ignorant people having conceived the idea that the young woman had bewitched them, had formed a plan to draw blood from her, in order to dispel the charm; and meeting with her in the market-place, they both suddenly assailed her, the woman biting and scratching her, while the husband stabbed her in the body.

At eight o'clock in the morning a very singular 10th. circumstance occurred at Teignmouth. The sea, at low water, instan-



instantaneously rose and fell nearly two feet several times in the space of ten minutes; and the fishing-smacks at sea experienced such a violent commotion, that they were in danger of being lost. The same phenomenon has been observed at Exmouth, Weymouth, and several places along the coast. — On the shores of Italy such phenomena are not uncommon; they are generally regarded as the forerunners of earthquakes. A similar occurrence happened at the time of the destruction of Lisbon.

12th. Sir Sidney Smith appeared at Greenwich in a sloop of singular construction, presented to him by the Dey of Algiers. The masts are not upright, as in English vessels, but lean towards the stern. The cabin is richly gilt, and, from the shape of the vessel, she seems to be a safe and good failer.

13th. A Mr. Barrett having announced his intention to ascend with a balloon, from Mr. Andrade's close, at Greenwich, on the 12th, an incalculable number of persons flocked to the neighbourhood; but Mr. Barrett, Capt. Sowden and others assisting him, being in no degree prepared, gave notice that the attempt could not then be made, but would take place on the 13th; when preparations were again made, and the people attended equally numerous as yesterday. After a variety of efforts, it was found that the balloon could not be sufficiently filled with gas, or brought to bear, to take up the parties intending to make this aerial excursion; and night coming on, all that then could be done to satisfy the multitude was, to fix a cradle, in-

stead of the car, to the balloon; in which state, no one being in the cradle, the ropes were cut, and the balloon ascended. About an hour after its ascension, information arrived at Mr. Andrade's, that it had fallen in some marshes near the river, about three miles from Greenwich, in a field called Bugby's Hole.

About twelve this day, 15th, a party of eight persons took a boat at the Isle of Dogs, Blackwall, intending to land at Greenwich-stairs. They had not proceeded far when the boat unfortunately ran athwart the hauser of a ship at anchor in the river. The motion of the ship elevated the cable with a sudden jerk, and over-set the boat. All the boats within sight of this accident instantly put off, and every effort was made to rescue these unfortunate persons from the death with which they were threatened. Seven were instantly picked up; but one, a very aimable young woman, perished. She had been only one month married to a Mr. Coultman, one of the principal clerks in Mr. Perry's dock-yard, who accompanied her on this aquatic excursion. When this gentleman was taken out of the water, he looked round for his wife, and finding that she had not been taken up, plunged into the river, as he said to search for her. He was rescued a second time, but with much difficulty. The scene was extremely affecting to those who witnessed it. Care was taken to prevent him from repeating the attempt; but he has been ever since in a state of delirium. The body of the young woman was found, and the Coroner's



roner's Inquest has returned a verdict of—Accidental Death.

22d. A male tiger, which broke loose in Essex a few days ago, has been killed; but not until he mangled a young child in a shocking manner, and killed a sheep. He was so gorged with his prey, that he was overcome without difficulty, in a sheep-fold near the spot where he made his escape.

26th. There was a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning at Malaga. So strong was the electrical fluid, that the bells in the churches rung as loud as if they had been pulled by the ropes. The torrents of rain from the mountains carried every thing before them. There is an old bed of a river near the town, which has been long dry, and on which many houses, stables, &c. have been built; all these, with four men, several children, 16 oxen, 13 mules, 38 swine, and 10 wag-gons were forced into the sea. The bridge in the town was broken, and the ships in port were driven out.

28th. As the mail coach was travelling between Princeton and Trenton, in America, the lightning struck the back part of the carriage, and descending to the axle-tree ran along the pole, and immediately killed the four horses. The coach was much shattered, but the passengers escaped unhurt; as did the driver, although for some time rendered insensible by the violence of the shock. On the same day, several houses at Petersburg, in Virginia, were struck by lightning, and a lady and her daughter, while at dinner, were killed; the father, who sat

at the table, escaped unhurt. A brig going down James River was at the same time dismasted by lightning.

The following is extracted from the Carlisle Journal of Saturday, Aug. 28th.—“ Within these few years an insect, before unknown in this country, has made its appearance in the British orchards, which, if means are not generally taken to root it out, will in a short period destroy every apple-tree in the kingdom. It exhibits upon the trees, the appearance of a white efflorescence, like what may be sometimes seen on the stones in the fields; this seems, however, to be only the habitation of the insects, which exist in millions wherever they have once lodged themselves. On bruising the efflorescence-like matter between the fingers, a deep red-coloured fluid, like blood, is expressed, and which probably is of that nature. Already have several valuable orchards been much injured by this insect, which corrodes the apple-trees in such a manner as, at last, completely to destroy their organization, and to kill them, without the proprietors, many of them at least, even once suspecting the cause. The following recipe is then given, of a cheap composition, which has been found effectually to answer the purpose: To one hundred gallons of human urine, and one bushel of lime, add cow-dung in a sufficient quantity to bring it to the consistence of paint. With this composition anoint the trees. If the white efflorescence-like substance, in which the insects are lodged, has made its appearance, it should previously be brushed off.”

The taste, judgment, and liberality



ality of the inhabitants of Liverpool has been lately displayed, in the erection of a superb and elegant building, to be denominated the Lyceum, consisting of a magnificent coffee-room, library, reading-room or lesser library, and other necessary appendages. The coffee-room is universally allowed to be unrivalled, with respect to size, situation, elegance and convenience. It is an oblong of nearly 70 feet by 38, with a recess on the side opposite the window, of 46 feet by ten. Its height is in due proportion to its other dimensions, being 31 feet from the floor to the centre of the building. The library is a rotunda of 45 feet diameter, and about 40 in height, finished with a dome, and lighted only by a central sky-light. The reading-room or lesser library is 33 feet by 21, and over it is a committee-room of like dimensions. The principal front to Bold-street is in extent 133 feet. The above building is considered by professional men as, in many respects, the first architectural ornament of Liverpool, there being a chasteness, simplicity and majesty, in the whole design, both external and internal, and the workmanship throughout is executed in a style and manner, which reflects the highest credit on the contractor.

30th. On Monday, about four o'clock, the West-India Docks, being considered as complete, the water was admitted. The first aperture for letting in the water was made about a foot under the low-water mark, in the Preventer-dam, (the place that flood the flock when the Coffre-dam gave way some time since),

but it was found necessary, in consequence of the water coming in very slowly, to make another aperture, of the same dimensions, on Tuesday afternoon. Such is the extent of this vast undertaking, that although the water ran into the docks, after the rate of 500 to a 1000 gallons in a second, yet the great dock was not completely covered by the next morning at six o'clock. No kind of form was used on the occasion of letting in the water. Friday, Sept. 3d. being the day appointed for the grand ceremony of receiving the first ship in the Great Dock, at Limehouse, a vast assemblage of persons of rank were present, to witness the ceremony. At one o'clock precisely, the Henry Addington, Capt, Lacy, a new built West-India vessel, and one of the finest in the trade, the property of R. Milligan, esq. a merchant of great respectability, and Chairman of the Company, about 350 tons burthen, entered the dock; she was towed in by ropes amidst the cheers of at least 10,000 spectators. The vessel exhibited a splendid and beautiful appearance, being decorated with the colours of all the different nations in the world. She was brought to anchor exactly opposite the warehouse, No. VIII. which was then made ready for the reception of goods. Another West-Indiamen, called the Echo, followed the Henry Addington, and moored within a short distance. The motion of the ship through the basin was very slow. The former was light, but the latter contained between eight and nine hundred hogheads of sugar, which will be the first goods deposited in



the new warehouses. The Earl of Roslyn, Lords Hood, Pelham, Hobart, Hawkesbury, Sheffield, Harvey, and Glenbervie; Sir Sydney Smith, the Lord Mayor, Sir G. Shee, Mr. Alderman Curtis and Mr. Manning, honoured the ceremony with their presence. An elegant cold collation was provided. On the fore-top-gallant-mast was the Admiralty flag. At two o'clock they landed from the ship, under a discharge of 14 guns, which fired a second salute, and they afterwards returned to town, to dine with the directors at the London Tavern. The West-India Docks, thus opened, are intended for homeward-bound ships, but in which they will not be allowed to stay after their cargoes are discharged. It is 1600 feet long, 514 wide, and 29 deep, built round with brick-work, five feet in thickness at the top, and covered with large square stones, as coping to the wall. Another lock is yet to be made for the outward-bound ships, which will be of the same length, but narrower by 100 feet. A magnificent entrance or gateway to the quays is intended, with allegorical devices, and there will be a high-wall round the whole, besides a sloping ditch. The number of houses, for the residence of clerks and workmen, will convert the marsh, in time, into a town, so that London will then extend from Paddington-turnpike to Blackwall, without any interruption whatever. It is now somewhat more than two years since the first stone of this great commercial improvement was laid, and it reflects much credit on those employed in carrying it into execu-

tion, that, in so short a time, they should have succeeded in rendering the dock fit for the reception of merchandize and shipping. The depth of the water is 25 feet at high tide. The dock itself, appearing like a great lake, is, at once, an object of beauty and astonishment. The warehouses are the grandest, the most commodious and spacious, that ever were seen in this country, and are capable of containing a vast quantity of goods.

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## SEPTEMBER.

Early in the morning, a 1st. dreadful fire broke out in the house of Mr. H. Davis, oilman, in Leadenhall-street. On the first alarm, the watchmen belonging to the India-house afforded assistance with the company's engines, which prevented the extension of the fire; but a sufficient quantity of water could not be procured for two hours, when the conflagration had extended itself to Mr. Swift's, trunk-maker, Mr. Ward's, the Ship-tavern, the Geneva warehouse, and the top part of Mr. Tinkler's premises. The fury of the flames was so great that very little property could be saved. The premises above-mentioned, with the exception of Mr. Tinkler's, are entirely destroyed. During the fire, two Jew boys were detected in attempting to cut the leathern hose belonging to the East-India Company's engines, when they were secured and sent to the compter. Some villains, also, during the progress of the flames, got into Mr. Tinkler's house,



house, under the pretence of affording assistance; they fastened the door and began to plunder the house, when the door was forced by some people without, who suspected their intentions, and they were all taken and sent to the Compter.

A very extraordinary robbery was effected in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn. A young woman, genteelly dressed, went to the overseers of the workhouse, and desired to know whether they could provide a wet nurse for a lady of rank and fortune. They informed her there was a young woman who had just lain-in of a fine healthy child. It was shewn her; she praised its beauty, and said she would inform the lady, and call again. She returned in the evening, again kissed and praised the child, and requested permission to take it to shew the lady, who was waiting near the place in her carriage. The child was intrusted to her care, but she never afterwards made her appearance with it. Every search was made, but without effect. The mother has been in a state of distraction ever since.

A few days ago, Mr. Judd, a respectable attorney, of Old-street-road, was on a visit to a friend in Lincolnshire, whose house being attacked in the night by some thieves, the man-servant took a loaded piece, and went down stairs, followed by Mr. R. though unperceived by him; when the servant, (supposing him to be one of the villains) fired, and wounded him so that he expired two hours after.

2d. Between nine and ten o'clock this evening, upwards

of 100 desperate villians, stationed themselves in Moorfields, near Finsbury-square, armed with large knives and bludgeons, and robbed every passenger going that way. One gentleman, in particular, lost twenty-four pounds in Bank notes and cash.

Paris. The audience given on the 3d. to the *Corps Diplomatique* by the first Consul was more brilliant and more numerous than any that preceded it. It is, indeed, a grand, solemn, and affecting sight, to see this assemblage of all the ambassadors of Europe, now restored to peace. What added to the interest of this audience was the presence of a man who had advocated with so much ability that peace: it was at this audience that Mr. Fox was presented. Twice did the First Consul accost him; and among many flattering things, said, "There are in the world but two nations; the one inhabits the East, the other the West. The English, French, Germans, Italians, &c. under the same civil code, having the same manners, the same habits, and almost the same religion, are all members of the same family; and the men who wish to light up again the flame of war among them, wish for *civil war*. These principles, Sir, were developed in your speeches with an energy that does as much honour to your heart as to your head." Alderman Combe (late Lord Mayor of London) was presented at the same audience; and the Consul observed to him, that "the firm and paternal conduct which he had adopted during the scarcity in London, ensured him the esteem and gratitude of all govern-



governments, and of all statesmen." Mr. Fox dined on the same day with the First Consul, who had a very long conversation with him, in presence of a numerous company, as to the liberty of the press in England, and the necessity of its continuance so long as England was to be considered as a free nation. In allusion to certain paragraphs which have given great offence, Mr. Fox observed, that great characters were beyond the reach of malignant reports, which were to be attributed very frequently to want of more important matter, and were often contradicted by the author himself; that newspaper criticism and severity ought not to have much effect upon men in eminent situations of life, &c. But it did not appear that the First Consul was at all persuaded of the necessity for such freedom as the London editors of newspapers seem to enjoy.

The English newspapers have been forbidden in France; and the same restriction has been put upon them throughout Belgium.

7th. In the afternoon, a few minutes after three o'clock, the corning mill, No. 1, part of the royal gunpowder works, situated about three quarters of a mile North-west of the town of Faversham, blew up with a most tremendous explosion, and killed six men, who were at work therein, and three horses. The fragments of the building were dispersed in thousands of pieces over the adjoining grounds, and the massy presses and mill timbers splintered and displaced in such a manner as to present a heap of ruins impossible for words to describe: but owing to the chosen situation of the corn-

ing mills, and drying stoves, which were removed from the town after the dreadful accident in 1781, and the further judicious precautions of detaching the buildings from each other, raising banks of earth between some, and surrounding others with strong hedges and plantations of wood, the destruction has not extended beyond the place where it begun; the windows of a house in Broad-street, and a few at Mr. Crow's, baker, in West-street, being all the damage sustained in Faversham, which is somewhat singular, as a great number of buildings adjoining, and others much nearer, were untouched. The corning mills are timber buildings, of an oblong quadrangular form, somewhat like a barn, and covered with tiles, having four entrances; the internal space divided by two partitions into three compartments. The first contains the presses with their levers and capstan for pressing the powder into cakes; which cakes being coarsely granulated are conveyed in sieves, of different degrees of fineness, into the second compartment, containing the apparatus for sifting; in the third compartment is the horse-wheel, the cogs of which give motion to the whole of the machinery. How the fatal spark was produced, which caused this devastation, whether from friction or from any incautious act of the workmen, as no fire is ever employed in this part of the works, is, and ever must remain unknown. The unfortunate sufferers by this calamity were, John Hastings, foreman, who has left a wife; John Coveney, a wife and three children; George Taylor, a wife; John White, a wife and five children; William Thurston,



ston, a wife and three children; and William Simmons, unmarried. Three of the men were found alive after the explosion, with every article of clothing torn off, their bodies scorched black, and miserably lacerated; they died, however, in a few minutes. Two others were discovered among the ruins in a similar condition, dead; but William Simmons, whose employ was with the mill horses in that part of the building which set in motion the machinery for sifting, had his shoulder and thigh broken, and a dangerous wound upon his head, by the falling of a piece of timber, but was not burnt; he survived nearly two hours, during which he was perfectly collected, knew Mr. Giraud the surgeon, and answered several questions put to him relative to the accident, but could give no account of the cause: he seemed perfectly resigned, and sensible that death only could end his present sufferings. John White had entered the mill only a few minutes, and Mr. Pledger, an officer belonging to the works, had left it only ten minutes before the explosion. It was heard many miles in every direction round the country, sending forth an immense pillar of smoke, so high into the atmosphere, as to be seen from the Dane-john-hill at Canterbury, where the sound resembled that of a large piece of ordnance. The premises were supposed to contain about 10 barrels, or 1000 lb. of powder. One of the horses, otherwise but little hurt, had a large splinter driven into his skull so fast that it could not be drawn out; he was killed on the following day. The

widows and children of the workmen have the pay of their husbands and fathers continued to them for life; government, with a laudable humanity, adopting this rule in all cases of a like nature. The last explosion, which took place previous to this, was on Feb. 20, 1793, when about forty barrels of gunpowder, which were in one of the stoves in a marsh below the town, were blown up, and three men killed.

Early in the morning 9th. Mr. Tolerton, of Flanshaw-lane, near Wakefield, looking out of the window, observed a man on the other side of the road washing his hands, and a light in the house of Elizabeth Smith, one of his neighbours opposite. On his giving the alarm, the light was extinguished, and the man run away. Mr. T. then entered the house, and found Mrs. S. covered with blood, and writhing in the agonies of death. She was quite speechless, and survived but a few minutes. From some suspicious circumstances a young man about nineteen years of age was taken up. On his first examination he flatly denied the horrid event, but at length confessed that he committed the murder in company with R. Heald, another young man in the neighbourhood. Understanding the deceased was worth money, they broke open the house with a resolution to rob and murder her. The former held the unhappy woman while Heald cut and beat her, and by accident wounded his accomplice's hand, which he was employed in washing when seen by Mr. T. Heald denies the whole. The villains are both apprentices, and



and are committed to York castle for trial. The deceased was upwards of 70 years old.

11th. *Sheriff's Court,—Hurst v. Halford.*—The plaintiff in this cause was of a profession technically called a *Nicknackiterian*, that is, a dealer in all kinds of curiosities, such as Egyptian mummies, Indian implements of war, arrows dipped in the poison of the upas trees, bows, antique shields, helmets, &c. and was described as possessing the skin of the cameleopard exhibited in the Roman amphitheatre, the head of the spear, used by King Arthur, and the breech of the first cannon used at the siege of Constantinople; and, in short, of almost every rarity that the most ardent virtuoso would wish to possess. The defendant was the executor of a widow lady of the name of Morgan, who, in the enjoyment of a considerable fortune, indulged her fancy, and amused herself in collecting objects of natural curiosity. She had been long in the habit of purchasing a variety of rare articles of the plaintiff; she had bought of him models of the temple of Jerusalem and the Alexandrian Library, a specimen of the type invented by Memnon, the Egyptian, and a genuine manuscript of the first play acted by Thespis and his company in a wagon; for all these she had in her life-time paid most liberally. It appeared also she had erected a mausoleum, in which her deceased husband was laid, and she projected the depositing her own remains, when death should overtake her, by the side of him. The plaintiff was employed in fitting it up, and ornamenting it with a tessellated pavement; this was also

paid for, and constituted no part of the present demand. This action was brought against the defendant, her executor, to recover the sum of 40l. for stuffing and embalming a bird of paradise, a fly bird, an orangoutang, ichneumon, and a cassowary. The defendant did not deny that the plaintiff had a claim on the estate of the deceased, but he had let judgment go by default, and attempted merely to cut down the amount of the demand. The plaintiff's foreman, or assistant, proved, that the work had been done by the direction of Mrs. Morgan, and that the charge was extremely reasonable. On the contrary, the defendant's solicitor contended, that the charge was most extravagant: he stated, that the museum of the deceased virtuoso had been sold by public auction, and including the models of the temple of Jerusalem and the Alexandrian library, the antique type, Thespian manuscript, Spearhead, and every thing else she had been all her life collecting, it had not netted more than 110l. As to the stuffed monkeys and birds, which constituted the foundation of the plaintiff's claim, they scarce had defrayed the expence of carrying them away; they were absolute rubbish. The plaintiff's attorney replied, that his client's labour was not to be appreciated by what the objects of it produced at a common sale, attended, perhaps, by brokers, who were as ignorant as the stuffed animals they were purchasing. The under-sheriff observed, that in matters of taste the intrinsic value of an article was not the proper medium of ascertaining the compensation due to the labour which produced it; a virtuoso frequently expended



expended a large sum of money for what another man would kick out of his house as lumber. If Mrs. Morgan, who it was proved was a lady of fortune, wished to amuse the gloomy hours of her widowhood by stuffing apes and birds, her executor was at least bound to pay the expence she had incurred, in indulging her whimsical fancy. He saw no reason why a single shilling of the plaintiff's demand should be subtracted.—The jury accordingly gave a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 40*l*.

11th. The directors of the Bank, in consequence of the increasing emoluments of that corporation, have proposed that the sum of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on their capital (which is £.11,642,400) should be divided among the proprietors in the 5 per cent annuities. This recommendation having been adopted by a court of proprietors, each holder of bank-stock has  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent addition to his capital in 5 per cent annuities.

Some workmen, who were employed on the roof of a building in King's Bench Walk, in drawing up sheets of lead to the roof, carelessly let fall a large sheet rolled up, which they had just drawn to the top of the building. This immense weight fell through the ceiling between the rafters upon a desk below, at which a gentleman was sitting, whose head was struck by the lead, but owing to his having his hat on at the time, and the lead falling in rather an oblique direction, his life was preserved. The desk was broken to pieces, and the building much shaken by the accident.

At Union Hall, Southwark, Mary Robinson was brought up

on a charge of stealing little children, and stripping them of their frocks. The parents of no less than five infants, of the ages of from three years to five, appeared against this wretch; they proved the property in the frocks. It appeared the prisoner used to seize every opportunity of enticing children to her, and having carried them out of the neighbourhood, plundered them of their cloaths, which she immediately pawned. The pawnbrokers identified the prisoner. One of them, from her so repeatedly coming to him, suspected her, and was the cause of her apprehension.—She was fully committed for trial.

The Congregation of 12th. German Jews in London have elected, after a vacancy of 10 years, a High Priest of their nation, with a salary of 4000*l*. a year. The choice has fallen on the Rev. Dr. Solomon Hart, a son of a former High Priest. He is a native of England, but went with his father to the Continent, where he afterwards settled. On his arrival, he was met at Rumford by the Elders, Rabbis, and many other respectable Jews. The venerable Chief seemed much affected by the favourable reception he experienced. As he is a zealous promoter of good morals, it is hoped his example and influence will have a powerful effect in suppressing the vice and immorality among the Jews, which often expose them to hatred and contempt.

This evening a fire broke out at Mr. Hodfell's, music-seller, No. 45, High Holborn, which seems to have originated in the back kitchen. The family in the



the first floor had but just time to escape, without being able to save any property. The want of water was severely felt; and about 8 o'clock the fire communicated to Mrs. Potter's, fruiterer, No. 46, which was shortly in a blaze. About nine the roof of Mr. Hodfell's house fell in. Plenty of water being now procured, the engines poured such torrents on the adjoining houses, as secured them from the progress of the flames. Of the two houses, the bare walls only remained at 11 o'clock.

At Liverpool, on Tuesday, September 14, a disastrous and destructive fire broke out in the warehouses belonging to T. France, esq. at Goree, whose spacious and lofty front has long attracted the admiration of strangers, and which was not surpassed in magnitude, by any similar structure in the kingdom. The celebrated warehouses at Antwerp, as well as those at Venice, equally famous, were neither so lofty nor commodious as this warehouse, or rather this pile of warehouses. About 10 o'clock in the evening a smoke was observed to issue from a room in the warehouse, and though for a time appearances seemed to justify a hope that the mischief might be subdued without much effort, no sooner were the doors and windows of the building forced, than the flames, which had been smothered, burst out with horrid fury, extending their ravages in every direction with equal rapidity and violence, and exhibiting a spectacle of solemn grandeur, a scene sublime, terrific, and of such majestic horror, as no tongue nor pencil can

describe. In a few hours that immense pile, together with the large and commodious range of warehouses which was erected in front, at the distance of sixteen yards, as well as that which extends from it, in a line to Water-street, was a heap of ruins, and a great proportion of all that rich and various produce with which every apartment of these buildings had been stored and crowded, was consumed. The whole number of warehouses destroyed is about *thirty*, from six to thirteen stories high, and of a proportionable depth, though Billing's Liverpool Advertiser mentions only *seventeen*! The tide being fortunately at flood, it afforded an opportunity to the shipping to remove beyond the reach of the flames. Not a single individual lost his life during the conflagration; but it appears, that some time afterwards part of the ruins fell on Mr. Phillips, employed in the service of Mr. Foster, and that he was so dreadfully crushed, that he died in the space of a few hours. The most beneficial effects were produced from the abundance of water which the springs of Bootle water-works yielded, in arresting the dreadful conflagration. Greatly to be desired is the completion of those immense reservoirs now constructing in the yard of the company of proprietors, (on the Vauxhall-road) as these works, from their height, would have commanded those towering warehouses, that were destroyed without even the resistance of an engine. The fire-engines were likewise liberally supplied with water from the pipes belonging to the corporation water-works. The value of the property destroyed—



destroyed has been variously estimated; but, according to a medium computation, may be stated thus:—The buildings, 52,000l.—Sugar, 51,000l.—Cotton, 26,000l.—Coffee, and other West India-produce 40,000l.—Grain, 10,000l.—Tallow, hemp, &c. 16,000l.—Total, 295,000l.

14th. *Manchester.*—This afternoon there was an alarm of fire, in the factory in Portland-street, belonging to Messrs. Shallcross and Barnes, and in part occupied by Messrs. Olivant. Immediate assistance was given; but, part of the building (only lately erected) was soon in flames; which slowly, but effectually, got beyond the division wall, and every thing was consumed to the walls, a part of which was obliged to be pulled down. Some of the machinery was got out, but in a very damaged state.

15th. An indictment was preferred at the Middlesex Sessions against E. Salmon, for feloniously receiving, knowing them to have been stolen, a child's cap, gown, and other articles, the property of Elizabeth Impey. The mother of the child, Elizabeth Impey, stated, that she resided on the 22d. of June in Red Lion Market. On that day a man, whom she did not know, came to her, and said that he was sent by Mrs. James, of Finsbury-place, to enquire after her child, and relieve her. Mrs. J. had frequently relieved her when in distressed circumstances. He then gave her a trifle of money to go and procure necessaries, and said he would take care of her child till she returned. She entrusted him with her infant, but on her

return she found he had decamped with it. After many ineffectual enquiries, she was advised by a neighbour to go to the house of the prisoner. She went, accompanied by a police officer, and found her child, which she recognized by "certain signs," in bed with Mrs. Salmon, who insisted that it was her own, of which she had lately been delivered. A surgeon, who was called in to examine the prisoner, stated his opinion that she had not been delivered, in consequence of which the child was given up. The Counsel for the defendant submitted to the Court, that the present indictment could not be sustained, as there had not been proved any intention of stealing the cloaths: and this being also the opinion of the Chairman, the prisoner was acquitted: but was ordered to be detained.

Lord St. Helen's had his audience of leave of the Emperor Alexander; and Mr. Garlick, secretary of legation, was introduced in form as chargé d'affaires, until the arrival of Sir J. B. Warren at Petersburg. His Lordship was presented with a very valuable diamond ring, as a mark of his Imperial Majesty's favour and approbation.

The incorporation of Piedmont with the French Republic is at length formally announced. By an Organic Senatus Consultum of the 11th inst. inserted in the *Moniteur* of this day, the departments of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura, and Tanaro, forming the whole of Piedmont, are declared to be united to the territory of the Republic. These newly-incorporated departments



ments are to send 17 deputies to the Legislative Body, making the whole number of that body 318; and the city of Turin is to be comprized among those principal cities of the Republic, the mayors of which are to be present when the oaths are taken by the person appointed to succeed the First Consul.

19th. About one o'clock, a fire broke out in a stable rented by Mr. Cooper, near the patent shot manufactory, near Cuper's Garden, Lambeth, which consumed the whole of the buildings, besides damaging the cooperage and the lead-melter's adjoining. Nine horses out of eleven, kept by Mr. Cooper, were burnt to death; and one man, endeavouring to draw them from the stables, was so dreadfully bruised by the roof falling in upon him, that he is not expected to live; five others were also maimed at the same time; and two children were crushed nearly to death by the engines coming unexpectedly upon them. Mr. Hitchcock had 200l. worth of planks of wood consumed.

21st. Mr. Garnerin's promise, of a descent from a parachute, was at last realized. At a quarter before six a small pilot balloon was launched from the place where the balloon was filling, an inclosure near North Audley-street, to ascertain the current of air, which proved to be very light from the southward and westward, with a clear horizon. The parachute consisted of a case or bag of white canvass or sail-cloth, formed, by thirty-two gores, into a hemispherical form of twenty-three feet diameter, at the top of which

was a truck, or round piece of wood, of ten inches diameter, with a hole in its centre, fastened to the canvass by thirty-two short pieces of tape. At about four feet and a half from the top of the canvass, a wooden hoop, about eight feet diameter, was put on and tied by a string from each seam, so that when the balloon ascended, the parachute hung like a curtain from this hoop, and appeared cylindrical, between the balloon and the car, or a cylindrical basket covered with canvass, about four feet high, and two and a quarter diameter, in which M. Garnerin ascended. Garnerin, who was dressed in a close jacket and a pair of trowsers, exerted himself much in attaching the apparatus of his parachute, to the net of the balloon, and at about five minutes before six o'clock he entered his machine and ascended. After being about seven or eight minutes in the upper regions, the cord which attached the parachute to the balloon was cut; the parachute almost directly expanded, and for a second or two remained nearly stationary; after that its descent appeared rapid for another second or two, when its motions became so agitated, as several times to give the car an appearance of being nearly on an horizontal line with the parachute. The course the parachute took was over Mary-le-bonne and Somer's-town; on the passing of which last place it was not more than forty or fifty feet above the houses, and at that height was borne over St. Pancras. Here M. Garnerin was obliged to let out some of his ballast, in order to clear the houses, and he struck the ground about two fields from



the church-yard. So violent was the shock as to throw him on his face, which was much cut, and bled considerably. M. Garnerin appeared considerably agitated, and trembled much when relieved from the parachute, which was probably occasioned by the untoward circumstance of one of the cords, which were disposed to confine the extremities of the parachute, and by which it preserved its umbrella-like appearance, having given way, from which accident, the violent motion which so agitated the parachute took its rise. Perhaps no spectacle ever more eagerly engaged the public attention than Mr. Garnerin's promise of a descent by a parachute. The experiment was in this country new, and by many believed impracticable, with safety to the person of the aéronaut. As early this day as 12 o'clock, the streets and avenues leading to North Audley-street began to be attended by a number of spectators; and long before four, the top of every house that could command a view of the ground whence the balloon was to ascend, was crowded by every description of persons. The descent occupied rather more than 10 minutes. At the place where he descended, near 5000 people and 50 horsemen soon collected. M. Garnerin, on horseback, preceded by several gentlemen, was then conducted home in safety; though not without much inconvenience from the pressure of the mob. The balloon descended in safety the next day at Mr. Harding's, near Farnham Hill, Surrey.

25th. The Gazette contains a notice from the Corpora-

tion of London, of their intention to apply to parliament for five acts. The first, to remove Bethlem Hospital, and on its site to build a new square, with two new streets; the one leading into Throgmorton-street and the Royal Exchange, and the other from Moorgate to Mansion-house-street, and to widen, improve, &c. the intermediate lanes, &c. The second, for taking down London Bridge, and rebuilding another bridge across the Thames instead of it. The third, for enlarging Smithfield market, and for the better regulation of it. The fourth, for enlarging and amending the powers in the act for improving the port of London. And the fifth, for establishing a free market for the sale of coals in the wards of Billingsgate and Tower, or one of them, and to prevent imposition in the sale of this article.

Last week a large copper table, weighing twenty 26th. tons, was cast at Bersham iron works, for the Ravenhead Glass Company. The metal was melted in five furnaces, each containing four tons: the building was secured from the immense heat of the casting by a wrought iron umbrella. A carriage with eight wheels has been constructed to convey it to the place of its destination.

In the morning, a fire broke out in a large store- 27th. house, in Store-street, Bedford-square, belonging to Messrs. Combe and Co. brewers, by which the greater part of the building was destroyed. A large quantity of porter was in the storehouse at the time the fire broke out



out, and was used to supply the engines for an hour, till water could be procured.

Same night, about eleven o'clock, a fire broke out at the new Assembly-room behind Russel-square, which was entirely consumed. The fire is attributed to an incendiary.

28th. A shocking murder was committed at Mortlake:—

A man named Stillwell, who keeps a public-house in that village, rose at five o'clock; and having some words with his wife, towards whom he had always manifested great conjugal affection, was so hurried away by passion, that, fetching a horse-pistol, loaded with eight flugs, he presented it at her, and pulled the trigger! The flint being worn out, the discharge was prevented; when, with a vengeance truly diabolical, he rushed upon the woman, and with the butt-end of the pistol beat her on the head till her brains were scattered about the room.

*Cambridge.*—Yesterday evening, at our theatre at *Stir-bitch*, just after half-price, the ladies and gentlemen in the front-boxes were alarmed by the cry of "Fire." They arose, and, seeing nothing, were sitting down again; but hearing it repeated, they began to make their way out, when every part of the house was immediately alarmed. Many from the gallery threw themselves into the pit; others ran to the stairs, and choaked up the passage; while some fell headlong down the stairs, and were trod upon by others. Ladies and gentlemen threw themselves from the upper boxes into the pit, and made their way over the or-

chestra. Numbers were much bruised and hurt. Few limbs were broken, but four lives were lost: two young women, aged about 22, Mason, of Waterbeat Farms, and Cooke, of Cambridge, bed-maker; a girl, Freeman of Cambridge, basket-maker, aged 11; and a boy, Smith, of Cambridge, tailor, aged 14. These were all in the gallery, and were either trampled on or pressed to death. A gang of pickpockets, it is supposed, set on foot this alarm, as several ladies' pockets were cut off, and watches and bracelets lost, &c. The Managers have offered 100 guineas upon conviction of the offenders.

The unhappy state of Switzerland becomes every day more manifest. In addition to the five cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Glarus, and Appenzel, those of Rheinthal, Zug and Baden, have now declared themselves in a state of insurrection. In short a determined spirit of hostility appears to be spreading so rapidly throughout that country, as to render it impossible for the government of the Helvetic Republic singly to contend with it, with any prospect of success.

The Committee for improving the Port of London have lately advertised to receive proposals from any person willing to undertake the blasting, or otherwise breaking and removing Blackwall-rock. This rock is situated in the river Thames, at Blackwall, and the top is sometimes seen above water at very low tides. The body of it extends about forty feet in length, and thirty feet in breadth, and is to be reduced or lowered eighteen feet perpendicular at the least.

Accord-



According to some letters lately received from the Baptist Missionaries in Bengal, it appears that Messrs. Carey and his sons (formerly of Leicester) Mr. Ward and Mr. Merham are in good health, and busily prosecuting the ends of their mission. The baptised Hindoos continue steady to the profession of Christianity, notwithstanding the sufferings to which the consequent loss of cast exposes them. Great attention is excited in the country, to the Gospel, and many of the natives hear the Missionaries with eagerness, and are very desirous of obtaining copies of the New Testament. The first volume of the Old Testament is completed, at press, which contains the five books of Moses, and the rest is in great forwardness. The Missionary-society are exerting themselves, to obtain contributions to defray the expence, as upwards of 1000*l.* is still wanting, to enable them to publish the whole Bible in the Bengalee language.

*Curious specimen of the division of labour.*—At the manufactory of Messrs. Noel and Kippax, in Sheffield, upwards of 90 persons are employed in forming those useful instruments called knives, in every branch of the manufacture, from the rude iron-bar to the beautiful and complicated articles which cost seven or eight guineas, and which contain 28 different pieces within the handle. Some, indeed, are not of so high a value, for having passed through at least 60 different hands, from the rough ore to the last polishing, they are sold afterwards at the rate of 2½*d.* each. Five hundred different patterns of knives are made at this manufactory. Almost all the people

employed work by the piece, and commonly earn, if industrious, 4*s.* a day.

The cotton manufactories, in the north of England, have lately increased to a degree almost incredible. Lancaster is, and perhaps will continue to be, the grand centre of this rising branch of trade. But the manufactory of this article, has, within the last four or five years been gaining much ground in Cheshire, Staffordshire and Westmoreland; and so considerable has its progress been in the West Riding of Yorkshire, that the labouring poor are at present, in many places, principally employed in it. In the neighbourhood of Hallifax, Huddersfield, Bradford, and even Dewsbury, several large manufactories have been lately erected, and the enterprising proprietors of these works have, every where, the most flattering prospects of success.

*Preston Guild or Festival.*—This Guild, is by charter, celebrated at the end of every twenty-one years, in default of which, the elective franchise of the inhabitants of Preston, in sending members to parliament, and their rights as burgesses would be forfeited. Twenty-eight days grace are allowed to those who are inclined to renew their freedom, whether acquired by ancestry or purchase. This is always announced before the corporation in full assembly, by a proclamation of the Town-cryer, who ends with these words “or ever after they are to be debarred of the same on any similar occasion.” The Derby family, which has the principal patronage of the borough, are, of course, deeply interested in giving eclat to  
this



this festival. Every kind of sport, suited to each rank and degree in life, is introduced. The Guild commenced on Monday, the 30th of August under the most propitious auspices, and with as favourable weather as could be desired. The concourse of people of all ranks, from the nobleman to the peasant, was such as was never before collected there, on any similar occasion. The morning was ushered in with the ringing of bells and sounding of trumpets. At the different inns, where the companies assembled, colours were seen flying from the windows, and bands of music playing. The gentlemen's procession commenced on Monday morning, immediately after breakfast; it was preceded by the marshal, armed cap-a-pée, on horseback, trumpeters on horseback, &c. then came twenty-four young women, belonging to the different cotton-mills, in an uniform of peculiar beauty and simplicity, consisting wholly of the manufacture of the town. Each carried in her hand the branch of an artificial cotton-tree, as the symbol of her profession. These branches appeared as in full bloom, and had a strong resemblance to nature. The gentlemen walked in pairs, preceded by Lord Derby and the Hon. T. Erskine. They amounted to about four-hundred, consisting of all the principal noblemen, gentlemen, merchants and manufacturers, of this and the neighbouring counties. At the head of the manufacturers were J. Horrocks, esq. M. P. and J. Watson, esq. arm in arm, (the two principal and indeed rival cotton manufacturers of the county), carrying white wands in their hands: up-

wards of one hundred workmen and mechanics followed, two and two. They paraded through all the principal streets in the town, attended by bands of music and flags, with various emblematical devices, &c. &c. and then proceeded to the parish-church. In the course of the procession came Nicholas Grimshaw, esq. the mayor, with his mace, the recorder, bailiffs, aldermen, common-council-men, halbert-men, and other corporation officers, town-cryer, beadle, &c. as likewise all the different companies or incorporated bodies, headed by their wardens, with staves of office, in their state dresses, and with the usual insignia; also one of the lodges of free-masons, in their appropriate decorations. Each company was attended by a band of music and a very elegant ensign. After divine service the procession paraded the streets, in the same order as they had gone to the church, and then broke up at the Guildhall, where they had first assembled, about nine o'clock in the morning. After the procession, Mr. Grimshaw, the Mayor, entertained the gentlemen with a sumptuous dinner at his house, in Winkley-place. The Mayoress, likewise, entertained the ladies on the following day.

On Tuesday was the ladies procession. A numerous body of gentlemen, holding white rods in their hands, walked before and filed off, making a line on each side of the street, through which the ladies were to pass. The girls from the cotton manufactory, led the van, as before, afterwards came the ladies, walking in pairs; in all near four hundred in number, consisting



fisting of the most distinguished ladies in this and the other neighbouring counties. After attending the Mayorefs to church, and hearing divine service, the ladies paraded in the same order, quite round the market-place. In the course of the procession, a complete steam-engine, in miniature, at full work, and performing all the various operations of the cotton manufactory, was exhibited, for the instruction and amusement of the ladies. On Monday, there was a splendid assembly at the town-hall, (the tickets at half a guinea each) which was crowded to an uncommon degree, and on Wednesday night the Mayorefs gave a ball, at the same place, for which more than four hundred tickets were issued. The crowd was so great that dancing was hardly practicable. The New Theatre, at Preston, a very elegant and convenient house, was attended by crowded audiences every night, at double prices: a great part of the pit had been laid into boxes, notwithstanding which scarcely a place was to be had, on most of the nights. The races began on Wednesday, and the concourse of people on Fulwood moor was greater than ever before remembered. This Guild was instituted in the reign of King Henry III. and the late one makes the eighteenth which has been held, under the reign of twelve monarchs. The first was held in the second year of King Edward III. His present Majesty is the only sovereign, during whose reign, three of these festivals have been celebrated.

The following particulars, among others, have been lately published, respecting the improve-

ments and alterations in the Prince of Wales's residence at Brighton. The Prince's bedchamber is divided into three compartments: the center incloses, by sliding partitions, the bed, which is fitted up as a tent, with reflectors, exhibiting to his Royal Highness the Promenade on the Steyne very distinctly, while he reclines on his pillow. On one side is an anti-chamber, and on the other a breakfast room. The grand saloon remains as before. The painting by Rebecca has been cleaned by Mr. Crace, jun. The dome, however, is partly new, except the figures, by the artist Barzago. The Conservatory, an additional wing, is extremely light and elegant; the ceiling is painted in sky-trellage in fresco. The plants are to be of the most rare and variegated kind. The eating-room, the other additional wing, commands an entire view of the Steyne and sea. The ceiling painted sky-colour, the pannels dark maroon, and style yellow. The windows of the whole suite are executed with uncommon mechanical skill. The library will be fitted up in the French style, the paper a brilliant yellow. The billiard-room is very extensive, and will include hazard, billiard, and money-tables. The entrance to the stair-case from the anti-room is truly spacious and grand; four pillars in *scalioli* are by Richter. The newells and skirting-boards are made to imitate wainscott, the walls are painted of a bright-green, and the ceiling of the stair-case grey and white. The hall, a stone-colour and white; in the centre is placed a patent stove, which communicates warmth to the whole building.



ing. All the corridors are painted a beautiful French blue, the effect of which, from one end to the other, is novel and striking. The front of the edifice, viewed from the Steyne, is highly pleasing, the additional wings presenting an uniformity which was wanting before. The grounds are disposed with great picturesque beauty and effect, by Messrs. Lapidge and Hooper, pupils of the late celebrated Mr. Brown. The drive-in, which before was by much too narrow, has been rendered commodious by the taste and judgment of Sir John Lade. The family part of the house and domestic offices are still considered as too small for the accommodation of the servants; the Prince, however, intends to add another wing to correspond with the house, late Weltjie's. The stables and coach-houses, which are very spacious, have not been altered, but merely re-painted.

About the middle of September, a very uncommon phenomenon presented itself in a mountain that borders on Loch Tay, in the highlands of Scotland. A shepherd happened to be pasturing his flocks about the summit of the mountain, when he was suddenly surprised by a shower of stones which fell all around him. Terrified at such an unusual appearance, he hastily ran down the mountain to the villages situated in the low-grounds beneath, and told the astonishing prodigy which he had seen. The inhabitants gave him little credit; yet, as ghosts and other strange appearances are not altogether disbelieved in that part of the kingdom, he at last prevailed on some of them to visit the

spot and ascertain the fact. On coming to the place, they were no less surprised than he to find the ground all strewed over with a vast number of loose stones that evidently bore the marks of having recently fallen there. On looking round to discover the cause of this strange appearance, they perceived an aperture in the earth, of a cylindrical form, in the centre of the place about which the stones were scattered. From this aperture the stones had evidently been emitted, but by what impulse they were unable to discover. The mountain where this phenomenon took place lies not more than twenty miles distant in a straight line from the village of Comrie, where so many convulsions of the earth have been felt. An uncommonly violent shock took place at Comrie soon after the appearance of the above phenomenon; from which it may be concluded that they must have had some connexion together.

The following recipe, for preserving provisions, which is eminently useful to navigators and in hot climates, has appeared in a French journal:—"When the aliments, from intense heat and long keeping, are likely to pass into a state of corruption," says the writer, "the simple but sure mode of keeping them sound and healthful, is by putting a few pieces of charcoal into your pot or saucepan where the fish or meat is to be boiled. The effects of this are, that your soup will be good, and that the fish or flesh will be both sound and agreeable to the taste." This experiment has been tried, and should not be forgotten.

DIED.—At Twickenham, in his 86th year, Richard Owen Cam-



Cambridge, esq. He was author of "The Scribleriad, a Mock Heroick Poem, in six Books." 4to. 1751. "An Account of the War in India, between the English and French, on the Coast of Coromandel, from the Year 1750 to 1760, &c." 4to. 1761. Some poems in the sixth volume of Doddsley's Collection, and some papers in "The World."—As an author, Mr. Cambridge was well known to the public by his several much approved writings, both in prose and verse; and his various and extensive information, his pure and classical taste, his brilliant yet harmless wit, his uncommon cheerfulness and vivacity, were acknowledged, during along series of years, by all who had the happiness of enjoying his society, which was sought for and highly valued by many of the most distinguished scholars and statesmen of this country. But his talents and his acquirements make the least part of the praise belonging to him. It is chiefly for the upright manliness and independence of his mind, for his mild and benevolent disposition, his warm and unvaried affection to his family and friends, his kindness to his dependents, and for his firm faith and trust in the Christian religion, which were manifested through life by the practice of every Christian duty, and produced the most exemplary patience under the various infirmities of a tedious decline.

At Hampton-in-Arden, aged 104, Mrs. Reynolds. She could read the smallest print without spectacles, and retained the use of all her faculties till the day of her death.

## O C T O B E R.

This morning, at a quarter past 6, a sudden 4th. whirlwind came on at *Portsmouth*, and lasted about 20 minutes. It carried almost every thing before it; and occasioned the oversetting the ship *Thames*, from the West Indies, at the back of the Isle of Wight; by which the ship and whole crew were lost.

Died, at the house of Colonel O'Kelly, in Half-moon-street, Piccadilly, his wonderful parrot, who had been in his family 30 years, having been purchased at Bristol out of a West-India ship. It sang, with the greatest clearness and precision, "the civth Psalm," "The Banks of the Dee," "God save the King!" and other favourite songs; and, if it blundered in any one, instantly began again, till it had the tune complete. One hundred guineas had been refused for it in London. After its death the stomach was opened, from an apprehension something had stuck in it, but no obstruction was discovered, and probably it died the natural death of old age. This extraordinary bird escaped the observation of our modern Pliny, in his memoir on singing-birds; and we do not find that it was noticed by Mr. Pennant in his *Natural History*, or his "London;" or by Mr. Lysons, who paid a tribute to the Colonel's famous horse, *Eclipse*, whose "bones are buried in the park" at Canons, where, probably, those of this celebrated fowl will accompany them.

*Gravesend*.—This evening, the steam engine-house that cleared away the water, 10th. which



which impedes the subterraneous works of the Tunnel under the Thames, appeared in one general blaze, and all the internal erections of wood were consumed. The flames, it is reported, originated in some flax or tow taking fire at the foot of the stairs. The total loss does not exceed 500l. The power of the engine is far superior to the weight of the water to be raised; for, the excavation had been successfully arched by what the miners term a *curbing*, and had penned out the springs equal to the most sanguine expectation.

10th. The *Moniteur* contained a long and pompous account of the celebration at Turin of the Union of Piedmont with France. It seems to have been a kind of masquerade business; for a solemn mass and Te Deum in the cathedral of Turin was followed by military evolutions, dances, fireworks, and bumper toasts. Over the principal entrance of the cathedral were two figures of Fame, proclaiming these words—"The Union of Piedmont with the French Republic;" "Glory to the Eternal Being." On one of the side gates was written "Tolerance;" and on the other "Concord." In the saloon of the department of the Tanaro, in the National Palace, was a large painting representing the first descent of Bonaparte into Piedmont: and the genius of France dictating peace to the King of Sardinia in the city of Cherasco, with the inscription, "The first who opened their arms to the *Conquerors of the World*," decorated the saloon of the department of the Stura.

*Madeira*.—The Portuguese Indianman *Aurora*, from Lisbon,

bound to the Brazils, has been blown up off this island, and every soul on-board perished. She was underwritten in this country for 90,000l. The two super-cargoes were with a boat's crew, who had fortunately taken them from the ship on shore; which saved their lives.

A servant at *Harrowgate* 15th. had been riding a small stallion poney, the property of a physician at Manchester; and, on alighting, slackly retained the rein whilst he stood with his back towards him. The poney threw the man on the ground, knelt on him, and in the most vengeful manner worried him to death. The corpse was rescued with difficulty from the devouring beast.

About five o'clock in 16th. the evening, a man genteelly dressed went into Mr. Maryan's (silversmith's), in Lombard-street, drew a pistol from his pocket, and demanded money; which Mr. M. hesitating at, he fired, and the contents grazed his hair. He then attempted to escape; being closely pursued, he endeavoured to shoot himself; the pistol missing fire, he drew out a clasp-knife to defend himself, but was secured and lodged in the Compter. From Saturday night to Tuesday noon he obstinately refused to take any sustenance, and still persists in concealing his name, alleging that his brother is a reputable merchant in the city, but should never know his present disgrace.

The son of a taylor at Framlingham, in Suffolk, died there some days since; he was eight years old, only 28 inches high, and weighed no more than 28½ pounds.

*West.*



22d. *Westminster Sessions.*—*W. Putney*, foreman of Mrs. Bridges, a chimney-sweeper in Swallow-street, was indicted for assaulting and ill-treating a child, the son of — Kavanagh, an infant under eight years old. The prisoner having lately beaten the child unmercifully, some female neighbours, attracted by its cries, rushed into the house, seized the object of their pity, and carried him to the workhouse. The treatment which this infant had experienced, was shocking in the extreme. Besides compelling him to go up chimnies by goading him with sticks having pins at the end, Mrs. B. who was ill in bed, used to have him brought frequently to her bed-side, for the purpose of castigation. The prisoner was found guilty, and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

Accounts from Gibraltar, of the 23d ult. mention the occurrence of a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which did great damage to the British Squadron lying in the Bay. The accidents were the more numerous, as none of the ships were provided with metallic conductors. The Gibraltar was first struck by a tremendous flash on the fore-top-gallant-mast head; it split the fore-top-mast, and shivered the top-mast to pieces, propelling vast splinters in every direction; it then passed into the light-room, close to the magazine, breaking the whole of the strong plate glass, and thence to the gunner's store-room, where it completely destroyed several boxes of grape shot. Two men only were injured by the stroke. Shortly afterwards the Active was struck by another flash, which split the top gallant-mast, and in a sin-

gular manner carried away part of the main-top-mast, several feet of which completely disappeared. The main-mast was also split; and the ship's butcher, who was standing on deck with his cleaver in his hand, was struck dead, and almost every person on deck was forced down by the shock.—The Superb and Dragon were also struck; the former was much injured.

*Deal.*—Three of Lord Carrington's women servants, induced by the mildness of the evening, imprudently ventured to bathe on the beach between 9 and 10 at night, unknown to the rest of the family. As the shore is steep and dangerous at that place, two of them were soon out of their depth. The cries of women in distress were heard in the castle; and several persons ran out to their relief. The bodies were brought on shore, and medical assistance was immediately procured. One of them was soon recovered; but every method of the Humane Society was tried on the other, for several hours, without success. She had lived in the family for several years, and was the daughter of one of his lordship's tenants.

A very violent earthquake was experienced, with greater or lesser effect, on and about the 26th of October, in Constantinople and in all Syrmium. It extended as far as Servia, Bosnia, and the other Turkish provinces on the Black Sea. At Constantinople, a number of houses and mosques in the suburb of Galata were destroyed. The shocks lasted more than 30 minutes, and followed each other with the greatest rapidity. The Seraglio was much shaken. The Grand Seignior fled

into



into the principal mosque, formerly the Church of St. Sophia, where the people collected in a mass; that mosque being reputed indestructible. The effects of this or a similar earthquake were also severely felt in Transylvania, Wallachia, Gallicia, Hungary, and at Algiers.—A considerable tract of ground between Silistria and Rastock has sunk down, and a lake appeared in its place; and the fine castle of Count Adam de Nemmas, at Hidweg, near Cronstadt, in Transylvania, has been entirely destroyed; the castle of Bucharest is said to be a heap of ruins, and the unpaved part of the city to have sunk and become a lake emitting a strong sulphureous vapour. About six leagues from Algiers towards Belida, there was a small village, consisting of two hundred houses, which has been completely destroyed, and all the inhabitants have perished. The Aga has marched with troops to the spot.

26th. *W. Codlin* and *J. Reed*

were tried at the Admiralty Sessions in the Old Bailey, charged with sinking the Adventure brig, off Sussex, in August last, after insuring her to the amount of 9000*l.* for the purpose of defrauding the underwriters; and *G. Easterby* and *W. M'Farlane*, were charged on the same indictment for procuring the other prisoners to commit the said felony. The counsel for the prosecution, after enlarging upon the nature of the crime, entered into a sort of history of the vessel. The brig failed in the month of July from London to Yarmouth, without taking in her cargo, and at this time policies were effected on her. At Yarmouth she took in goods

to an inconsiderable amount, and about ten tons of ballast. At this time a Mr. Storrow was supercargo, but it would appear that he never intended to pursue the voyage. The ship proceeded to the Downs, where Storrow left it, and was succeeded by the prisoner Reed. While she lay at the Downs, a person of the name of Douglas, who was mate, was taken ill and left her; and Codlin instead of appointing a man in his stead, who was capable of performing the duties, made choice of a person of the name of Cooper, who was ignorant of navigation. The prisoner Codlin, conscious that the object of the voyage was not Gibraltar nor Leghorn, but that the Adventure should find her grave before she left the British coast, told him his duty would not be very arduous. There were frequent opportunities for the ship sailing, but Codlin pretended that the wind did not suit, and that he waited for letters. He spoke of her as a ship that was unfit to cross the Bay of Biscay, and that she should soon be destroyed. When she got to Brighton, Codlin went on deck, and observed to Cooper, that he was a clumsy fellow, and could not get into the locker of the cabin to bore the holes to destroy her: he ordered Cooper to go, telling him he would find the instruments in the cabin; and, in order to avoid creating an alarm, he took care to employ all hands in taking in the sails, and on such duties as precluded the possibility of their hearing what was going forward. After this larger holes were made by the same person. To keep up the farce, signals of distress were made, on which some boats



boats came off from Brighton, but the captain would not suffer any of the persons to come on board; he had just before declared, that the vessel should go to the bottom. The ship being afterwards weighed up and brought in, an order was issued to apprehend the captain; but the proprietors, Easterby and M'Farlane, having arrived at Brighton before the officers of justice, pledged themselves that the prisoner should be forthcoming when called on. They however connived at his escape to London, whence it was intended he should proceed to Hamburgh under a fictitious name. Invoices had been made out for goods, some of which had never been put on board: others, which had been shipped, were afterwards relanded, and were found in the apartments of Codlin. The counsel then proceeded to call his witnesses. T. Cooper, a sailor belonging to the vessel, deposed as to her sailing, &c. After the witness left Deal, the captain told him they would not be in her 48 hours longer. He then deposed to the facts stated in the opening, relative to the boring of holes, and the consequences. J. Morris, a cabin-boy, stated, that being sent to one of the cabin-lockers by the captain, he heard the water rush in, and gave the alarm; but the captain refused to believe him, and the next morning he shut himself up with the mate in the cabin, and would not suffer the witness to enter. Several other witnesses deposed, that the captain would not suffer them to assist when the vessel let in water. Mr. Storrow stated, that he had a meeting with the proprietors and captain: they

wished him to proceed from Yarmouth to Gibraltar, and, after selling part of the cargo there, to sink the vessel in the Mediterranean, that they might recover for a partial loss. Captain Douglas, on the part of the underwriters, described the manner in which the holes were made, the apprehension of the prisoners, &c. An insurance-broker proved that he had effected insurances on this vessel at different times in June and July, by the desire of Easterby, to the amount of nearly 5000*l*. Another broker proved that he insured the same vessel for 4000*l*. A custom-house officer who took an inventory of the property on board when the ship was weighed up, proved that she did not contain half the goods entered in the bills of parcels. A number of other witnesses were examined, whose testimony was similar to that already given. The last evidence produced was a paper which contained a notice from Easterby and M'Farlane to the underwriters, of their abandonment of the ship and cargo. The defence for the prisoners was, that they had no intention of committing a fraud: the fact of sinking the ship not being sufficient to prove such an intention; as no claim had been made for the sum insured. In behalf of the prisoner Reed, it was contended that he, being only a supercargo, had nothing to do with the management of the vessel, a supercargo not coming under the description of a person belonging to the ship. M'Farlane in his defence, said he had served his Majesty 28 years, 16 of which he had been abroad. Mr. Erskine, on the part of Easterby, made an eloquent speech to  
prove



prove that the Admiralty Court was not authorised to take cognizance of any crime committed by a person who never went out to sea. Several witnesses were called, who spoke in high terms of the prisoners. Lord Ellenborough then summoned up the evidence; after which the jury found all the prisoners guilty, except Reed. Sentence of death was immediately passed upon Codlin, and the others were ordered from the bar, to wait the opinion of the judges on Mr. Erskine's objection.

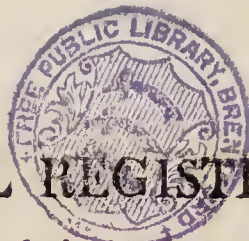
At night, as Captain Scott, of a merchant vessel, was going with his wife on board a ship off the Tower, in attempting to step from a vessel alongside across the intervening space, Mrs. Scott missed her step, and fell into the river. The mate (a brother of Captain S.) precipitated himself into the flood, in hopes of saving her; the captain also plunged in, but, owing to the darkness of the night, and the tide setting strong, the exertions of both proved abortive. The lady and her husband were drowned; and the mate, almost exhausted, was rescued by the crew of an adjoining vessel.

The important project of making a canal from the Murray Firth, on the northern coast of Scotland, to the Sound of Mull, on the west coast has, it appears, for some time past, occupied the attention of some of his Majesty's ministers. Mr. Telford, the projector of the one-arch bridge over the Thames, has been employed for the last two summer-seasons, in making surveys, in taking the elevations, and sounding Lochness and other lochs, from which it would appear that the scheme is perfectly practicable,

and may be accomplished at an expence not exceeding the sum of 300,000*l*. The distance from the east to the west sea is only sixty miles, nearly thirty-seven of which are already navigable for ships of the largest dimensions. The immense advantages that will obviously result from this grand national canal, which, it is proposed, shall be twenty-two feet deep and fifty broad, are incalculable; as the largest merchant vessels and frigates will be able to pass through it, at all seasons of the year, the waters in and issuing from the lochs Nees and Lochy, being never known to freeze.

DIED.—At Paris, of a complaint in his lungs, 30th. after an illness of 12 days, aged 56, Charles-Alexander de Calonne. He was a native of Douai, where his father was first president of the parliament, as he himself was, afterwards, attorney general. His subsequent appointment to be *Maitre des Requêtes* occasioned his removal from Douai to Paris, where he finally became *Comptroleur des Finances*. His subsequent history, his retiring with a large fortune to this country, his devoting that fortune to the cause of the emigrant princes of the house of Bourbon, are circumstances well known. Few men have more deeply interested the fortunes and fate of a nation than this man. It was he who suggested the idea of the assembly of the notables, which gave rise to the convocation of the states general. M. de C. was particularly amiable and pleasant as a companion. He openly ridiculed and condemned that official reserve and taciturnity with which less able statesmen





statesmen are apt to protect their reputation from approach and enquiry. He made no secret of his opinions, and his friends had the benefit of his observations upon the most interesting subjects. His writings are classical and eloquent. They are full of fire, and his language possesses a force unknown to it in any other mouth. He is sincerely regretted by the most enlightened men of this country, with whom he lived in habits of intimacy, and to whose information and amusement few could contribute in an equal degree.

## NOVEMBER.

1st. During the performance of *Perouse* at the Preston theatre, when the hero fired at the Indian, the wadding entered the thigh of the latter, and caused a mortification, which on the Thursday following terminated his life. The deceased was, Mr. James Bannerman, of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh.

2d. At the Old Bailey, Francisco (a Tyrolese) was indicted for shooting at Mr. Maryan in Lombard-street. Mr. M. deposed, that on the 16th ult. the prisoner came into his shop, and presenting a pistol, demanded his money; the prosecutor not immediately complying with his request, and another person coming in, the prisoner fired, when the ball passed through the waincoat and penetrated the wall to the depth of half an inch. Mr. Minnet, a merchant, deposed, that as he entered the shop, he heard the prisoner say "money," and conceiving him to be a robber, he at-

tempted to seize him, when he presented a pistol, but the witness stooping down, he fired at the prosecutor, and ran out of the shop. The prisoner, in his defence, presented a paper, in which he did not deny the outline of the evidence: he declared, that he had not the smallest intention of killing the prosecutor: he said, the pistol went off by accident; that his sufferings drove him to madness, having for some time had neither food nor a dwelling; he had provided the pistols for putting an end to his own existence, and had proceeded to St. James's Park for that purpose, but was prevented by there being a lady and child walking in the remote part which he had fixed upon. He concluded with asserting, that this was, his first crime, and that he would bear his fate with resignation. The jury, after half an hour's consultation, found the prisoner guilty, *Death*.

This evening, during the rejoicings at *Nailsworth*, in Gloucestershire, in commemoration of the gunpowder plot, a person imprudently fired a pistol close to the horses of Mr. Niblett's waggon, which was passing through at the time; when they took fright, and set off with the waggon at full speed. The people assembled in the street being very numerous, 11 of the bye-standers were thrown down and wounded; one of whom died whilst they were conveying him to the infirmary; and several others are dangerously hurt.

About three this morning, at the scribbling-mill belonging to Christopher Green, clothier, at *Holmfirth*, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, the wall next the



the dam gave way ; and, together with about two-fifths of the roof, fell in with a dreadful crash. Three fine lads, in one bed, were buried in the ruins, and all taken out dead about noon the same day. The erection was quite new, and scarcely yet finished.

The French minister plenipotentiary, Andreossi, arrived in London on Saturday, the 6th inst. at one o'clock in the morning.

9th. Lord Whitworth and his suite arrived at Dover on Tuesday the 9th instant, between three and four o'clock, and embarked, on the 10th for Calais.

A person whose name it appears is Richard Nield, gained admittance at Buckingham-house, between nine and ten o'clock. He had penetrated beyond the lodge before he was recognized, and, was proceeding to the interior of the palace. An alarm was given, and he was immediately apprehended. He exhibited every symptom of a man deranged in his intellects ; he said he was the son of the prophet, sent on a divine mission from the Lord, and uttered various other extravagancies, equally indicating a distempered brain : he was secured and it appeared he was from Birmingham, and by trade a chair maker, and that he had last year been apprehended for lurking about the palace. The result of his examination was, his committal to Tothill-fields Bridewell, from whence, no doubt, he will be removed to Bethlem-hospital

10th. Mr. Steele, proprietor of the lavender-water-warehouse in Catherine-street, Strand, was found murdered on Hounslow-heath. It appears that

the deceased went to Belfont on the Friday preceding, where he had a plantation of lavender, intending to return on the following day, as it had been previously agreed that his wife's birthday should be celebrated by their respective relations on the succeeding Sunday. Not having returned at the appointed time, the family concluded that he had been unexpectedly detained by some particular business ; and this consideration prevented any alarm for his safety, till Monday morning, when they sent a messenger to Belfont, to enquire the reason of the delay. The information there received was, that he had set out at seven o'clock on Saturday evening, and, being unable to procure any kind of carriage, had resolved to proceed to town on foot. This circumstance naturally induced a suspicion, that some fatal accident had befallen him, and his brother-in-law determined, with some other friends, to set out in search. For several hours they continued in vain exploring different parts of the heath. At length they discovered, at a short distance from the road, a piece of blue cloth ; on laying hold of this, they found it to be a skirt of a great coat buried in the turf, and which, on examination, proved to be the same that Mr. Steele had taken with him from home. Proceeding a little further, they saw, near a bush, a soldier's hat, and, examining the bush with care, they perceived a quantity of blood. This appearance led them reasonably to conclude that murder had been committed near the spot ; and, on examining the bushes minutely, they found their suspicions unhappily realised. They beheld beneath, the shocking spectacle of their



their murdered relative, nearly covered with the turf. Upon inspection, they discovered that the deceased had received several wounds in the top and on the back part of the head, and that a part of his forehead had been entirely cut away. Round his neck they found tied a strong piece of belt, by which it is supposed that he had been strangled. The wounds on the head appeared to them as if inflicted with a bayonet. Mr. Bullock, surgeon at the barracks, and Mrs. Bullock, his wife, had observed in the afternoon, a man and woman sitting down on the heath, between the barracks and Hounslow:—they walked towards them, and observed the man had on an old shabby soldier's red jacket, and the woman, who was tall and luffy, a red cloak, without stockings; the man was sewing the lining of his hat with a needle and black thread. Hence arises the suspicion that the persons who committed the murder were the persons remarked by Mr. and Mrs. Bullock. Sir R. Ford has sent circular letters to the mayors and presiding officers of the different towns and boroughs in the kingdom, describing the above two persons, which, with other active exertions making by every department of the Police, will, it is fervently hoped, bring the perpetrators to speedy and condign punishment.

The sports of Hallow-e'en have been described by the fascinating Burns; but whether in a way to deter from indulgence in them admits of a doubt. They have sometimes terminated fatally, and did so in the present instance. Isabel Car, servant to Mr. Mathewson, type-founder in Edin-

burgh, would keep her Hallow-e'en on the 8th, in defiance of the remonstrances of her master. About ten o'clock, she accordingly went into the foundry alone, with a light in her hand, which she placed on one of the tables while she performed her incantations. She walked through the shop several times pronouncing aloud the words used on such occasions; and so anxious was she to see something as she termed it, that (having seen nothing) she gathered up the seed to sow it a second time. In the course of this second sowing, according to her own account, a tall meagre figure presented itself to her imagination! She shrieked aloud, and ran immediately into the house, all the doors being open. After relating what she had seen, she went to bed, placing the bible under her head! She rose on the 9th, and went through the labours of the day in apparent good health, but in the evening seemed somewhat timid: she, however, had her supper as usual, and went to bed without any symptoms of fear. Next morning she was called, but did not answer; again she was called, but still no answer. A daughter of Mr. Mathewson's then rose, went to her, and found that she was very sick, and that she had been so during part of the night. Tea was ordered for her; but before it could be prepared, she was seized with a stupor; the pulse became sunk, the breathing difficult, and the hands swollen and blackish. A medical gentleman was instantly called; he said it was an attack of an apoplexy, which she could not survive more than ten minutes: and in rather less than that time she expired, the



the blood bursting from her nose, mouth, &c. The surgeon, on being informed of the transactions of the night of the 8th, was clearly of opinion, that the impression made on her imagination by the fancied apparition was the cause of this fatal catastrophe.

On the 9th, a gentleman named Camp, arrived at the New Inn Brighthelmstone, from Northampton, where he had left his wife and children. He arrived in a post-chaise, at about eight o'clock in the evening; appeared very unwell, and retired to bed soon after his arrival. In the morning, on leaving his room, he seemed much worse, and betrayed evident symptoms of mental derangement. Mrs. Henwood, the mistress of the house, on beholding his unhappy state, humanely ventured to interrogate him respecting the cause of his illness, and to recommend immediate medical advice. To which he replied, gazing wildly about him, that it was a nervous affection under which he laboured, and which had afflicted him seven days. To many other questions that were put to him, his answers were so incoherent that they confirmed the suspicions entertained of his faculties being deranged. On being asked if there was any friend of his in Brighton that he would wish to see, he mentioned the name of Mighel, a grocer, in North-street, who was instantly sent for. In the interim he appeared in a most agonizing paroxysm of mental distress, beating his forehead with his hands, and frequently exclaiming, "Oh, my poor children, I shall never behold them any more:" On the arrival of Mr. Mighel, he

immediately recognized him, became more composed, and at length told him, that he came to Brighton for the purpose of embarking in one of the packets for France. He soon after, with Mr. Mighel, left the New Inn, and in the course of the day had his luggage taken to the Custom-house that it might be inspected and shipped in the regular way. In the evening, the weather proving tempestuous, the packet which was expected to sail deemed it rather imprudent to venture out to sea in an increasing gale of wind, put into Shoreham harbour, and Mr. Mighel accompanied his disordered friend to the Gun-tavern, in consequence of its being nearer to the water's edge than the inn he left in the morning, that he might not have so far to walk, to embark, in case the weather admitted of the packet sailing in the course of the night. On reaching the Gun, the landlord told them that all their beds were lett, conceiving from the genteel appearance of Mr. C. that he would not be satisfied with the accommodation of one of his back rooms. Mr. C. however, requested to see them, which the landlord complying with, a double bedded room was soon after engaged; Mr. C. observing, that though he should sleep but in one bed, as he liked the room, he should pay for both, rather than any other person should sleep there. They then descended the stairs and entered one of the parlours, where Mr. C. took some roasted cheese and bread, and drank some brandy and water; and on Mr. Mighel's leaving him, he called the chambermaid, and retired to his bed-room. In the morning, about nine o'clock, Mr. Mighel called at



the Gun, and enquired after his friend, and was informed by the landlord, that he had not risen from his bed. Mr. Mighel left the house, and about an hour after called again, received nearly the same answer, and again left the house; not deeming it prudent to disturb his friend. About eleven o'clock, the landlord, who had noticed the disordered state of his guest the night before, began to be alarmed at his non-appearance, and ordered the chambermaid to rap at his bed-room door. The chambermaid soon after returned, and told him that she had done as he desired, but could obtain no answer from the gentleman within. The landlord now hurried up stairs himself, and on reaching the door, would have opened it, had it not been secured on the opposite side. He however hoping to awaken his guest, struck the door with some violence, accompanying the noise he made with a loud enquiry, "if he would rise, or take his breakfast in bed?" but to which, no answer was returned. The landlord, extremely alarmed, at length descended to the kitchen, and declared his suspicions, that something very unpleasant had taken place in the the stranger's room. After some deliberation, it was thought advisable not immediately to break open the door, but to obtain a ladder, and, as there were no curtains to the windows, to reconnoitre from without the appearance of the room. A ladder was instantly procured, and on a person's ascending to the window, the unhappy man was discovered hanging by his neckcloth from the lath over the foot of the bed. An attempt was now made to enter at the win-

dow, but that being firmly screwed on the other side, it resisted their efforts, and they gained admission by demolishing the door, and beheld Mr. C. as above described, his knees resting against the foot of the bed, and his feet on the floor, but quite dead; and, from the stiffness of his joints had probably been so for many hours. It appeared, from the lath of the other bedstead being broken, that he had first made the attempt to destroy himself there, but finding it too weak for his purpose, had recourse to the other, where he but too fatally succeeded. Coroner's verdict, *Lunacy*.

*St. James's.* This day 17th.  
General Andréossi, ambassador from the French Republic, had his first private audience of his majesty to deliver his credentials:—To which he was introduced by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, and conducted by Sir Stephen Cottrell, knight, master of the ceremonies.

This day 18th.  
General Andréossi, ambassador from the French Republic, had his first private audience of her majesty:—To which he was introduced by Edward Desbrow, esq. Vice Chamberlain to her majesty, and conducted by Robert Chester, esq. assistant master of the ceremonies.

A private letter from Barcelona, speaks in terms of admiration of the entry of their Catholic majesties into that city. This journey excited the attention of all the kingdom, and attracted a vast concourse of people from every part; it was splendid in the extreme, and perfectly characteristic of Spanish *Grandezza*. The king's suite



suite comprized about 4000 persons, and was preceded by 500 light waggons, drawn by mules, carrying their clothes, &c. The triumphal car, in which the royal pair entered the town, was covered with sheets of gold, sustaining at top a crown of diamonds of immense value. The car was drawn by knights richly dressed, and followed by the guards splendidly attired. The procession lasted upwards of two hours, and the enthusiasm of the people on the occasion was excessive. On the day following, their majesties went to hear mass, when the crowd was so great, that several persons were crushed to death. Eight thousand persons dine daily at the king's tables, and the expences are discharged in specie, a frigate having been sent round with several millions of piastres for the purpose.

19th. A melancholy instance of the effects of charcoal, burnt in a room where there is no chimney, occurred at Wolverly in Worcestershire, where a man, his wife and a daughter, about eleven years of age, all fell victims to the suffocation issuing from it.

20th. Sir Richard Ford issued a warrant, and Revitt, at the head of a strong party of the London, Surry, and Kent Patroles, proceeded to the Oakley Arms, in Oakley-street, Lambeth, where they found Colonel Despard, and thirty-two labouring men and soldiers, English, Irish, and Scotch, the whole of whom they took into custody on suspicion of a treasonable conspiracy. On the following morning they were all taken before the sitting magistrates at Union Hall. The examination lasted nearly eight hours; the result of

which was, that the colonel was committed to the county jail; twelve of his associates, six of whom are soldiers, were sent to Tothill Fields, and twenty to the New Prison, Clerkenwell.—Thursday afternoon, Colonel Despard, heavily ironed, accompanied by his wife, and one of the soldiers, was brought to Lord Pelham's Office, where several of the Cabinet Ministers were assembled. He underwent an examination, and was committed to Newgate. On Friday morning the Privy Council again met, and Colonel Despard underwent a short examination. He was fully committed to Newgate, for seducing some of the guards from their duty; the number, however, of those who have been seduced, does not amount to more than ten. No proof has yet appeared that this assembly entertained any design against the life of the king, as was at first reported; but their meetings have been held with great secrecy, and their numbers are very considerable. In the Borough there were seven divisions, and eight subdivisions; the time and place of their meeting were kept secret till within a few hours of their assembling. The allurements held out to the soldiers was, that great sums of money were expected from France, and that, on their accomplishing their object, they would be allowed 3s. 6d. per day for life. Among the papers found in the possession of the prisoners were seditious toasts and songs, one declaratory of certain rights, with a copy of the oath taken on becoming a member. It begins with —“ *Constitution, Independence of Ireland and Great Britain, Equalization*



zation of all Civic Rights.”—Then follows an assurance that the members will unite to maintain the families of all those heroes who may fall in contending for their rights. The words of the oath run nearly thus:—“ I A. B. do hereby swear to endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects above stated, and that neither fears, rewards, nor punishments, shall compel me to resign those rights and privileges which the supreme Being, in his bountiful goodness, has given to all men; and that no force whatever shall induce me to give information in the business—So help me God!”

The following are the names of those who have been committed to the different Prisons: *Newgate*, Edward Marcus Despard. *New Prison*, Clerkenwell, J. Francis, T. Jackson, alias Phillips, D. M’Queae, T. Broughton, E. Russell, J. Price, and W. Lander.—*Tothill-Fields Bridewell*, J. Wood, J. Ganer, T. Newman, J. Connolly, J. S. Wratten, D. Tendall, C. Dry, J. Blake, J. Vincent, P. Pollard, O. Byrne, alias J. Lambert, J. Doyle, A. Baily, S. Chaffon, L. Sheridan, C. Whicheloe, M. O’Neil, G. Wade, S. Smith, J. Emblin, C. M’Cooty, J. Wheeler, and C. Pendle.

22d. *The King, v. Philip Hamlin.* The attorney general moved the judgment of the court on the defendant, who had suffered judgment to pass by default, to an information filed against him, stating, that one Andrew Hill, late of the town and burgh of Plymouth, on the 30th of October, held a certain office of trust and confidence under the king, that of landing surveyor of the customs of

the port of Plymouth, and that the said Andrew Hill, died, whereby the said office became vacant, and was in the disposal of the lords commissioners of the treasury; that the Right Hon. H. Addington, was the first in the letters patent in such commission, and in a place of high trust and confidence, and likewise a privy counsellor of the king. That the defendant, with intent to seduce the said H. Addington from the duties attached to such high station, and, to cause himself to be appointed to the office, so vacant, did write, and cause to be sent to the said H. Addington, a letter offering a pecuniary reward to be paid to the said H. Addington, as follows:

“ Sir—This day a place became  
“ vacant by the death of Mr. A.  
“ Hill, landing surveyor of the  
“ customs here: if you can pro-  
“ cure that place for me, for my  
“ own use and benefit, I will give  
“ you 2000l. and also give a  
“ bond to keep the business a  
“ secret.—Your answer will ob-  
“ lige, yours, &c.

Philip Hill.

“ 20th. Oct. 1801.”

The affidavit of the defendant stated, that he sincerely repented of having sent this letter, and threw himself on the mercy of the court: that he is 40 years of age, and carries on the trade of a tinman, by which alone he supports himself and family, and then expressing an apprehension that a severe judgment may be the ruin of himself and family; that had he been appointed to the office, it was his intention to have performed the duties of it faithfully, and then the affidavit refers to his general



good character with his neighbours. The two reverend Ministers of the two parishes in Plymouth, made affidavits, that, excepting this instance, they knew of no blot in the character of the defendant, but that, on the contrary, it was a very respectable and good one. The attorney general, in pressing for judgment, made so moderate and lenient a speech, that Mr. Erskine, who was of Counsel for the Defendant, subscribed to every word that was uttered, and said it claimed the gratitude of his client. He apologized for the delinquent on account of his ignorance, which, he said appeared from the letter he had written, and further from this circumstance, that when the information came down, and the process was shewn him, commanding him to appear and answer, he thought on seeing the red seal upon it, that he had obtained the place. He was ordered to be brought up again on the last day of the term.

23d. During a most violent gale of wind and rain, a Dutch ship, called the *Vreide*, Capt. Scherman, from Amsterdam for the Cape and Batavia, laden with stores, and having troops on board, drove from her anchor in Hythe-bay, where she had brought to, and was driven with such uncommon velocity towards Dymchurch-wall, as to resist all the efforts of the crew to avoid their impending fate. The shore of Dymchurch, it is well known, is protected from the encroachments of the sea by overlaths and immense piles, extending from Brockman's barn to the extreme end of the wall, a distance of more than two miles, and further defended by

large wooden jetties, which stretch to a considerable distance into the sea. As the unfortunate vessel approached the shore, she struck on the first jetty, near Brockman's barn, with such violence as immediately to break her back, when she instantly sunk, and lamentable to relate, out of 472 souls on board, only 18 were saved. The following is given as a statement of the number of persons on board:—soldiers 320—officers 42—seamen 61—women 22—children 7—passengers 20.—total 472. The vessel soon went to pieces, the cargo was nearly all destroyed, and the coast has been since strewed with dead bodies: these were afterwards laid in rows in Hythe-church-yard, previous to interment; and other bodies were sent to Chester and the adjoining parishes to be buried.

About nine in the morning, Captain Wil- 27th.  
liam Codlin, late of the brig *Adventure*, condemned to death for the crime of attempting to defraud the underwriters, by scuttling and endeavouring to sink that vessel, was conducted out of the gaol of Newgate, to proceed to undergo the last extremity of his sentence at the Docks at Wapping.—The cart was covered with black; he ascended it with much firmness and fortitude, and all the way to the place of execution was devoutly engaged in prayer.—He was accompanied by the clerk to the ordinary of Newgate.—The convict appeared about 40 years of age, of middle stature, and of a florid and prepossessing countenance.—After hanging the usual time, the body was put in a shell, and landed at Wapping New Stairs,  
in



in order to be delivered to his friends. The banks of the river were thronged, and every shroud and yard of the ships within view of the execution was crowded with spectators.

*The King, v. Hamlin.*  
29th.

The attorney general moved the judgment of the court on the defendant. Mr. Justice Grose, said, such practices if permitted, would lead to mischiefs incalculable, for they might extend to every office in the appointment of the great ministers of the state, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and would supersede men of ability and integrity, and place in their stead the ignorant and corrupt. "The court for this your offence doth order and adjudge, that you pay to the king a fine of 100l.; that you be imprisoned in the custody of the marshal of the Marshalsea of this court, for three calendar months, and that you be further imprisoned till such fine be paid."

The body of a mason named Cross, was this day found in the river near Tove bridge. He was returning home on Saturday night in a state of inebriety, and is supposed to have fallen over the bridge. A small dog which he had with him, went home on Sunday; and Monday, his wife, alarmed at his stay, proceeded to Taunton for the purpose of inquiring the cause. She took the dog with her; and on her reaching the bridge, the animal began howling and leaped on the parapet, and could not be removed from the spot. This induced a search, and the body was found at some distance below, whither the current had carried it, and in the actual

direction of the spot from whence the dog had so distinctly manifested that he had fallen.

A merchantman, of about 160 tons burthen, was wrecked between Rye, and Hastings. She had sailed from Malaga, and was bound to Rotterdam, laden with a cargo of wines, lemons, oranges, raisins, and black lead. The Captain and five of the crew are saved; three men and a boy lost. The beach near Rye for the space of half a mile, appeared a perfect yellow, from the number of lemons and oranges driven on shore. Many of the poor inhabitants of Rye have picked up great quantities of the fruit undamaged, and the first of lemons may be bought there at three pence per dozen. One man and a boy were driven on shore on Wednesday night. Two pipes of the wine have been found, with a number of other articles. They are under the care of the custom-house officer, and will be restored to the owner.

It may be recollected, that about four years ago, *Johnson*, the notorious smuggler, and another were apprehended for obstructing and ill using some revenue officers on the Sussex coast, and were committed to the New Gaol in the Borough to take their trial, but effected their escape in the most daring way, and remained at large, notwithstanding 500l. reward was offered for their apprehension. The first time Johnson was heard of, after his escape, was at the time the expedition to the Helder was meditated by government, when he made an offer of his services to accompany the expedition, as, from his smuggling connexions, he had gained a complete knowledge of the



the Dutch coast: government accepted of his services, and granted him a full pardon, on his promise never to be again concerned in the smuggling trade. Johnson acquitted himself in this undertaking so much to the satisfaction of his employers, that he became a great favourite with several of the ex-ministers, and with the late Sir Ralph Abercromby in particular. He afterwards contracted debts to the amount of 11,000*l.* was arrested, and lodged in the Fleet prison, nearly six months ago, where he remained. It appears, before he became an inhabitant of the Fleet, that, in his pecuniary difficulties, he again had recourse to smuggling, and he was capitally indicted, on very strong grounds. Johnson, aware of these circumstances, turned his thoughts once more to making his escape, which he effected this morning, notwithstanding he was confined in a strong room, with two doors, or rather a double door, such as are generally fixed to the chambers in Inns of court. At the top of each door was a pannel instead of glass. It was by forcing out these two pannels, and creeping through the holes of them, that Johnson was enabled to reach the gallery, and from thence the high wall which surrounds the prison; which it was impossible for him to have done, without accomplices, as the pannel of the outer door, it appears, had been forced from without. On his coming to that part of the wall next to Fleet market, he found a rope ladder, which his friends on the outside had provided for him, and placed there agreeable to their plan. In the evening he arrived in a chaise and four on the coast

near Brighton, where a lugger was in waiting for him, in which he embarked, and arrived at Calais, on his way to Flushing, after landing at Dieppe. He had a severe wound in the thigh, which he related to have received in the following manner: He had got on the top of the last wall that separated him from the street, 70 feet from the ground: a lamp was placed in the wall, at some distance beneath the place where he was. He let himself down the wall exactly over the iron bar, and when he was forced to give up his hold, he stretched his legs so as to fall astride. He had taken every precaution, and fell across the bar without overturning or hurting himself; but, as he could not guard against an additional piece of iron, it caught his thigh above the knee, and ripped it up almost to the top. At this moment he heard the watchman crying the hour; and had so much fortitude, as to remain astride in that situation, bleeding most abundantly, till the watchman had gone his round, without perceiving him; having, in all probability, been prevented from seeing him by the dazzling light of the lamp on the iron work. Immediately after, he had the resolution to let himself down, at all hazards, and crawled to some distance, where a post chaise and four had been stationed for several evenings before, in expectation of his escape.

The cotton twist manufactory of Messrs. Oates, Stevens, and Co. near Pennyfort-street, Nottingham, was discovered to be on fire, between one and two o'clock. An alarm was instantly spread, but before the engines could reach the spot,



spot, with the necessary assistance, the fire had gained such a head, as totally to preclude the most distant possibility of arresting its progress. Every exertion was, however, made to this effect, but to no purpose. At half past four o'clock, the fire had assumed the appearance of a burning furnace, when the glaring reflections of the blaze on the houses and surrounding hills suggested the most sublime and awful ideas to the imagination, and such as beggar all description. About five o'clock, the front of the edifice fell in with a most tremendous crash; on which there arose a stupendous volume of smoke and burning embers, which was carried to an immense distance. The place then exhibited nothing but a smoking ruin, with pieces of blazing timber, beams, &c. in the walls, that remained standing till each fell to the bottom in succession, where it continued burning several days afterwards.—It is a consolation, however, to add, that we have not to record the loss of any life, in the progress of this alarming conflagration. It appears, that about 2000*l.* worth of raw cotton was saved. The premises were insured for about 10,000*l.* in the Sun and Royal Exchange Fire-offices; a sum equivalent to about two-thirds of the loss actually sustained.

30th. The Lapland travellers, Messrs. Cripps and Clarke, of Jesus College, Cambridge, are at length safely returned to this country. The collection formed by these gentlemen is contained in 183 cases, and perhaps the largest ever sent to England; illustrating the natural and moral history of the various people they visited, in

a journey from the 69th degree of North latitude to the territories of Circassia, and the shores of the Nile. The Botanic part contains the herbary of the celebrated Pallas, enriched by the contributions of Linnæus, and his numerous literary friends. With the minerals, are several new substances, and the rarest productions of the Siberian mines. Among the antiquities, are various inscriptions and bas-reliefs, relative to observations made in the plain of Troy, and which were announced by Monsieur Chevalier in France, in the last edition of his work. The Medallie series contains several coins of Greece, and of the kings of Parthia, hitherto unknown. The manuscripts are in Hebrew, Coptic, Arabic, Abyssinian, Persian, Turkish, and the language of Thibet Tartary; and in the Greek and Latin languages are several manuscripts, of the Classics, of the Gospels, and the writings of the earliest Fathers of the Church. In addition to these, the collection contains Greek vases, gems, sculpture, and many remarkable Egyptian monuments from the ruins of the city of Sais, discovered by these travellers in the Delta, after the evacuation of Egypt by the French. Also numerous original drawings, maps, charts, plans, models, and the seeds of many rare and useful plants; the habits, utensils, and idols, of the inhabitants of the Alentan Isles, brought by Billings to Russia, after his expedition to the countries lying between Kamtschatka and the N. W. coast of America.

As Mary Wills, a little girl of eleven years of age, was working a spinning jenny at a woollen manufactory,



nusfactory, Plymouth, a spike of the devil accidentally caught a finger of her right hand; and, before it could be stopped, the velocity of its motion had, by the other spikes tore off all the fingers, the sinews, and muscles of her right arm to the elbow, and broke the bones. A surgeon immediately amputated her arm; and the poor child is likely to do well.

In the course of this month, great curiosity was excited by accounts of a Swindler, who pretended to be the Hon. Col. Hope, but whose real name was Hatfield, and who besides other frauds, rendered himself conspicuous by wheedling into a fictitious marriage the daughter of a publican at the Lakes, whom the fantastic authors of "Trips" and "Tours" had "whimsically named Mary of "Buttermere" or "the Beauty of Buttermere." In an advertisement offering a reward of 50l. for the apprehension of this adventurer, he was thus described; he has something of the Irish brogue in his speech, fluent and elegant in his language, great command of words, frequently puts his hand to his heart, very fond of compliments, and generally addressing himself to persons most distinguished by rank or situation, attentive in the extreme to females, and likely to insinuate himself where there are young ladies. He was in America during the war, is fond of talking of his wounds, and exploits there, and on military subjects, as well as of Hatfield hall, and his estates in Derbyshire and Chester, of the antiquity of his family, which he pretends to trace to the Plantagenets; all which are shameful falsehoods thrown out

to deceive. He makes a boast of having often been engaged in duels; he has been a great traveller also (by his own account), and talks of Egypt, Turkey, Italy, and in short has a general knowledge of subjects, which, together with his engaging manners, is well calculated to impose on the credulous. He was seven years confined in Scarborough goal, from whence he married, and removed into Devonshire, where he has basely deserted an amiable wife and young family. He had art enough to connect himself with some very respectable merchants in Devonshire as a partner in business; but, having swindled them out of large sums of money, he was made a separate bankrupt in June last, and has never surrendered to his commission, by which means he is guilty of felony. He cloaks his deceptions under the mask of religion, appears fond of religious conversation, and makes a point of attending divine service and popular preachers.

Of his further progress, the following account was afterward given. He is the person against whom a commission of bankruptcy issued some months ago, to which he never surrendered; in consequence of which, in addition to other circumstances known of him, he is guilty of a *capital* offence; it being a felony, without benefit of clergy, not to surrender within the appointed time to a commission of bankrupt. About a year ago, this man had the address to introduce himself as a partner in a respectable house at Tiverton, in Devonshire. In this character he visited London several times in the course of the last winter; and, from his specious manners and gentleman-



tlemanlike demeanour, he was well received by several merchants in the city, some of whom gave him credit to a very considerable amount. His drafts afterwards meeting with dishonour, an alarm was spread. Hatfield ran away from Tiverton; and a commission against him issued, on which he was declared a bankrupt in June last. The effects which he left behind him were very inconsiderable; it being supposed, that he was not backward in taking with him all the property he could collect. From the accounts which appeared in the papers of the impostor at Kewick, an idea was entertained that the elegant Colonel Hope, of Kewick, might possibly be the same man with the specious Mr. Hatfield, the manufacturer; and the assignees accordingly set on foot an enquiry: the result of which is, that, on opening some boxes which were left behind at Kewick, several letters were found directed to him by his proper name of Hatfield. He has a wife and family now living at Tiverton; so that, in marrying the unfortunate Mary of Buttermere, he has added bigamy to his list of offences. The post-office have taken up also the matter of his forging the name of M. P. to his letters; and the solicitor of the commission has, on being apprised of the identity of the bankrupt, instituted every possible degree of search to find him out: so that reasonable hopes may be entertained, that this singular character will not long escape the reach of justice. In his rapid flight from Kewick, he left behind him a costly dressing-box, which was opened by a warrant from a magistrate. It was completely

furnished with elegant silver toilet trinkets; and there were two letters found in it, one from Ballynahinch in Ireland, and directed to Col. Hope, from which it appeared, that he was concerned in some gang or other in that unhappy country. There was likewise a cash-book, in which a memorandum was made of 1200l. and odd, having been invested by him in the bank of Dimsdale and Co. in the month of March last. The wretch had endeavoured to persuade the girl and her mother, and nominal father, to sell their estate, and go altogether with him into Scotland; which they refused to do, chiefly from the prudent fears of the old man.

**DIED.** 11th. In Glasgow, after only two or three days illness, in his 103d year, George Gibbs, a pauper. He was born May 1, 1700, at Nether Liberton, near Edinburgh, being the son of William Gibbs, gardener to Sir John Baird, near Dalkeith. He served his majesty for many years as a private of dragoons; afterwards, for 22 years, as serjeant in the 48th regiment of foot; and subsequently in other corps of infantry during the American war. He was, in 1783, a private in the 83d foot, or Royal Glasgow Regiment, when it mutinied at Portsmouth after being shipped for the East Indies, and, of course, lost his right to Chelsea hospital, from which he had long enjoyed a pension. Often has he recounted to his neighbours 21 or 22 principal actions, in which he bore an active part against the enemy, at home and abroad, including all the engagements with the rebels in Scotland, in the year 1745. He was



at the right hand of the late Col. Gardiner, when he fell in the battle near Preston Pans, and was himself wounded in the battle at Falkirk. His vigour, stature, and mental faculties were considerable, and scarcely suffered diminution by years, as before his death he measured six feet two inches high, his body being as erect as in early years. In his 83d year he married his second wife, then 22 years of age; by her he had several children, of whom one daughter (his own image in features) only survives, now in her 14th year. Accustomed to a wandering life, this veteran pauper preferred, in his latter years, the scanty dependence on precarious bounty, to the more comfortable asylum of a poor's house, which his years and residence would have secured for him in the town-hospital.

Lately at Bristol in Pennsylvania, a female slave named Alice, aged 116 years. She was born in Philadelphia, of parents who came from Barbadoes, and lived in that city until she was ten years old, when her master removed her to Dunk's Ferry, in which neighbourhood she continued to the end of her days. She remembered the ground on which Philadelphia stands, when it was a wilderness, and when the Indians (its chief inhabitants) hunted wild game in the woods, while the panther, the wolf, and the beasts of the forest, were prowling about the wigwams and cabins in which they lived. Being a sensible, intelligent woman, and having a good memory, which she retained to the last, she would often make judicious remarks on the population and improvements of the city and country; hence

her conversation became peculiarly interesting, especially to the immediate descendants of the first settlers, of whose ancestors she often related acceptable anecdotes. She remembered William Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, Thomas Story, James Logan, and several other distinguished characters of that day. During a short visit which she paid to Philadelphia, last fall, many respectable persons called to see her, who were all pleased with her innocent cheerfulness, and that dignified deportment, for which (though a slave and uninstructed) she was ever remarkable. In observing the increase of the city, she pointed out the house next to the Episcopal church, to the southward in second-street, as the first brick-building that was erected in it, and it is more than probable she was right, for it bears evident marks of antiquity. The first church, she said, was a small frame that stood where the present building stands, the ceiling of which she could reach with her hands from the floor. She was a worthy member of the Episcopal society, and attended their public worship as long as she lived. Indeed, she was so zealous to perform this duty, in proper season, that she has often been met on horseback, in a full gallop, to church, at the age of 95 years. The veneration she had for the Bible, induced her to lament that she was not able to read it; but the deficiency was in part supplied by the kindness of many of her friends, who, at her request, would read it to her, when she would listen with great attention, and often make pertinent remarks. She was temperate in her living, and



so careful to keep to the truth, that her veracity was never questioned; her honesty also was unimpeached, for such was her master's confidence in it, that she was trusted at all times, to receive the ferriage money for upwards of forty years. This extraordinary woman retained her hearing to the end of her life, but her sight began to fail gradually, in her ninety-sixth year, without any other visible cause than from old age. At one hundred she became blind, so that she could not see the sun at noon day. Being habituated from her childhood to constant employment, her last master kindly excused her from her usual labour; but she could not be idle, for she afterwards devoted her time to fishing, at which she was very expert, and even at this late period, when her sight had so entirely left her, she would frequently row herself out into the middle of the stream, from which she seldom returned without a handsome supply of fish for her master's table. About the one hundred and second year of her age, her sight gradually returned, and improved so far, that she could perceive objects, moving before her, though she could not distinguish persons. Before she died, her hair became perfectly white, and the last of her teeth dropt sound from her head at the age of 116 years.

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## DECEMBER.

1st. A melancholy accident happened in a poor man's family at *Breage*, Dorset. The father, in the morning, had emptied his pockets, and placed some gunpowder on the shelves in the

kitchen. He and his wife went away, leaving two of his own children, and two of his neighbour's (the eldest not exceeding seven years), in his house. In the forenoon the children found the powder, and unfortunately threw it (about half a pound) into the fire. The explosion was very great. One of the children in the inner corner of the large fire, escaped unhurt; one received a shock in his forehead; another is dreadfully burnt, and very little hopes entertained of his recovery. The other, which was the eldest, and who threw the powder into the fire, had his clothes set on fire (they were a jacket and trowsers made of plush velvet). These cloaths, no doubt, retained the fire a great while; for it appeared he ran out of the house in a blaze, went to the distance of two fields, over two hedges, having attempted to extinguish the fire by wallowing, but to no effect; for when he was found, all his clothes were burnt off his body, except the wrist of his shirt and his garter, which were then burning, and the miserable infant was not only in existence, but sensible, and able to relate the above facts. He was carried home, lived for an hour afterwards, and then died.

Hatfield, the impostor, has been taken at a house called the Lamb and Flag, about seventeen miles from Swansea. He went to Builth, in Brecknockshire, on the 11th Nov. and at the Inn met a gentleman of the town, to whom he had a year and a half since made himself known as a Captain in the Navy. They spent the evening in great conviviality at the inn, and Hatfield prevailed on his guest to give him



him cash for a bill on his banker, in London: in the morning, he saw himself advertised in the papers, and decamped without the ceremony of a reckoning.

2d. This night, between 12 and 1, the whole town of *Hamburg* was alarmed by a violent conflagration breaking out at a sugar-baker's, in the *Herren Graben*, which, in the course of two hours, destroyed that and part of two adjoining houses, and from the magnitude of the damage became an object of public comment during the whole of the succeeding day; when, (strange to relate!) on the very night after, of the Friday, at the same hour, the drums and alarm-bells again awoke the whole city, and called the Senators together to the Town-house, another sad fire having broke out in the identical street, within ten doors of the preceding night's conflagration. The lower part of the house being first in flames, the family, who slept above, not being able to penetrate through the smoke below stairs, presented a most melancholy spectacle from the windows of the second story, from whence the proprietor and his wife at length precipitated themselves in despair into the street; the former breaking both his legs, and is since dead of the bruises. The maid servant was unfortunately burnt to death in the premises. A young Frenchman, 18 years of age, who was on a visit to the house, and intended in a few days proceeding to England, is likewise missing. Still more melancholy is the fate of another countryman of his, named *Le Sueur*, by profession a painter: this artist lodged in the house, and escaped safe on the

first alarm into the street half naked; when looking around him, and not perceiving his wife, he immediately darted back again through the flaming house to seek her up stairs, not aware that she had already found her way out of the premises. Distracted at not meeting with her in the apartment, he rushed down again amidst the scorching fire, and had strength to gain the street a second time, when he fell down a miserable and mangled victim to the impulse of conjugal affection. A fireman, while boldly directing his engine-pipe from the top of some rafters, likewise unfortunately perished, by the wood burning from under him, and precipitating him into the dreadful volcano, in full view of the shuddering multitude.

*Dublin*.—The tempestuous weather experienced 4th. from Wednesday night until late on Thursday, together with the heavy and unremitting rain during that period, have produced various disastrous occurrences near this city, which, we fear, will be multiplied to a sad aggregate, when intelligence shall be received from the interior of the country. The backs, weirs, &c. at Old Bawn paper-mills, are entirely swept away; the works, which were very extensive, it is feared will be stopped, and the people ruined. Nearly an acre and an half of Mr. Wildridge's meadow, adjacent to the mills, have been severed from the rest by the violence of the flood, and carried completely off! At Ringsend, the bridge, a fabrick apparently of very solid and judicious construction, has yielded to the impetuous force and accumulated weight of the waters, the centre arch and that



that next the city being destroyed, excepting so much on the side towards the docks, as to admit of foot passengers. Last night, a little after ten, the bridge at the coal-quay gave way; providentially no person was passing at the moment. Two of the arches were torn from the centre before eleven o'clock, and by morning the remainder was nearly destroyed. The bridges of Lucan and Celbridge have been also destroyed. This day various articles of household furniture, implements of husbandry, &c. were seen floating down the river. The parts of the town situated within the influence of the Poddle-stream were yesterday inundated at an early hour, to a considerable depth, Patrick street and its vicinity in particular. Several boats were employed in the streets, and though the inhabitants had anticipated the event which took place, they nevertheless have sustained serious injury, from the impracticability of removing the entire contents of their stores and cellars. The flood extended to New-street, the Coombe, Black Pitts, Cork-street, &c. and frightful torrents diverged from Patrick-street into Bride's-alley, Bull-alley, and the lanes lying on that level.— Similar inconvenience was experienced in some degree in every quarter of the city, but to-day the inundation has subsided. The damage suffered at sea, we fear, will swell the catalogue of calamity to a most affecting degree. From the daily marine list we learn that several vessels have been sunk, and others are in sight in great distress. Signal guns have been heard all night. Some vessel appearing from the sound to be

against the North wall, nine men from Bullock, supposed to be either pilot and crew, or fishermen, went out to give assistance, but in the dangerous and humane attempt every soul perished.

This evening, John Hatfield was brought to town 6th. from Brecknock, in Wales, by Pearks, one of the Bow-street officers, under authority of a warrant, signed by Sir Richard Ford, before whom, and other magistrates, he was examined this day at Bow-street. The Solicitor for the prisoner's bankruptcy attended, and identified his person. Mr. Parkin, the Solicitor to the Post-office, produced a warrant from Sir Frederick Vane, Bart. a magistrate for the county of Cumberland, against the prisoner, by the name of the Hon. Augustus Hope, charging him with felony. There are other charges against him for forgery and bigamy, which were explained to him, but not entered into; and he was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell for further examination.

— *Paris.* Lord Whitworth attended the levee of the 7th. First Consul on Sunday last, to whom his Lordship was introduced, and delivered his credentials as ambassador from his Britannic Majesty. His Excellency afterwards presented 36 English noblemen and gentlemen. Mr. Merry likewise delivered his letters of recall, and had his audience of leave.

The exciseman of Hurst, and a person whom he hired to assist him in the execution of his duty, of the name of Bignall, were on horseback, for the purpose of detecting illicit traders, near the above place; when three men on horse.



horseback likewise, whom the exciseman conceived were smugglers, appearing on the road, he instantly crossed and desired them to halt. The foremost of the three, probably mistaking him for a highwayman, inquired if it was his intention to rob him, and immediately raised a stick to strike him, when Bignall discharged his pistol. The ball entered the stranger's body a little above the hip, on the left side, went directly through him, and lodged in the skirt of his coat on the right. He dropped, and the exciseman and Bignall, leaving him to the care of his astonished friends, made off, and the next morning early gave an account of their proceedings to the supervisor, at Lewes, who most severely reprimanded them for their sanguinary conduct. The exciseman and Bignall were directly taken into custody, as the wounded person (who had no connexion with smuggling) is not likely to live.

8th. As some persons were taking down the pine end of the dwelling-house belonging to Mr. Cross, at *Machen*, in Monmouthshire, they discovered about 250 live snakes with a large basket full of their eggs, all which they immediately burnt. In the course of two months before, about 50 were caught and killed; and in general they were found in the children's clothes, whilst in bed in the night.

10th. Miss Tebbutt, of Kegworth, in Leicestershire, an amiable young lady, about 28 years of age, housekeeper to her brother in Kegworth, had been to see her mother, who lives only at the other end of a close adjoining the town, called the Home-close

(through which is a public path from the neighbouring villages); and on her return home, about 10 in the evening, was brutally murdered by some person or persons unknown. As she was in the habit of frequently sleeping at her mother's, her absence created no alarm, particularly as it was so very near and a very moon-light night; but, about six in the morning, she was discovered by two young men, in a puddle on the ground against the stile leading into the town, with her cloathes turned over her face, her shoes, bonnet, and neck-handkerchief, torn off, and her pockets rifled of what valuables she had. They went to a blacksmith, who was at work, and got her into his house, where she was first recognized through the dirt with which she was covered; her brother was immediately alarmed, and a surgeon sent for, but she expired whilst they were undressing her. From the bruises she received, she must have made great resistance; and, in attempting to stifle her cries (which must have been heard, from houses being so very near), the villain strangled her. What renders the circumstance more unfortunate and calamitous, three or four persons of respectability in the town were out in the neighbourhood visiting, and did not return till 11 o'clock, but, though heretofore accustomed to go over the close, all very singularly went a different way; had they fortunately gone as usual, she must have been found, perhaps time enough to have saved her life, and led to a discovery of the inhuman monster.

*King's Bench.*—*Moore v. Durnford.*—*Crim. Con.*—

10th.



This was an action against the defendant for crim. con. with the plaintiff's wife. The damages were laid at £10,000. Mr. Erskine for the plaintiff, stated that Mr. Moore was a gentleman of large fortune and high character. Some years ago he had paid addresses to his present wife, who was niece to the earl of Meath. Her beauty and accomplishments were equal to her birth, and a virtuous education had adorned her with innocence and modesty. Mr. M. succeeded in his addresses, and his fondest hopes of domestic happiness were realized. She was the mother of three children, the eldest 14, the second 11, and the youngest four or five years of age. During the long course of the plaintiff and his wife living together, to the date of this criminal connexion, the plaintiff had no reason to doubt her chastity or honour; on the contrary it was impossible to establish the fact of any adultery having been committed under his roof. For some months before her elopement her husband observed a difference in her behaviour, an unusual degree of coolness, but without being able to discover the cause. Previous to this time the defendant frequently visited at the plaintiff's house, but there appeared no particular intimacy between him and plaintiff's wife, that could justify the least suspicion. Mrs. M. had first become acquainted with the defendant at a public breakfast given by the latter. The defendant was considered as a man of character, and therefore the plaintiff had not the slightest idea of his attempting any thing dishonourable, but the incense he offered at the shrine of

his wife's beauty and accomplishments, won her to his love, and she became too affectionately attached to him for her future happiness. Her fatal passion was the cause of her deserting her house, and abandoning her husband, her friends, family, and children. The plaintiff was for some time unable to discover the place of her retreat; but at last he found her living with the defendant, and was enabled to procure that proof which would now be laid before the jury. The marriage being proved, three gentlemen were called, who fully confirmed the learned counsel in what he said of Mrs. M. before she was married, and of the happy state in which she and her husband afterwards lived. The next witness was a maid servant, who had seen Mrs. M. with the defendant after her elopement; she said that she had made up one bed for them in the defendant's house at Brockhill, and that she had no doubt they slept there together.

Mr. Garrow, leading counsel for the defendant, confined himself to saying a few words in mitigation of damages. Captain Durnford, though called captain was only a subaltern in the guards, and depended entirely upon his pay. Heavy damages would ruin him for life. He was a very young man, and had been betrayed into this indiscretion only by his youth. Lord Ellenborough—It has been properly suggested that cases of criminal conversation are of various complexions, and capable of various degrees of aggravation. In the present there does not appear to me to have been any plan of seduction laid by the plaintiff. The lady, from some reason or other,



other, went away from her husband, and lived in lodgings at Acton, before any act of adultery was alleged. There was no evidence to prove, that he had seduced her to leave her husband's house, although he had visited her there three times. At Brockhill they certainly lived under circumstances which rendered it fair to conclude, that a criminal intercourse had taken place. In the absence of all evidence I do not see that you ought to fix her seduction upon the defendant. As he met her after she had quitted her husband, it is possible that compassion for her situation, on hearing that for his sake she had fled from her family, might in some degree influence his conduct. That he is liable for damages there can be no doubt, as he has set his seal on the husband's dishonour, and for ever rendered it impossible for him to receive his wife again. Verdict for the plaintiff, damages £1000l.

Five women were lately tried at Patna, in Hindostan, on charges of forcery, and, being found guilty, were put to death. The governor-general on being informed of the circumstance, ordered all the principal persons who composed the tribunals to be apprehended, and arraigned before the circuit court of Patna, on charges of the murder of these women, and the court adjudged them to suffer death. It appeared, however, that this custom had prevailed time immemorial; several of the witnesses remembered numerous instances of persons having been put to death by the Brahmans for forcery, and one of them in particular proved, that his own mother had been tried and executed as a witch; the go-

vernment, therefore, pardoned the offenders; but, to prevent the recurrence of circumstances so disgraceful to humanity, a proclamation has been issued, declaring, that any one forming a tribunal for the trial of persons charged with witchcraft, or aiding or encouraging in any act to deprive such persons of life, shall be deemed guilty of murder, and suffer the penalty attached to that offence.

At Bow-street, Hatfield 14th. was brought up for examination: at his request his irons were taken off. Mr. Taunton, solicitor for the bankruptcy, produced the gazette where it was recorded on the 15th of June last; and the chancellor's order for extending the time of appearance to the 18th of September; but stated that he did not appear: he also produced a bill of exchange for 30l. drawn in the name of Hope, supposed to have been written and negotiated by the prisoner. A copy of the register of the prisoner's marriage under the name of A. A. Hope, with Mary Robinson, the beauty of Buttermere, was likewise produced. The prisoner was very reserved in his replies; and on his complaining of the inconvenience of his situation, Mr. Taunton said he would undertake to allow him a guinea and a half per week, for the present. He was remanded to bridewell.

In the court of common 16th. pleas, a cause of some interest was tried, on account of its being one of the transactions in which Hatfield was concerned. The plaintiff, Mr. Nucella, is a merchant in the city, and the defendant, a Mr. Denys, a merchant, at Tiverton. Hatfield having



having become acquainted with the defendant, prevailed on him to enter into partnership with him, and shortly after H. having come to London, formed an acquaintance with the plaintiff, and induced him to transfer 5000*l.* three per cents. to the credit of Messrs. Denys, of Tiverton. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 366*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* being the value of the principal at the time of the transfer, and the interest thereon.

The admiralty board having discovered, during the late visitation of the dock-yards, that persons had contrived to get appointed as warrant officers on board some of his majesty's ships, who had not been brought up in the navy, their lordships have therefore established the following regulations, to be observed as part of the standing orders of the navy:—No person to be appointed a purser, who has not served two years as secretary or clerk to a flag officer, or captain's clerk of his majesty's ships.—No person to be appointed gunner, who has not been rated a petty officer of some description, for the space of two years out of the four years necessary to be served, before he can be examined.—No person to be appointed boatswain, who has not served four years, two of which must be in the capacity of boatswain's mate, or yeoman of the sheets.—No person to be appointed carpenter, who has not served a regular apprenticeship to a shipwright, and for the space of two years after the apprenticeship as carpenter's mate, or carpenter's crew, on board his majesty's ships, or in his dock-yards, and produce a certificate from the master shipwright, of his being properly quali-

fied, &c. and each of these persons must produce certificates of their good conduct, before they can be considered eligible to receive an appointment.

*Gill v. Hogg.*—This action was brought against the defendant for enticing away the plaintiff's wife and children from their home, against the will and without the knowledge of the plaintiff. Serjeant Cockell said, the plaintiff was clerk to Messrs. Willis and Co. and the defendant to Messrs. Maitland and Co. both bankers in this city. They were also related. Mr. and Mrs. Gill were married in 1795, and lived together in harmony for a considerable time. A short period before Mrs. G.'s elopement, the same cordiality did not exist; but what must have been the sensations of the husband on returning home to find his wife and children fled? Three months elapsed before he learnt any tidings of them, and in that period he was almost driven to madness. After considerable enquiries without effect, two of the plaintiff's friends passing accidentally through Hoxton, saw the name of Hogg on a door, and concluded, that Mrs. Gill might have taken refuge there; when they knocked at the door their suspicions were confirmed by seeing the servant who had formerly lived with the plaintiff; but she denied Mrs. G. being there. The friends went to the next house, and there saw Mrs. G. from a window. On this information the plaintiff commenced an action for *crim. con.* and at the time of serving the writ, demanded his wife and children. The defendant was reproached with his treachery; but, being conscious of his

22d.



his innocence in this respect, insisted on calling down his sister, who had been the constant companion of Mrs. G.'s bed. The plaintiff felt some degree of satisfaction at this, having at first suspected his wife's fidelity, and the action assumed its present form. Mrs. G. was intreated to return to her home, but refused; the children, however, were delivered up, and conveyed to the house of a friend. A short time after, a reconciliation was effected, and they now lived on terms of amity and concord. The learned serjeant said, that a man who harboured the wife of another, without the knowledge or consent of her husband, whatever might be his motives, could not be justified. Mrs. Wardell, mother-in-law of the plaintiff, alleged, that some difference had existed between them about two years ago; that Mrs. G. signified an intention of leaving her husband in consequence of his ill-treatment, which the mother endeavoured to prevent, by stating what might ensue. This conversation took place in the presence of the defendant, who said, if Mrs. G. could help herself, she was to blame if she stopped; that he was going to house-keeping, and she should live with him. On the 6th of March last, Mrs. G. called on her mother, and said she was going to her friends in the country, but did not then disclose the place of her retreat. Mr. Stevenson, a friend of the plaintiff's, deposed, that five or six weeks previous to the elopement, Mrs. G. applied to him, to request he would intercede with her husband to procure a separate maintenance, to which the witness objected.

Serjeant Shepherd said, it was important that it should be understood, that men have no right to alienate the wives and children of others; it should also be understood, how far relations or friends, when they perceive that matrimonial intercourse is nothing but misery and discord, are justified in opening their doors to the unfortunate; or whether they were to be deaf to pity and distress, and thrust a wretched woman with her helpless children into the street. The foundation of this action was, that the defendant had seduced the plaintiff's wife from her home; but by some means it was possible to judge from the record, what was the intention of the parties. This case rested on the testimony of Mrs. Wardell; and if her story was believed, it must be inferred that G. and his wife lived in harmony, till the latter was seduced by the defendant: but could it be supposed that a man should seduce a woman for no other purpose than the satisfaction of supporting her? For, from the first hour of her elopement to the present time, his conduct had borne the strictest scrutiny; and could be attributed to no other motive than a benevolent wish to afford shelter to an unfortunate woman, whom he knew to have just cause to be dissatisfied with the treatment of her husband. The defendant certainly had placed himself in a situation of great danger; a situation in which the slander of the world would say, his charity and benevolence had been extended to the enjoyment of her person. There were other circumstances in this case, which proved, that the defendant's conduct was purely charitable. He had



had declared his intention to support his cousin as long as he possessed the means; an assertion that did honour to his heart; and it was to be hoped the determination of the jury would not tell him that he should have barred his door against her; that unless she returned to her husband, she must starve, or get her bread in a way which shocked the feelings of humanity.

Lord Alvanley said he was extremely desirous, from the nature of this cause, that the jury should determine some line by which a man might regulate his conduct in receiving the wife of another. In his opinion, the defendant certainly did not merit the aspersions which had been cast upon him, though it would have been more prudent, if he had acted with greater caution. The jury were to consider, whether the defendant had seduced the plaintiff's wife, with any sinister motives, in which case the damages could not be too heavy; but if, on the other hand, they conceived that she had just cause to leave her husband, and the defendant merely afforded her protection, the damages could not be too small, if any.—Verdict for the defendant.

*Lingham v. Hunt.*—*Crim.* 24th. *Con.*—Mr. Garrow said, the plaintiff complained of the defendant, that he had debauched his wife. The present case was the most aggravated that ever came into a court of justice, and would call on the justice of the jury to go the full length they were warranted to go, which was £5000. This defendant was the friend, and confidential companion of the plaintiff, and while he was thus professing that friendship debauched the plain-

tiff's wife. When he had succeeded in debauching, or perhaps when he had not completed his object, but had reason to hope he soon should, he looked about him how he was to fence against justice, and persuaded the victim of his lust to be instrumental in shewing something against the character of the plaintiff; something known only to herself and some domestics, and this was to be made up into negligence in the husband, so that he was not to be entitled to damages in a court of justice. The plaintiff's wife was now under what the defendant called his protection, but the truth was, that she lived with him in the most degraded state that a woman can be in, having lost her virtue, and with it, of course, her character; and, therefore, she was driven by dire necessity to embark in the iniquity of the defendant, and enter on one common cause with him. The plaintiff was a very young man, and in partnership with a gentleman of the name of Hopley, in the trade of a wine merchant. He was married on the 16th of August 1800; the lady being only 18 years of age, but extremely handsome and accomplished. They lived near to the defendant, who is engaged in the same line of trade, who was also at that time married to a very amiable and most deserving lady. The families were intimate, and visited each other frequently. Soon afterward Mrs. H. died in child-bed, the infant surviving. On this occasion Mr. H. conducted himself as a man should, with great tenderness to the infant, and apparent sorrow for the loss of its mother. Left thus, without the protection of the mother, it be-

came



came necessary to find out somebody to take care that servants, and those who had the charge of nursing the infant, should not neglect their duty, and Mrs. L. took upon herself this kind office. It was in this state that the defendant meditated the diabolical plan of seducing the plaintiff's wife, of which the plaintiff had not the least reason to be jealous, for the two families had been in the constant habit of visiting each other, nor was there the least diminution in the affection of Mrs. L. to her husband; but, to his astonishment, on the 8th of July last, when Mr. L. who had been attending the concerns of the day, in his business, came home, he found his wife was not there. The evening having advanced, he hoped she might be at her father's. He sent; she was not there. He sent to some other of her relations, but no tidings could be had of her; at last he concluded that she had gone to the house of some friend. As the night advanced, he thought a thousand things that might have befallen his wife, but had no idea that his own confidential friend had induced her to elope with him, to the dishonour of all the family, and ruin of herself. The jury should guess his astonishment when he received a letter from the defendant, by which guilt would appear in its true light. The letter was as follows:—"Sir,—With  
 "sorrow, great, how can I an-  
 "nounce to you, you have most  
 "miserably misplaced in me your  
 "confidence; your wife cannot re-  
 "turn but with your forgiveness,  
 "which is impossible. I think,  
 "I see, however, the situation  
 "of my poor brother, who, as

"well as Eliza, yourself, and  
 "myself, must go distracted.

"Still yours, Jos. HUNT."

Mr. Garrow proceeded to detail the rest of the case. That about ten o'clock at night on the 8th of July last, the defendant prevailed on the plaintiff's wife to go with him in a hackney-coach to Windmill-street, where he took a post-chaise, and having delivered two letters to the proprietor of the chaise, directing him to send them immediately to the city, went off to Barnet, arrived at the Green Man Inn that night, and there he and Mrs. L. slept in one bed, and had lived in adultery ever since. These facts being proved, Mr. Erskine made a long and eloquent speech. Admitted that his client could not be justified in what he did; yet he maintained that there were shades innumerable in this offence. Where a man had violated all the rules of hospitality, and had been a deliberate seducer, he deserved every scourge that could be inflicted on him in a court of justice; but where he had been exposed to a blaze of beauty, without that sort of caution from the husband, who was the natural guardian of the honour of the wife, and where the husband had been remiss and negligent as to the safety of the wife, and had permitted her, young, beautiful, gay, and lively, to be too often unheeded and alone in the company of the defendant; and where, a man, under such circumstances, had not been proof against so much temptation, he was the object of the compassion of men of feeling, nor should he be rigorously treated in a court of justice. The parties were all objects of great compassion.

He



He did not justify the defendant, for most assuredly his conduct was criminal; but he submitted that it was not the conduct of an hardened offender, but of one whose sorrow and repentance accompanied his transgression. This was to be inferred from the letter he wrote to the plaintiff: but it would appear that the plaintiff had repeatedly been admonished of the impropriety of allowing his wife and the defendant to be so much together; but that he had been careless notwithstanding; had suffered them to go out riding together, and instead of accompanying them, had gone a fishing, &c. and had, under pretence of taking care of his wife, sent an infant with her and the plaintiff on their excursions. When they came home, he had only complained that they were late, and said, his wife should not stay out so late. That he lived opposite to the house of the defendant; and that after the defendant and the plaintiff's wife had come into the defendant's house, after they had been out all day together, he had sent for the keys to get what he wanted for himself, and left his wife with the defendant at supper, where they were together until 11 at night. That on the night of the illumination for the peace, a large party went out together from Tower-street. The plaintiff, instead of taking care of his wife, allowed that charge to be taken by the defendant, he taking another lady under his arm. That when they came to the house of M. Otto, they separated, when the plaintiff shewed no anxiety about his wife, while some of the company went to seek for them. That the defendant and the plain-

tiff's wife supped together, and that at a tavern. That, above all, the plaintiff's wife told him that she had supped at a tavern with the defendant, who treated the matter with raillery, or badinage, as one of the witnesses described it. He concluded with observing, that where the plaintiff had been so negligent, and claimed damages in a civil action, for the loss of that, to preserve which it was his duty to be careful, he should not take advantage of his own negligence, and obtain large damages against the man who, next to himself, had been most unfortunate.

The defendant's brother having been called to prove some of these palliating circumstances, Mr. Garrow replied with great indignation at the conduct of the defendant in this most infamous transaction. He felt not the least scruple in saying, that the defendant's brother had endeavoured to support his cause by direct and absolute perjury. He protested that he never saw so iniquitous a case as that attempted to be set up by the defendant in the whole course of his life.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that this case deserved most serious attention. The plaintiff by this action complained that the defendant, by the seduction of the plaintiff's wife, had deprived him of all the happiness and all the honour which marriage brought to him in social life. It appeared, that the defendant had the implicit confidence of the plaintiff; he had betrayed it; nor could any one use stronger language against the defendant than he had used himself; for he said, "you have most miserably reposed in me your confidence." Had the defendant felt that



that contrition he expected the court to believe, he might either have suffered judgment to have past against him by default, or come into court by counsel, with humble instructions to watch the proof on the part of the plaintiff, and trusted to the discreet observations which his counsel would have made, and in which he would not have been disappointed. His lordship then reprobated the idea of supposing that a man gives up the virtue of his wife, so as to lose his right to claim damages for adultery, merely because he had suffered his wife to lay hold of the arm of another in a crowd at an illumination. This was too profligate even for this immoral age, so prone to seek excuses for adultery. His lordship concluded with observing, that upon the evidence nothing appeared against the plaintiff, for his case was satisfactorily made out, and that nothing occurred to his mind that could shield the defendant from making as full and ample a compensation to the plaintiff as the jury in their opinion of justice, should be disposed to make.

The jury, in less than one minute, gave a verdict for the plaintiff. Damages, £5,000.

*Plymouth.* This evening as three boats belonging to some persons of Dock and Stonehouse were out, under Stadler's Height, Bareland Bay, in the Sound, endeavouring to save some of the floating wreck of the Prussian Galliot, which was cast away in the gale of Wednesday night last; a heavy surf dashed them against the breakers, and the whole upset; by which means out

of 15 persons on board nine were unfortunately drowned: the six picked up were almost lifeless, but being immediately conveyed to their respective homes, by timely assistance, all recovered.

A sample of a new sort of wheat grown near the city of Washington, in the United States of North America, has been lately presented to the York Agricultural Society. It is particularly recommended for its early ripening, which is stated to be generally a month sooner than any other known wheat. The society, with a view to ascertain correctly its virtue and qualities, have directed it to be distributed amongst several of their members, who have undertaken to cultivate it.

Advices from Gibraltar of the 29th October, state, that a ship from Moca brings intelligence, that the Indian army under the command of General Baird, put in there for refreshments, and had again sailed for India five days before Captain Bullock left Moca. Seven of the transports had been wrecked, on their passage down the Red Sea, though but few lives were lost. Lord Cavan was shortly expected at Gibraltar on his way from Egypt, as he was to leave that country whenever General Stewart arrived.

**DIED.**—At Parkgate, Christian Modesty, a poor woman at the age of 114.

A lady, named Stratton, lately died at Winwick, Huntingdonshire, in the 107th year of her age; she retained the full possession of all her faculties for some time after her hundredth year.

**BIRTHS**



## BIRTHS for the Year 1802.

- Jan. 1. In Rutland Square, Dublin, Viscountess Cory, a son.  
 3. The lady of the Hon. John Villiers, a daughter.  
 6. The Hon. Mrs. York, a son.  
 12. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, a son.  
 The Hon. Mrs. Barnton, jun. a son.  
 13. The Hon. Mrs. Douglas, a son.  
 14. The Lady of Sir Edward Knatchbull, a son.  
 19. Lady A. M. Cotton, a son.  
 30. Lady Mary Hay, a daughter.  
 The Countess of Sefton, a daughter.
- Feb. 8. The Lady of the Bishop of Carlisle, a daughter.  
 12. The Consort of the Hereditary Prince of Denmark, a princess.
- March 3. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Col. Cameron, of Lochiel, a daughter.  
 The Hon. Mrs. Clinton, a son.  
 16. The Lady of Lord Sheffield, a son.  
 17. At Mafsey Lodge, in Ireland, the Lady of Lord Mafsey, a daughter.  
 Lady Holland, a son.  
 18. Lady Newborough, a son.  
 19. At Vienna, the Hon. Lady Webb, a daughter.  
 28. Lady Harriet Frampton, a son.  
 30. Lady Porchester, a son.  
 Lately at Castlemartyr in Ireland, the Lady of Lord Boyle, a son,
- April 2. The Hon. Mrs. Cornwall, a daughter.  
 The Lady of Lord William Beauclerk, a daughter.  
 5. Lady Grey, a son.  
 18. Lady Georgina Morpeth, a son.  
 27. Viscountess Chetwynd, a daughter.  
 Lady Frances Vandeleur, a daughter.
- May 8. The Countess of Westmorland, a son.  
 Lady Frances Moreton, a son.  
 14. Lady Louisa Rodney, a son.  
 20. Lady Kenfington, a son.  
 Lady Ann Culling Smith, a son.
- June 4. The Countess of Cassilis, a son.  
 5. The Right Hon. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a daughter.  
 The Right Hon. Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, a son.  
 6. Lady Petre, a son.  
 7. In Henry Street Dublin, Lady Emily Henry, a son.  
 9. Her Grace the Duchess of Dorset, a son.  
 10. The Lady of the Speaker of the House of Commons, a son.  
 11. The Lady of the Hon. Capt. Blackwood, a son.  
 17. The Marchioness of Worcester, a son.  
 20. Lady Pelham, a son.  
 30. In Mountjoy Square, Dublin, the Countess Beg, a daughter.

July



July 1. The Countess of Har-  
borough, a daughter.

3. The Hon. Mrs. Charles  
Ellis, a daughter.

11. Countess Talbot, a son.  
Lady C. Lennox, a son.

18. The Lady of Lord Fran-  
cis Godolphin Osborne,  
a son.

19. Viscountess Belgrave, a  
daughter.

The Countess of Shrewf-  
bury, a son.

Lady Harriet Gill, a son.

25. Lady N. Baillie, a daugh-  
ter.

30. Lady Ann Hope, a son.

31. Lady Charlotte Howard,  
a daughter.

At Lord Gwyder's, White-  
hall, the Hon. Mrs.  
Arbuthnot, a daughter.

Aug. 5. Lady Templeton, a son.

13. The Marchioness of Win-  
chester, a son.

14. The Lady of the Hon.  
Hugh Lindsay, a son.

At the castle of Hanau,  
the Hereditary Princess  
of Hesse C. Cassel, sister  
to the King of Prussia,  
a prince.

26. The Lady of the Bishop  
of Chester, a son.

29. Lady Amherst, a son.

The Right Hon. Lady  
Ann Wombell, a still  
born child.

31. The Countess of Aboyne,  
a son.

Sept. 2. The Queen of Sweden, a  
Prince, and heir to the  
crown.

7. Lady Catherine Forrester,  
a daughter.

13. The Countess of Mount-  
noirrs, a son.

The Hon. Mrs. Epinasse,  
a daughter.

15. The Lady of the Hon.  
Mr. Irby, eldest son of  
Lord Boston, a son.

21. The Hon. Mrs. Grenfell,  
a daughter.

Lately, on her passage  
from Leghorn to Barce-  
lona, the Queen of Etru-  
ria, a princess.

26. Lady Louvaine, a daugh-  
ter.

29. The Hon. Mrs. Montgo-  
merie Stewart, a daugh-  
ter.

Oct. 6. The Lady of Lord Fran-  
cis Spencer, a son.

10. At Paris, Madame Louis  
Bonaparte, a son.

12. Lady Bridges, a son.

23. Lady Margaret Maclean,  
a son.

26. At Lisbon, the Princess of  
Brazil, a prince.

30. The Lady of the Rev.  
Lord Charles Aynsley,  
a daughter.

Nov. 2. Lady Charlotte Wing-  
field, a daughter.

8. The Countess of Glas-  
gow, a son.

10. In Dublin the Countess  
of Meath, a son.

13. Lady Caroline Wood, a  
daughter.

23. The Countess of Banbury,  
a daughter.

Lady Mary Stopford, a  
son.

28. Lady Annabella Macleod,  
a son.

Lately at Alderley Park,  
in Cheshire, the Hon.  
Mrs. Stanley, eldest  
daughter of Lord Shef-  
field, two sons.

Dec.



Dec. 3. Lady Theodofia Bligh, a daughter.

At Vienna, the Empress of Germany, an Archduke.

8. The Lady of the Hon. Colonel Fitzroy, a son.

12. At Meuthly Castle, Lady Stewart, of Grantilly, a son.

16. The Lady of the Right Hon. George Canning, a son.

22. The Hon. Mrs. Alcock, a daughter.

At Abergavenny, the Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, a son.

23. The Countess del' Age, a daughter.

28. The Countess of Clanricarde, a son.

29. Lady A. Kaye, a daughter.

5. At Paris, Louis Bonaparte, brother of the first consul, to Made-moiselle Beauharnois, daughter of Madame Bonaparte.

16. Sir Francis Vincent, baronet, to Miss Jane Bouverie, fourth daughter of the honourable Edward Bouverie.

20. By special licence, at her father's house, Lincoln's-inn-fields, Samuel Holland, of Great Portland-street, M. D. to Miss Frances Erskine, eldest daughter to the honourable Thomas Erskine.

Feb. 13. In Portland-place, lord Sinclair, to Miss Chisholme.

The earl of Charlemont to Miss Berningham.

26. At Bath, major Thomas Allcock, to the honourable Miss Caroline St. Leger, sister of lord viscount Doneraile.

27. At Lisnegar, in Ireland, lieutenant colonel Baird, to the honourable Esther Charlotte Tonson, eldest daughter of the late lord Riversdale.

March 4. John George Ferry, esq. to lady Jane Halliday, widow of Delap Halliday, esq. and sister to the earl of Dysart.

April 7. At Meriden, colonel Warwick, the honourable William Booth Grey, second son of the earl of Stamford, to Miss Price.

The honourable Coulson Wallop,

### MARRIAGES for the Year 1802.

In November last, at Dinapore, in the East Indies, C. S. Maling, Esq. brother to Lady Mulgrave, to Miss Moore, daughter of Sir William Moore, baronet, of Stamford, in Lincolnshire.

In Dublin Mr. Powell, barrister, to the countess dowager of Aldborough.

Jan. 2. By special licence, at the house of her grandfather, Thomas Myers, esq. of Park-lane, to lady Mary Catherine Nevil.



Wallop, M. P. for Andover, to Miss Keatinge.

26. At Edinburgh, the honourable George Vere Hobart, second son to the earl of Buckinghamshire, to Miss Janet Maclean.

May 13. George Goold, esq. of Old-court, in Ireland, to the lady Charlotte Browne, eldest daughter to the earl of Kenmare.

24. The honourable Augustus R. Butler Danvers, to Miss E. Sturt.

26. Lord Viscount Ashbrook, to Miss Deborah Susanah Friend.

27. Lord Viscount Sidney, to lady Charlotte Clements.

June 2. Honourable Mr. Wellesley, brother to the Marquis Wellesley, to lady E. Cadogan, daughter of the earl of Cadogan.

14. Honourable and reverend Walter Hutchinson Aston, to the eldest daughter of the reverend Dr. Hanes.

19. Thomas Heneage, esq. to the honourable Arabella Pelham, fourth daughter of lord Yarborough.

20. At Hamburgh, sir Robert Barclay, baronet, to Madame de Cronstedt, daughter of colonel Durell, and the widow of the late baron de Cronstedt.

July 1. Lord Henry Stuart, third son of the marquis of

Bute, to lady Gertrude Villiers.

10. At Dublin, by special licence, lord Donally, to the only daughter of the late Dominick Trant, esq. and niece to the late earl of Clare.

12. B. A. Coutts Trotter, esq. of Berner's-street, to Miss Margaret Gordon, youngest daughter of the late honourable Alexander Gordon, lord Rockville, brother to the late earl of Aberdeen.

Lately, at Cassel, the hereditary prince of Saxe Gotha, to the princess Charlotte, of Hesse Cassel.

31. At Saint Mary-le-bonne, by special licence, Thomas Foley, esq. of Albemarle, county of Carmarthen, captain R. N. to lady Lucy Fitzgerald, sister of the duke of Leinster.

Aug. 9. Peregrine Langton, esq. second son of the countess of Rothes, to Miss Elizabeth Mary Anne Massingberd.

12. At Winchester house, the honourable and reverend Thomas de Grey, second son of lord Walsingham, to Miss Elizabeth North, fourth daughter of the bishop of Winchester.

15. In Great George-street, Hanover-square, by the bishop of Lincoln, the most noble Aubrey Beauclerc,



- clerc, duke of Saint Albans, to Miss Manners, daughter of lady Louisa Manners.
18. Lord Viscount Kirkwall, to the honourable Miss Anna Maria Blaquiere, eldest daughter of lord de Blaquiere.
25. Lord Viscount Falkland, to Miss Anton.
- Sept. 1. At Shoreham, Suffex, colonel Porter, M.P. for Stockbridge, to the countess dowager Grosvenor.
- At the residence of A. Merry, esq. his majesty's minister at Paris, the reverend James Burges, junior to lady Catharine Elizabeth Beauclerc, sister to the duke of Saint Albans.
11. At Castle Townsend, county of Cork, Simon White, esq. brother of lord Bantry, and nephew of lady Lougueville, to the youngest daughter of the late John Newenham, esq. of Maryborough, in Ireland.
21. The honourable Charles Murray, brother to the earl of Mansfield, to Miss Law.
23. William Wheble, esq. of Woodley-lodge, Berks, to Miss Maria Talbot, second daughter of Francis Talbot, esq. uncle to the earl of Shrewsbury.
- Oct. 20. William Bentinck, esq. of Terrington, Norfolk, and captain in the royal navy, to the honourable Augusta Pierrepont, only daughter of lord viscount Newark.
26. At Steanraer, in Scotland, the honourable Adam Gordon, to the eldest daughter of Hamilton Maxwell, esq.
29. Honourable Captain Archibald Macdonald, son of the late lord Macdonald, to Miss Jane Campbell, eldest daughter of Duncan Campbell, esq. of Saint Andrew-square, Edinburgh.
- Nov. 6. Dudley North, esq. to the honourable Miss Pelham, eldest daughter of lord Yarborough.
13. Lord Binning, son of the earl of Haddington, to lady Maria Parker, daughter of the earl of Macclesfield.
- Dec. 2. Lord Southampton, to the second daughter of lord Robert Seymour.
15. The honourable and reverend Henry Ryder, third son of lord Harrowby, to Sophia, second daughter of Thomas March Phillips, esq. of Garendon Park.
21. Honourable Reginald Cocks, youngest son of lord Somers, to Miss Anne Cocks, second daughter of James Cocks, esq.
23. At Ardfry, county of Galway, Ireland, lord Clonbrock, to the honourable Miss Blake, only child and heiress of lord Wallscourt, and granddaughter of the late earl of Louth.



19. Aubone Surtees, esq. to the eldest daughter of sir John Honynood, baronet, grand-daughter of the late, and niece to the present lord viscount Courtenay.

# PROMOTIONS for the Year 1802.

January. His majesty's letters patent have passed the great seal of Ireland, appointing Arthur Browne, esquire, his majesty's prime serjeant at law in Ireland, in the room of Edward Stanley, esquire, resigned.

Also appointing William Smith, esquire, one of the barons of his majesty's court of exchequer in Ireland, in the room of Peter Metze, esquire, resigned.

Lieutenant William Gardner, governor of Kinfale and Charles Fort, *vice* general lord Rosmore, deceased.

*War-Office.* Brevet. Colonel Robert Lawson, of the royal regiment of the artillery, to be colonel in the second of that corps. --- Brevet-lieutenant-colonel George Glasgow of the same, to be lieutenant-colonel.

*War-Office,* Jan. 5. Invalids. Ensign Francis White, from the invalids at Plymouth, to be ensign in captain Rogers's independent company of invalids in the Tower of London, *vice* M'Gregor, exchanged. Ensign John M'Gregor, from the invalids in the Tower of London to be ensign in the (late Major Bulkeley's) independent company of invalids at Plymouth, *vice* White, exchanged. --- Brevet-captain Alexander Bryce, of the

royal engineers, to be major in the army.

*Whitehall,* Jan. 13. The right honourable William Wickham, the right honourable George Rose, and the right honourable Charles Long, were, by his majesty's command, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

John Wilson, esquire, a commissioner for investigating the accounts of the army in the West Indies, *vice* general Maitland, resigned.

*War-Office,* Jan. 16. John Flynn, esquire, late captain-lieutenant in the royals, to be barrack-master of Shelbourne, in Nova Scotia, *vice* Ogden, retired.

*Whitehall,* Feb. 3. His royal highness the duke of Cambridge was introduced into the privy council for the united kingdom, by his grace the duke of Portland, K. G. lord president, and his royal highness took his place at the board on his majesty's left hand.

Nicholas Smith, esquire, master in chancery, is to be the accomptant-general in chancery, in the room of Mr. Walker, deceased.

Alexander Frazer Tytler, esquire, to be a judge of the court of session in the room of the late lord Stonefield.

*War-Office,* Feb. 6. Staff. Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, of the 36th foot, to be brigadier-general in the army serving in the Mediterranean only. Thomas Asten Coffin, esquire, to be commissary of accounts in British North America.

Hospital-Staff. Assistant-inspector Alexander Robertson to be deputy-inspector of hospitals to the forces.

Barracks. Robert Collier, esquire, late captain in the Scotch brigade,



Brigade, to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Marshal, retired.

*War-Office*, Feb. 9. Brevet. captain John Taylor, of the 25th foot to be major in the army.

*St. James's*, Feb. 13. The king has been pleased to grant the dignity of a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the right honourable sir John Mitford, knight, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of baron Redesdale, of Redesdale in the county of Northumberland.—The king has also been pleased to order letters patent, containing a grant unto the said right honourable John Baron Redesdale, of the office and place of chancellor and keeper of the great seal of Ireland, in the room of John Earl of Clare, deceased.

*War-office*, Feb. 16. Staff. Burnett Bruce, esquire, advocate, to be deputy-judge-advocate and clerk of the courts martial in North Britain, *vice* Tytler, appointed to a seat in the court of session.

Brevet. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Lethbridge, of the 60th regiment of foot, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Lieutenant-colonel Crawford, from the 60th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel of 86th foot.—Major Herbert Taylor, from the 2d dragoon-guards, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 9th West India regiment.

Burnet Bruce, esquire, advocate, to be deputy judge advocate and clerk of the courts martial in North Britain.

Thomas Henry Brooke, esquire, to be secretary to the government of the island of St. Helena.

*Whitehall*, Feb. 17. The king

has been pleased to grant the dignity of a viscount of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto the right honourable Asheton Baron Curzon, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of viscount Curzon, of Penn, in the county of Buckingham.

*St. James's*, Feb. 24. Henry Bentinck, esquire, captain-general and governor in chief of the islands of St. Vincent, Bequia, and such other of the islands commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of the island of Cariacou, in America.

*War-Office*, March 9. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Kenneth Alexander Howard, of the coldstream foot-guards, to be deputy-inspector-general of foreign corps in his majesty's service, *vice* Couper.

Lieutenant-colonel James Butler of the royal artillery, to be superintendant of the junior department in the royal military college.

Right reverend Dr. George de la Poer Beresford, lord bishop of the united bishoprics of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, translated to the bishopric of Kilmore, in the room of the most reverend and honourable Dr. Charles Brodrick, promoted to the archbishopric of Cashel.

*Whitehall*, March 16. George Lord Rivers, created baron Rivers, of Sudely-castle, county of Gloucester, with remainders to general sir William Augustus Pitt (brother lord of Rivers), and his heirs-male, and to the issue-male successively of Peter Beckford, of Stapleton, county of Dorset, esquire, by Louisa Beckford, his late wife, deceased (daughter of the said lord Rivers).

*War-Office*, March 20. Brevet. Colonel



Colonel Pierre Frederick Count de Meuron, to be major-general in the army.

Major Duncan Macdonald, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 15th regiment of foot.—Colonel Pierre Frederick Count de Meuron, to be major-general in the army.

*Saint James's*, March 20. The right honourable Horatio, viscount, and baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, knight of the most honourable military order of the Bath, and vice admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet, (also duke of Bronté in Sicily and grand cross of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit,) the royal licence and permission to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, which the grand signior has transmitted to him.

*St. James's*, March 24. George Earl of Essex, appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Hereford, *vice* viscount Bateman, deceased.

*War-Office*, March 24. General his royal highness Edward Duke of Kent, K. G. appointed governor of Gibraltar, *vice* general O'Hara, deceased.

*Downing-street*, March 27. Sir James Crauford, baronet, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Denmark.

Francis Hill, esquire, to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the same court. Charles Fenwick, esquire, to be his majesty's consul at Elfinour.

Appointment of Andrew Caspar Giese, esquire, to be his Prussian majesty's vice consul at London, approved.

*War-Office*, March 27. Hospital Staff. William Moore, M. D.

inspector of hospitals, to be principal medical officer of the hospitals in the Isle of Wight, *vice* Jackson, resigned.

Major Archibald Stewart, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 1st battalion 1st regiment of foot.—Major-general Hay M'Dowal, from the 78th regiment of foot, to be colonel commandant of the 2d battalion of the 40th regiment of foot.—Major-general John Hely lord Hutchinson, K. B. to be colonel of the 74th regiment of foot.—Major Lord Aylmer, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 85th regiment of foot.

*Whitehall*, April 6. Reverend George Markham, M. A. to be dean of the metropolitical church of York, *vice* Founteyne, deceased.

Reverend Joseph White, D. D. appointed Hebrew professor in the university of Oxford, with the prebend of Christ Church annexed, *vice* Blayney, deceased.

Rev. Charles Allcock, LL. B. presented to the archdeaconry of Chichester, *vice* Dr. John Buckner, promoted to the see of Chichester.

*War-Office*, April 6th. Brevet. Captain William Bray, of the 4th West India regiment, to be major in the army.

*St. James's*, April 7. His grace George William Frederick Duke of Leeds, appointed lord-lieutenant of the North Riding of the county of York; *vice* the earl of Fauconberg, took the oaths appointed to be taken thereupon.

*Carlton House*, April 11. Honourable Thomas Erskine, appointed, by the prince of Wales, chancellor and keeper of his royal highness's great seal.

Major John Campbell to be lieutenant-



lieutenant-colonel of the 60th regiment of foot.

Major Alexander Adams to be lieutenant-colonel of the 78th regiment of foot.

Major Samuel Gibbs, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 10th West India regiment.

*Whitehall*, April 17. Sir Edward Law, knight, chief justice of the court of king's bench, created baron Ellenborough, of Ellenborough, county of Cumberland.

*St. James's*, April 21. Lord Ellenborough sworn of the privy council.

*Whitehall*, April 24. Right honourable Francis lord Napier, his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

*Ordnance-Office*, April 26. Garrisons. Reverend John Wetherall, chaplain to the garrison of Halifax, to be chaplain to the garrison of Gibraltar, *vice* Chalmers, resigned.

Reverend Josiah Pike, to be chaplain to the garrison of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, *vice* Wetherall.

Barracks. Charles Andrews, esquire, late captain in the 24th regiment of foot, to be barrack-master at Newfoundland, *vice* Gledstanes, appointed barrack-master in Great Britain.

James Stuart, esquire, late lieutenant in the 42d regiment of foot, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Scott, deceased.

Lieutenant-general C. Lytster, from the 3d regiment of foot guards is appointed to the command of the 45th regiment of foot, *vice* Adeane, deceased.

The king, in approbation of the meritorious services of the marine corps, has directed that that useful body shall in future be called the royal marines,

Lord Amherst, lord of the bed-chamber.

*Admiralty-Office*, April 29. James Pigot, esquire, and William lord Radstock, vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue.

Alexander Græme, and George Keppel, esquires, vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red.

Charles Camberlayne, and Peter Rainier, esquires, vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white.

Sir George Home, and sir Charles Cotton, baronets, rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

John Willett Payne, esquire, and sir Robert Calder, baronet, rear-admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red.

*Carlton-House*, May 10. Wm. Adam, esquire, one of his majesty's counsel, appointed, by the prince of Wales, his royal highness's solicitor-general, *vice* Thomas Manners Sutton, esquire, appointed his majesty's solicitor-general.

*War-Office*, May 11. His majesty has been pleased to appoint

Lieutenant-generals John Lealand, James Hamilton, John Stratton, James Rook, Charles Crosbie, John earl of Suffolk, honourable Chapple Norton, George Hotham, David Dundas, sir Robert Abercrombie, K. B. Gerard Lake, sir Thomas Musgrave, baronet, James Coates, Ralph Dundas, Richard Whyte, and sir Alured Clarke, K. B. to be generals in the army.

Major-generals Anthony Farrington, James Stuart, Charles Horneck, John Whyte, Andrew John Drummond, Henry Bowyer, John William Egerton, Peter Hunter, Joseph Walton, Ellis Walker, William Johnstone, William Maxwell,



well, George earl of Pembroke, John earl of Chatham, Alexander Campbell, William Morshead, Francis Dundas, Alexander Ross, Abraham D'Aubant, honourable Francis Needham, and Henry Pigot, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels Francis lord Seaforth; Bryd Trewthick Heniker, of the 9th dragoons; David Douglas Wemyss, of the 18th foot; honourable John Leslie, of the 1st foot-guards; Henry Wynyard, of the 1st foot-guards; William Thornton, of the 1st foot-guards; John Stuart, of the queen's German regiment; Duncan Campbell, of the 91st foot; Thomas Grosvenor, of the 3d foot-guards; John Calcraft, of the coldstream guards; honourable John Hope, of the North Lowland fencible infantry; honourable Vere Poulet, on half-pay; Charles Barton, of the 2d life-guards; George Cunningham, late of the Scotch brigade; Frederick Halket, late of ditto; Ilay Ferrier, of the Scotch brigade; Alexander Mackenzie, of the 78th foot; William Congreve, of the royal-artillery; honourable James Forbes, of the Coldstream guards; Henry lord Paget, of the 7th light dragoons; John Doyle, of the 87th foot; Robert Brownrigg, of the 60th foot; William Caulfield Archer, of the 1st foot-guards; William earl of Banbury, of the 3d foot-guards; honourable Arthur Wellesley, of the 33d foot; honourable Edmund Phipps, of the 1st foot-guards; and William Cartwright, of the 10th light dragoons; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Francis T.

Hammond, of the late 12th foot; Crofton Vandeleure, of the 46th foot; John Hamilton, of the 81st foot; Robert Dudley Blake, of the Northumberland fencible infantry; John Barnes, of the royal artillery; Robert Douglas, of the royal artillery; Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d foot; honourable Robert Meade, of the 31st foot; Alexander Malcolm, of the late 2d battalion 78th foot; William Houston, of the 58th foot; honourable George Saint John of the 73d foot; John Prince, of the 6th dragoons; George Mitchell, on half-pay of the 31st light dragoons; Daniel-Henry Saw, of the 7th West India regiment; Thomas Hislop, of the 11th West India regiment; John M'Leod, of the royal artillery; George Le Hunt on half-pay of the late independents; Pierre de Meuron Bullo, of Meuron's regiment; Charles M'Murdo, of the 31st foot; Walter Cliffe, of the 7th foot; William Wynyard, of the Coldstream guards; John Walbanke Childers, of the 11th light dragoons; Alexander Wood, of the late 120th foot; Alexander Dirom, of the 52d foot; Anthony-Lewis Layard, of the 7th foot; Thomas earl of Elgin; David Hunter, of the Angushire fencible infantry; John earl of Breadalbane; John Slade, of the 1st dragoons; Richard Tayler, of the late 2d battalion of the 82d foot; Frederick A. F. Beckwith, of the 37th foot; William Spencer, of the 23d light dragoons; sir Richard Basset, knight, of the 5th West India regiment; Samuel Graham, of the 27th foot; James Montgomery, of the 45th foot; Frederick Augustus Wetherall, of the 82d foot;



William Wright, of the artillery in Ireland; John-Daniel Arabin, ditto; William Buchannan, ditto; William Murray, of the 24th light dragoons; honourable William Lumley, of the 22d light dragoons; Robert Brereton, of the 63d foot; Thomas Gibson, of the 83d foot; John Timms Hervey Elwes, of the late 2d battalion 84th foot; Moore Disney, of the 1st foot-guards; John Montrefor, of the 80th foot; John Mackenzie, of the late 2d battalion 78th foot; William Carlyon Hughes, of the 87th foot; Edward Corry, on half-pay of the late 101st foot; Solomon-Peter de L'Hôte, on half-pay of the late 104th foot; Alexander Graham Stirling, on half-pay of the late 122d foot; honourable Archibald Montgomery, on half-pay of the late royal Glasgow regiment; Henry Mordaunt Clavering, of the Argyleshire fencible infantry; William Thomas, of the 41st foot; John Michel, of the 14th light dragoons; and Stephen Trotter, of the late 112th foot; to be colonels in the army.

Majors William Osborn Hamilton, of the ancient Irish fencible infantry; James Wheeler Unwin, of the 60th foot; Thomas Norton Powlett, on half-pay of the late 95th foot; James Willock, on half-pay of the late 95th foot; Francis Slater Rebow, of the 2d life guards; Robert Pigot, on half-pay of the late 130th foot; sir Edward Gerald Butler, knight, of the 87th foot; Gustavus Richard Matthews, on half-pay of the late independents; Samuel Need, of the 27th light dragoons; Edward Webber, of the late 2d battalion 90th foot; Michael Edward Ja-

cobs, of the 76th foot; Thomas viscount Ranelagh, of the 66th foot; Thomas L'Estrange, of the 7th foot; sir Thomas Pechell, baronet, of the late 2d horse-grenadier-guards; William Latham, of the 7th dragoon guards; John Castleman, of the 51st foot; Charles Gray, of the 75th foot; Lauchlan M'Quarrie, of the 86th foot: David Dewar, on half-pay of the late independents; Joseph Foveaux, of the New South Wales corps; Michael M'Creagh, of the 11th West India regiment; Richard O'Dogherty, of the 69th foot; George Kinnaird Dana, of the 13th foot; Charles Cerjat, of the 1st dragoons; Walter Elliott, of the 33d foot; William Clark, of the 46th foot; William Jephson, of the 17th light dragoons; William Sinclair Wemys, of the 48th foot; John Grant, on half-pay of the late independents; John Smith, of the 31st foot; James Moore, of the 26th light dragoons; Edward Baynes, of the 76th foot; George Dodsworth, of the 34th foot; Charles Miller, of the 1st West India regiment; Nathanael Levett Peacocke, of the 48th foot; James Stirling, of the 42d foot; Thomas Steele, of a late recruiting corps; Edward Witherington, of the 9th dragoons; Patrick Maxwell, of the 7th dragoon-guards; James Leatham, of the 4th dragoon-guards; Robert Young, of the 8th foot; Charles Browne, on half-pay of the late 96th foot; Edward Strehlin, of the royal artillery; John-Augustus Schalch, of ditto; Burgh Leighton, of the 4th dragoons; Henry Michael Mervin Vavasour, of the late 1st horse-grenadier-guards; David Ross, of the 62d foot;



foot; Henry Rogers, of the royal artillery; Edward Vicars, of the 2d dragoon-guards; James Miller, of the royal artillery; Harry Hutton, of ditto; John Harding, of ditto; William Johnstone, of the royal engineers; Flower M. Sproule, of the royal artillery; Edmund Lemoine, of ditto; William Dacres of the 26th foot; David Mellifont, of the 10th foot; Thomas Inglis, on half-pay of the late 126th foot; Henry-William Espinasse, of the 4th foot; Henry Raleigh Knight, of the 2d foot; Robert Douglas, of the 56th foot; Peter Hayes Petit, of the 35th foot; Thomas Powell, of the 14th foot; James Blackwell, of the 29th light dragoons; Samuel Venables Hinde, of the 32d foot; Thomas Norton Wyndham, of the 1st dragoons; Berkenhead Gleg, of the 91st foot; John Tuffnell, of the late York rangers; James Stuart, on half-pay of the late independents; John Lindhall Borland, of the 38th foot; honourable James Ramsay, of the 2d foot; F. Streicher, of the 60th foot; and L. Morheim, of the 60th foot; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains John Miller, of the royal marines; John Humphreys, of the royal engineers; John F. S. Smith, of the royal artillery; Benjamin Stehelin, of ditto; Sandiford Lamb, of the 15th light dragoons; Bohun Shore, of the 4th dragoons; James-Richard Coates, of the 69th foot; Alexander Sharpe, of the 49th foot; M. C. Cole, of the royal marines; Hugh Trevor, of the 77th foot; Richard H. Foley, of the royal marines; George Ball, of ditto; William Patten of ditto; William

Johnson, of the 47th foot; John Creswell, of the royal marines; William Binks, of ditto; Arthur Ball, of ditto; Richard Bidlake, of ditto; James Home, of ditto; James Campbell, of ditto; Robert Moncrief, of ditto; William Douglas, of the 6th foot; Oliver Nayler, of the royal marines; Thomas Colby, of ditto; James Cassel, of ditto; James Muler, of the 42d foot; Charles Tomkins, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Philip Vaumorel, of the 36th foot; James Douglas, of the Scotch brigade; Cavendish Sturt, of the 39th foot; Ralph Hamilton, of the 2d life-guards; John Nugent, of the 38th foot; Henry Shrapnell, of ditto; Richard Hockings, of the royal engineers; Robert D'Arcy, of ditto; Francis Dunne, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Gilbert King, of ditto; Cholmeley Overend, of the 50th foot; James Magrath, of the 87th foot; Robert Hope, of the royal artillery; George Wulffe, of ditto; George W. Dixon, of ditto; George Bridges, of the royal engineers; Mark Watts, of the 67th foot; Maurice Cane, of the 83d foot; Brice Maxwell, of the 8th foot; George Cuyler, of the 86th foot; Samuel Blake Deverell, of the 3d West India regiment; Wiltshire Wilson, of the royal artillery; Daniel Graham, of ditto; Richard Hamilton, of ditto; Edward Trevelyan, of the 1st foot-guards; Thomas Marlay, of ditto; Thomas Croker, of the 38th foot; Montague Burrows, of the 14th foot; John Lawrenson, of the 18th light dragoons; John Mackintosh, of the royal marines; William Macleod, of the 76th foot; John Hope, of the 18th foot; Lawrence H. Newton, of the



the royal artillery; Charles Darrah, of the 21st foot; William Hooper, of the 4th dragoons; Alexander-Francis Taylor, of the 21st foot; Ralph Smith, of the 30th foot; John Beevor, of the 9th dragoons; Thomas Huxley of the 2d West India regiment; Richard Pigot, of the 14th light dragoons; and Joseph Thomson, of the 40th foot; to be majors in the army.

*Whitehall*, May 12. Right reverend Dr. Richard Beadon, bishop of Gloucester, translated to the see of Bath and Wells, *vice* Mofs, deceased.

*St. James's*, May 13th. Wm. Rawlins, esquire, sheriff of London, knighted.

*Downing-street*, May 14. Hon. George Vere Hobart, appointed lieutenant-governor of the Island of Grenada, and its dependencies, *vice* Houston, resigned.

*Whitehall*, May 15. Rupert George, Ambrose Serle, and William Albany Otway, esquires, appointed commissioners for conducting the transport service, &c.

*War-Office*, May 15th. Major sir Robert Wilson, to be lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of mounted rifle men.—Major James Lyon, to be lieutenant-colonel of the queen's German regiment.

Brevet. Major-general Charles Daniel Count de Meuron, to be lieutenant-general in the army. Colonel Ferdinand Baron Hompesch, to be major-general in the army. To be lieutenant-colonels in the army: major sir James Bontien, baronet, on half-pay on the late Kelso regiment; major William Bray, of the 4th West India regiment; and major Charles Auriol, of the 14th light dra-

goons. To be major in the army: captain John Ross, of the Coldstream guards.—Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Francis William Farquhar, of the 17th foot, to be deputy inspector-general of the recruiting service. Lieutenant-colonel James Taylor, of the 12th foot, to be deputy inspector-general of the recruiting service in Ireland.

*Downing-street*, May 19th. Charles Arbuthnot, esquire, appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Sweden.

*St. James's*, May 19th. Thomas Manners Sutton, esquire, solicitor-general to his majesty, and John Pinhorn, esquire, of Ningwood house, in the isle of Wight, knighted.

*War-Office*, May 29. Major John Cornelius Halkett, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 55th foot. Captain Charles Stone, of the 16th light dragoons, to be paymaster of the royal military college.—Brevet. Major general George Nugent, to be lieutenant-general in the island of Jamaica and its dependencies only. Major Robert Honyman, on half-pay of the late York fuzileers, to be a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

*War-Office*, June 1. Brevet. Captain Duncan, John Cameron, of the late Sheffield regiment, and captain Edward Letherland, of the late 123d foot, to be majors in the army.—Staff. Colonel William Dyott, of the 25th foot, to be aid de camp to his majesty, *vice* major general Cartwright, promoted.

*Whitehall*, June 5. Reverend George Isaac Huntingford, D. D. to be bishop of Gloucester, *vice* Beadon.

Reverend William Busby, M. A. appointed a canon of Canterbury cathedral, *vice* Dering, deceased.

Lieutenant-



Lieutenant-general William Spry, to be colonel commandant; and lieutenant-general Robert Morfe, to be colonel commandant of the royal engineers.

Major-general Sir Eyre Coote, knight of the most honourable military order of the Bath, the royal licence and permission to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the crescent, which the grand signior has transmitted unto him.

*Downing-street*, June 5. Lieutenant-general William Grinfield, to be commander of all his majesty's land forces serving in the leeward and windward Charibbee islands, and in the island of Trinidad.

*War-Office*, June 12. Garrisons. Lieutenant-colonel George Vigoreux, to be lieutenant-colonel of the royal garrison battalion.

Honourable William Grey, major, of the 17th foot, to be lieutenant-governor of Chester, *vice* Gunn, deceased.

The undermentioned officers of the East India company's forces to take rank by brevet in his majesty's army in the East Indies only: to be major-generals, colonels William Gent, and Thomas Nicholls; to be colonel, lieutenant-colonel John Orr; to be lieutenant-colonels, majors Robert Bell, Tredway Clarke, Richard Howley, and Andrew Glas; to be majors, captains John Norris, Thomas Hayes, Walter C. Lennon, Collin Mackenzie, George Hernyng, and Arthur Forest.

*Whitehall*, June 15. Mary Marchioness of Downshire, widow of Arthur late Marquis of Downshire, created a baroness of the united kingdom, by the title of lady Sandys, baroness of Ombersley, county of Worcester; with remainder to

Arthur Moyfes William Hill (commonly called lord Arthur Moyfes William Hill), second son of the said Arthur late marquis of Downshire, by the said Mary his wife; also, to the third, fourth, or fifth sons; and, in default of their issue, to her eldest son, the present marquis of Downshire.

His grace Hugh duke of Northumberland, to be lord-lieutenant of the county of Northumberland.

*St. James's*, June 16. William lord Lowther, to be lord-lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, *vice* the earl of Lonsdale, deceased.

*Downing-street*, June 18. Lord Whitworth, to be his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the French republic; and James Talbot, esquire, to be secretary to that embassy.

*Whitehall*, June 22. Reverend John Marshall, M. A. presented to the rectory of Orsett, county of Essex, vacant by the translation of Dr. Beadon, bishop of Gloucester, to the see of Bath and Wells.

*War-Office*, June 22. Brevet. Colonel Marcus Beresford, on the half-pay of the late 135th foot, to be brigadier-general in the windward and leeward Charibbee islands.

Major Colquhoun Grant, to be lieutenant-colonel of 72d regiment of foot.

To be majors in the army: captain David Douglas, late of the Scotch brigade; captain Colin Dundas Graham, late of ditto; captain Alexander Scott, late of ditto; captain John Cameron, late of ditto; and captain-lieutenant James Urquhart, late of ditto.—Staff. Lieutenant-colonel George Murray, of the 3d foot guards, to be adjutant-general to the forces serving



serving in the leeward islands and Trinidad, *vice* Gledstanes, resigned.

*Whitehall*, June 26. Right reverend Samuel Horsley, D. D. bishop of Rochester, translated to the see of St. Asaph, *vice* Dr. Bagot, deceased.

Honourable and reverend Gerald Valerian Wellesley, M. A. to be a prebendary of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Hoare, deceased.

*Downing-street*, June 29. The king has been pleased to appoint William Fullarton, esquire, brigadier-general Thomas Picton, and Samuel Wood, esquire, captain in the royal navy, to be his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of governor and commander in chief in and over his majesty's island of Trinidad.

*Whitehall*, June 29. William Adam of Blair Adam, esquire, to be his majesty's lieutenant and sheriff principal of the shire of Kinross.

*War-Office*, June 29. Royal Military College. Reverend — Owen, to be chaplain, librarian, and instructor of classics. Hospital-staff. Dr. William Franklin, to be assistant-inspector-general of hospitals.

Lieutenant Colonel Lyde Browne, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 21st regiment of foot; lieutenant-colonel lord Evelyn Stuart, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 22d foot.

*Whitehall*, July 2. John Smyth, esquire, appointed master and worker of the mint.

*Whitehall*, July 3. Right honourable Henry Addington, Charles Small Pybus, esquire, George Thynne, esquire, (commonly called lord George Thynne), Nathaniel Bond, and John Hiley Addington, esquires, appointed commissioners

for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

*Downing-street*, July 5. Francis Drake, esquire, to be envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of his serene highness the elector Palatine.

*Whitehall*, July 6. Honourable William Wellesley Pole, clerk of the ordnance of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *vice* John Sargent, esquire.

Viscount Castlereagh, president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, *vice* earl of Dartmouth, resigned.

His grace William Henry Cavendish, duke of Portland; the right honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson (lord Hawkesbury); the right honourable Robert baron Hobart, and the right honourable Thomas baron Pelham; the right honourable Henry Addington; his grace James duke of Montrose; the right honourable Sylvester baron Glenbervie; the right honourable William Dundas; the right honourable Thomas Wallace; the right honourable Charles John baron Arden, and Edward Gosling, esquire, to be his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

*Whitehall*, July 10. His grace Hugh duke of Northumberland, K. G. custos rotulorum of the county of Northumberland, and town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne.—Evan Nepean, of Loders and Borthenhampton, county of Dorset, esquire, created a baronet.

*War-Office*, July 10. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot-guards, to be adjutant-general to the king's troops serving in the East Indies, *vice* Craufurd, resigned.

Lieutenant



Lieutenant Colonel Miles Nightingale, of the 38th foot, to be quarter-master general to the king's troops serving in the East Indies, *vice* Gordon, resigned.

Major William Myers, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 62d regiment of foot.—Colonel, the honourable John Broderick, to be colonel commandant of a battalion of infantry.

*Whitehall*, July 13. Lieutenant-colonel Edward Baker Littlehales, and Archibald Dickson, esquire, admiral of the blue, created baronets.

*Whitehall*, July 15. Lord Viscount Nelson, permitted (by his majesty) to receive and wear the ensigns of knight grand commander of the order of St. Joachim; his lordship's nomination to the same having been signified to him by the reigning county of Leiningen Westerbourgh.

*Ordnance-Office*, July 19. Lieutenant-general Abraham D'Aubant, to be colonel commandant; colonel John Eveleigh to be colonel; lieutenant-colonel William Johnston, to be lieutenant-colonel in the corps of royal engineers.

*Whitehall*, July 20. Charles-George baron Arden of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, created a peer of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Arden, of Arden, county of Warwick.—John Baron Sheffield of that part of the said united kingdom called Ireland, created Baron Sheffield, of Sheffield, county of York.

*Downing-street*, July 20. Appointment of John J. Murray, esquire, to be consul from the united states of America at the port of Glasgow, approved by his majesty.

*War-Office*, July 24. Lieutenant-general Banastre Tarleton, to be colonel of the 21st light dragoons.

31. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Pringle, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 38th foot.

*Whitehall*, Aug. 3. Reverend Thomas Dampier, D. D. to be bishop of Rochester, *vice* Dr. Horsley, translated to the see of St. Asaph.—Reverend William Vincent, D. D. one of the prebendaries of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, appointed dean of the said collegiate church, also *vice* Dr. Horsley.

Reverend Edward Dupré, LL. D. presented to the deanry of the island of Jersey, *vice* the reverend Francis le Breton, deceased.

Reverend John Deedes, M. A. presented to the rectory of east Mersey, county of Essex, *vice* reverend John Tickell, deceased.

*Downing-street*, Aug. 3. Robert Liston, esquire, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the batavian republic.—John Hunter, esquire, appointed consul-general at Madrid.

*War-Office*, Aug. 7. Major James Robinson to be lieutenant-colonel of the 15th regiment of foot.—Major William Johnstone, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 28th regiment of foot.

*Whitehall*, Aug. 14. Reverend John Ireland, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Dr. Vincent, resigned.

*War-Office*, Aug. 14. Staff. Joseph Otway, esquire, late captain in the 48th foot, and barrack-master at Maker-Heights, to be paymaster of a recruiting-district.—Barracks. George Barnard, gentleman, from the half-pay of ensign of the 56th foot, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Otway.

*War-Office*, Aug. 17. General Guy,



Guy, lord Dorchester, K. B. to be colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons.—Major-general William Loftus, to be colonel of the 27th ditto.—Major James Orde, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 4th regiment of foot.—Major James Ferrier, to be lieutenant-colonel of the Scotch brigade.

Staff. Lieutenant-colonel George Burges Morden, of the 60th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Leeward islands, *vice* Thomas, resigned.

Arthur Baynes, esquire, to be deputy-commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage, to the forces in the Mediterranean.—Major Terence O'Loghlin, to be major and lieutenant-colonel in the 1st regiment of life-guards.

*Downing-street*, Aug. 21. Sir John Borlase Warren, baronet, K. B. and rear-admiral of the white, appointed his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of St. Petersburg.—James Craufurd, esquire, appointed his majesty's agent at Rotterdam.

*Whitehall*, Aug. 24. Reverend Samuel Goodenough, LL. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Rochester, *vice* Dr. Dampier, promoted to the see of Rochester.

*War-Office*, Aug. 28. Garrisons. General Ralph Dundas, to be governor of Duncannon fort, county of Wexford, in Ireland, *vice* Sloper, deceased.

*Whitehall*, Sept. 4. Archibald Dickson, esquire, of Hardingham-hall, county of Norfolk, admiral of the blue, created a baronet, with remainder to his nephew, Archibald Collingwood Dickson, esquire, captain in the navy.

Henry Addington, esquire, (son of the right honourable Henry Ad-

dington, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer) appointed clerk of the pells in England, *vice* Barré, deceased.

*War-Office*, Sept. 4. Major lord Charles Bentinck, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 38th regiment of foot.

Staff. Thomas Stanroyd, esquire, from half-pay of lieutenant of the 17th foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting-district.

Hospital-Staff. Garrison-surgeon Charles Williamson, to be surgeon to the forces, *vice* Huddleston, retired.

*Downing-street*, Sept. 6. John Hookham Frere, esquire, appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid.—Right honourable lord Robert-Stephen Fitzgerald, appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon.

*St. James's*, Sept. 8. Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

*Downing-street*, Sept. 11. Francis James Jackson, esquire, appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

*Downing-street*, Sept. 15. Lieutenant-colonel Sir John Douglas, of the royal marines, appointed (by the duke of Suffex) equerry to his royal highness.

Major-general Thomas Grosvenor, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 7th foot.

*War-Office*, Sept. 18. Brevet. Colonel Charles baron Hompesch, of the prince of Wales's hussars, to be major-general in the army.

*St. James's*, Sept. 22. Right honourable Sir Charles Morgan, baronet, and right honourable John Smith,



Smith, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

*War-Office*, Sept. 25. Garri-sons. Reverend William Hardwicke, to be chaplain to the garri-son of St. John's, in Newfound-land, *vice* Tickell, deceased.

Lieutenant Robert Grier, of the 25th foot, to be town-major of prince Edward's island, *vice* Robert-son, promoted.

Lieutenant-colonel lord Charles Bentinck, and lieutenant-colonel William Henry Pringle, to be captains of companies in the cold-stream regiments of guards.

*Downing-street*, Sept. 27. Colo-nel Prevost, appointed captain-ge-neral and governor in chief of the island of Dominica.

Colonel Edmund, earl of Cork, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 4th foot.—Major Charles Strickland, to be lieuteuant-colonel of ditto.—Lieutenant-colonel Francis John Colman, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 38th foot.—Major Francis Slater Rebow, major and lieute-nant-colonel in the 2d regiment of life-guards.

28. Major Arthur Gore, to be lieutenant colonel of the 5th foot.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 2. John Martin Leake, and John Erskine, esquires, appointed comptrollers of army accounts.

*War-Office*, Oct. 5. Royal Military College. Surgeon, Charles Lewis Parker to be surgeon.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 9. Honourable Edward Legge, LL. B. appointed prebendary of St. George, Windsor, *vice* Arnald, deceased.

Reverend John Barton, M. A. appointed prebendary of Canter-bury, *vice* Legge, resigned.

*War-Office*, Oct. 12. Lieute-nant-colonel William Cochell to

be lieutenant-colonel of the 5th regiment of foot.—Lieutenant-co-lonel Thomas Barrow, to be lieu-tenant-colonel of the 5th West India regiment. Colonel sir Ri-chard Basset, to be lieutenant-colonel of the 6th ditto.—Lieu-tenant Thomas Barrow, to be co-lonel at Honduras only.

*Downing-Street*, Oct. 27. Ap-pointment of Don Mignel Larrea, to be his catholic majesty's consul-general in Great Britain and Ire-land, approved by his majesty.

*War-Office*, Nov. 2. Lieute-nant-colonel A Gore, to be lieu-tenant-colonel of the 33d foot.

*War-Office*, Nov. 9. Staff. As-sistant-commissary Hugh Kennedy, to be deputy-commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage, to the forces.

*Whitehall*. Nov. 13. Archibald Marquis of Douglas, appointed lieutenant and sheriff-principal of Lanarkshire, *vice* Archibald Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, re-signed.

*War-Office*. Nov. 20. Garri-son. Lieutenant-general William Edmiston, to be colonel.—Colonel A. Mair, to be lieutenant-colo-nel.—Major C. Leigh, to be major. Lieutenant-colonel David Home, to be colonel. Lieute-nant G. Vigoreux, to be lieu-tenant-colonel.—Captain James Rose, to be major.—Lieutenant James Lumfdaine, to be colonel.—Major J. West, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Brevet-major W. West, to be major.—Lieutenant-general Grice Blakeney, to be colonel.—Lieutenant-general Charles Hor-neck, to be colonel.—Major J. Wilben Cook, to be lieutenant-colonel.—Captain Robert M'Rea, to be major.

*Whitehall*, Nov. 22. Henry Hodgson,



Hodgson, esquire, appointed a commissioner for the affairs of taxes.

*Whitehall*, Nov. 30. John Braithwaite, esquire, major-general of his majesty's forces in the East Indies; Thomas Woolaston White, of Tuxford and Wallingwells, county of Nottingham and York, esquire, with remainders to his brother, Taylor White, and Charles-Lawrence White, esquires, and their respective heirs-male; Thomas-Theophilus Metcalfe, of Chilton, county of Berks, esquire, Culling Smith, of Hadley, county of Middlesex, esquire, William Curtis, of Culland's-grove, Southgate, county of Middlesex, esquires, one of the aldermen of the city of London; and Joseph Peacock, of Barntick, county of Clare, esquire, created baronets of the united kingdom.

*War-Office*, Nov. 30. Staff. Captain Peter Carey, of the 27th light dragoons, to be assistant-inspector at the recruiting-depôt in the Isle of Wight.

*Downing-street*, Dec. 4. Bartholomew Frere, esquire, to be secretary of legation at the court of Madrid.

*War-Office*, Dec. 11. Garrisons. Captain J. Parsonage, of the 1st battalion royals, to be town-major of the garrison of Gibraltar, vice Raleigh, resigned.

#### DEATHS.

Dec. 21, 1801. At Wells, Somerset, Lady Catharine Seymour, relict of Lord Francis S. late dean of Wells, and uncle to the Duke of Somerset.

23. The Swedish Charge d'Affairs to the circle of Lower Saxony, received intelligence from Stockholm, of the death of the hereditary Prince of Baden, at Arboga, at six o'clock in the morning. His Highness with his family was on his return when his carriage was overturned in a narrow road. Though his Highness received no contusion or wound, yet he appeared stunned and speechless, with other symptoms of an apoplexy, and though attended by the first physicians, his Highness expired the next day. His spouse and children returned to Stockholm, whither the body was likewise sent, previous to its being transported to Germany. His Highness was born the 14th of February, 1755, and married on the 15th of July, 1774, to Princess Amelia, Frederica, daughter of Louis IX. Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, born June 20, 1754. He was father of the reigning Empress of Russia, of the Queen of Sweden, and the Electress of Bavaria.

24. The Right Hon. John Maclellan, Lord Kirkcudbright.

January 1. At Lyons, aged 45, M. Aranco, ex-minister of finance of the Cisalpine republic, and deputy to the Consulta.

2. Of a decline, at Kenegie, near Penzance, in Cornwall, in his 48th year, George second Lord Rodney, eldest son of the late Admiral Rodney, ennobled 1782. By his wife, Anne, second daughter and coheir-apparent of Thomas Harley, alderman of London, he has left two daughters and ten sons.

At his Lordship's house at Shrub-hill, near Dorking, Surrey, the Hon. Miss Charlotte-Julia Leslie, youngest daughter of Lord Leslie.

3. Dowager



3. Dowager Lady Northcote at her son's seat at Pine.

6. At Wadley-house, Berks, the Right Hon. William Flower, Viscount Ashbrooke, Baron of Castle-Durrow, in Ireland. He was born in 1767, and received his education at Eton college, and afterwards at the university of Oxford; and, at the age of 13, his Lordship succeeded to the peerage, on the decease of his father, William. Dying unmarried, his titles devolve on his only brother, the Hon. Henry Flower, captain in the 58th regiment of foot.

10. The Hon. Lady Catharine Bligh, eldest daughter of John Earl of Darnley.

11. The Hon. Miss Eliza Jeffries, one of the maids of honour to the Queen.

15. At Bath, in her 32d year, Lady Charlotte Nares, wife of the Rev. Edward Nares, and third daughter to the Duke of Marlborough.

18. At her brother's house, in Harley-street, the Hon. Miss Primrose Elphinstone, daughter of the late Lord Charles Elphinstone.

19. In Princes-street, Edinburgh, Mary Clara, Lady Elbank.

24. In her 79th year, in consequence of a fright occasioned by her cloaths accidentally taking fire about a fortnight before, Lady Jane Courtenay, aunt to the Marquis of Bute.

25. At Mr. Coutts's, in Piccadilly, of a dropsy in the brain, aged two years, Lord North, the only son of the Earl of Guildford.

27. The infant son of Lord G. H. Cavendish.

At Fulbeck, in the county of Lincoln, Miss Elizabeth Fane, second daughter of the Hon. Henry Fane.

cond daughter of the Hon. Henry Fane.

28. At his house in Ely-street, Dublin, the Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Viscount Fitzgibbon, Baron Fitzgibbon of Lower Connello, in Ireland, Lord Fitzgibbon of Sidbury, in England, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Counsellors, a Lord of Trade and Plantations, Vice Chancellor of the university of Dublin, LL.D. His Lordship was born 1749, and married 1787, Miss Whaley, daughter of the late Richard Chapel Whaley, esq. of Whaley abbey, Knight of the Shire for Wicklow, and has left issue two sons and a daughter, viz. John Lord Fitzgibbon, now Earl of Clare, born 1792, Richard, Lady Isabella. He was educated at the university of Dublin, and afterwards entered upon the study of the law, of which profession he became the great ornament in his native country. In 1784, he was appointed Attorney General on the elevation of Mr. Scott to the bench, and, on the decease of Lord Chancellor Lifford, 1789, his Lordship received the seals, and was raised to the dignity of the peerage by the title of Baron Fitzgibbon of Lower Connello. To these dignities were added the Earldom of Clare, 1795, and the English Baronry of Fitzgibbon of Sidbury, in the county of Devon, 1799. In the elevated situation of Chancellor, he uniformly acted with a manly decision and ability, that extorted applause even from his political adversaries; he banished chicanery and unnecessary delay from his court, and was, on every emergency, the firm and undaunted supporter



porter of the constitution of the British realms. His Lordship had been for some time in a declining state of health. On the 31st, his remains were interred in St. Peter's Church, Dublin; the gentlemen of the law, to the number of 600, and 74 of the nobility and gentry, making up the procession. The pall was borne by the Marquis of Ely, the Earl of Shannon, and the Lords Kilwarden and Tyrawley.

29. Thomas, Lord Graves, Baron of Gravesend, Admiral of the White. His Lordship was elevated to the peerage, 1794, for the gallant services rendered to his country in the glorious battle of the 1st of June, that year, in which he received a wound in his shoulder. His Majesty was pleased, at the same time, to confer on him a pension of 1000*l.* a year, in recompense of his long services.

Lately, at Naples, aged 91, Carnal Capece Zurlo, archbishop of that city.

Feb. 2. Armar, Earl of Belmore, Viscount Corry, Viscount and Baron Belmore, of Castle Coole.

At the house of Lord Auckland, in Palace-yard, the infant son of Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne.

3. At his house in Brook-street, Hanover-square, the Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, LL.D. F.R.S. Baron Mendip, in Somersetshire; and a trustee of the British Museum. His lordship was a younger son of the Right Rev. Dr. Ellis, who was Bishop of Meath, in Ireland, at the same time that his brother, an uncle of the deceased lord, who had embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and followed the fortunes of the Pretender, enjoyed an ecclesiastical dignity of similar rank in Italy. Mr. Ellis was educated at

Westminster school, and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he proceeded regularly to his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. In a short time after quitting the University, he came into parliament, and in 1749, he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty under Mr. Pelham's administration. He continued in this office after Mr. Pelham's death, in 1754, when the Duke of Newcastle succeeded to the first station in the ministry, until December 1755, when he resigned his seat at the Admiralty, and became a Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. He enjoyed this situation, notwithstanding the unsettled state of parties during the intermediate time, until December 1762, and, in 1763, was appointed Secretary at War, on Mr. George Grenville's becoming First Lord of the Treasury. On the dissolution of Mr. Grenville's ministry, in 1765, when the Marquis of Rockingham succeeded to the helm of government, Mr. Ellis resigned the office of Secretary at War, and resumed his former appointment as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, in which he continued until October in the following year, when his resignation made room for Colonel Barré. In the August preceding, the Duke of Grafton had superseded Lord Rockingham in the premiership, and, during this administration, Mr. Ellis held no office; but he continued, nevertheless, to give a warm and active support to government, as appears from the Letters of Junius, in which, on several occasions, his name is treated with considerable disrespect. On the accession of Lord North to the first seat at the Treasury Board, in 1770, Mr. Ellis was again appointed a Vice-Treasurer



Treasurer of Ireland, which situation he filled until 1797, when he was made Treasurer of the Navy. At the close of Lord North's ministry, in February 1782, when a change was universally foreseen, and many of the members of administration had quitted their stations, either from apprehension, or the hope of making their court to the triumphant party, Mr. Ellis, at the express desire of a Great Personage, was prevailed on to accept the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. His stay in this office was of very short date, Lord Rockingham and the opposition succeeding Lord North and his friends in the following month. This was the last political situation which Mr. Ellis filled. On the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox, he was one of the few old friends of his lordship that adhered to him; and though he succeeded to no place in the ministry which followed that arrangement, their measures met with his full support and concurrence. When Mr. Pitt came into power, in December, 1783, Mr. Ellis followed the fortune of his friends; and at this period, after an active political life of 44 years, he saw himself, for the first time, in opposition. He continued steadily to support the measures of this party, until the schism which took place in 1793, on the subject of the French Revolution and the late war, when Mr. Ellis, whose principles and disposition equally led him to disapprove of the conduct of the French rulers, joined with the Duke of Portland and Mr. Burke in giving countenance to the system of administration. He was, however, now too far advanced in years to take an active part in the

politics of the day; and, on the introduction of the Duke of Portland into the cabinet, he was, with many others of his Grace's friends, created a peer of the realm. From this time this veteran statesman led a life of learned ease and dignified retirement. His lordship was of an active and diligent turn of mind, a correct and accurate, though not an eloquent speaker in parliament; and a complete classical scholar. In private life his virtues were not to be exceeded. He was of a domestic disposition, a most affectionate husband, and a fatherly friend to every branch of his family. His lordship died in the 89th year of his age, leaving no issue; he is succeeded in the barony of Mendip by Henry Viscount Clifden, in Ireland, M. P. for Heytesbury, the grandson of his only sister Anne Ellis, who married 1791 Caroline Spencer, eldest daughter of George Duke of Marlborough.

Aged 60, the Rev. George Watson Hand, M. A. archdeacon of Dorset, and prebendary of the Cathedrals of St. Paul's and Salisbury.

4. At Bath, Charlotte Countess of Leicester, wife of George Earl of Leicester, to whom she was married December 24, 1777. Her remains were interred with his Lordship's family at Rainham, in Norfolk, with due solemnity and respect.

9. At his house in Mansfield-street, Portland-place, in his 62d year, his Grace Aubrey Beauclerc, Duke of St. Alban's, Earl of Burford, Baron of Heddington, Baron Vere, of Hanworth, in Middlesex, hereditary grand falconer of England, and registrar of the Court of Chancery.

11. At Wade's mill, Herts, the  
\* L 2 wife



wife of John Buller, esq. of Morval, in Cornwall, the youngest daughter of the Bishop of Ely.

13. At her father's house, Stratford-place, lady Harriet Poulett, third daughter of Earl Poulett.

19. At Hamburgh, Prince Frederic of Hesse Darmstadt, brother of the Dowager Queen of Prussia, and of the Dowager Princess of Baden.

23. At Copenhagen, the daughter of the Princess Royal of Denmark; born on the 12th instant.

March 1. At Chatham, aged 65, Rear Admiral James Macnamara.

2. At Hobden-court, in the county of Hereford, John Lord Viscount Bateman, Baron of Culmore, Lord Lieutenant of Herefordshire, and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council. He was the eldest son of William Viscount Bateman, by the Lady Anne Spencer, grand daughter of John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough, and daughter of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland. He succeeded to the titles in 1744; represented Woodstock in Parliament; and married, 1748, Miss Sambrooke, niece of Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, bart. of Gubbins, in Herefordshire, but leaving no issue, the titles of the family expire with him.

At Strawberry-hill, Devonshire, the Right Hon. Charles Henry Coote, seventh Earl of Mountrath, Viscount Castle Coote, Baron of Castle Cuise. His Lordship was the only son of Algernon, the sixth Earl, by the Lady Diana Newport, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Newport, Earl of Bradford, succeeded to the titles on his father's decease 1774, and was appointed one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Counsellors in Ireland.

Having no heir to his ancient honours, he was created June 30, 1800, Baron of Castle Coote, with special remainder (in default of male issue to himself) to the Right Hon. Charles Henry Coote, one of his Majesty's Privy Counsellors in Ireland, and the lineal descendant of Chidley Coote, brother of the first Earl of Mountrath. The Earldom and the appendant honours being extinct, the barony of Castle Coote devolves as expressed in the patent. A peculiarity of disposition, added to an invariable dread of the small pox, occasioned the late Lord Mountrath to live absolutely the life of a recluse; yet in solitude the goodness of his heart, the politeness and elegance of manners which characteristically distinguished the old school, occasioned all who were necessitated to visit him upon business to admire the friendly reception they met with. He had such a terror of the small pox, that he had relays at five houses between his seat in Norfolk and his house in Devonshire, to prevent the chance of infection; and at these houses small establishments were kept, as he dared not sleep at an inn.

This morning, at 11 o'clock, at his seat at Woburn Abbey, in Bedfordshire, in the 37th year of his age, Francis Russel, Duke of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Earl of Bedford, Baron Russel of Cheneys, Thornhaugh, and Howland of Streatham, recorder of Bedford; president of the Toxophilite Society, and vice-president of the Small Pox Hospital and the Veterinary College. His Grace was born August 11, 1765, of Elizabeth, daughter of the late William-Anne Earl of Albemarle, and sister of the late Admiral Viscount Keppel.



pel. His father, the Marquis of Tavistock, dying in 1767, in consequence of a fall from his horse, and leaving three sons, he, as eldest, on the death of his grandfather in 1771, succeeded to the princely honours and fortunes of his family. The Duke died of an inflammation in his bowels; and, from the very first moment of his being obliged to call in medical assistance, his recovery was extremely doubtful. His Grace had been afflicted with a rupture from an early part of life, first brought on by a blow from a cricket-ball while at Westminster-school. He had been slightly indisposed with a cold for a few days, and on Friday afternoon, February 26, about five o'clock, a fit of coughing came on, which forced a small portion of intestine down. His Grace was in great pain on the part, and a general uneasiness in his bowels. The usual means were used till Dr. Kerr arrived from Northampton, which was at five o'clock on Saturday morning. His attempts to return the intestine being unsuccessful, he was apprehensive an operation would be necessary. It was the Duke's particular desire that Sir James Earle, who had always been his surgeon, should be sent for. The delay which it would occasion was attended to; but the Duke decided for himself in that particular. The express for Sir James reached town about noon, and he arrived at Woburn at five on Saturday afternoon. The endeavours of Sir James to reduce the rupture were as ineffectual as Dr. Kerr's; and the operation was immediately proceeded upon, and over before six o'clock, a period of little more than 24 hours after the accident. His Grace's

submission and fortitude could not be exceeded, and surgical skill was never better executed. The stricture was extraordinary; but when removed, and the parts returned to their situation, his Grace seemed relieved, and had two hours comfortable sleep. It was not till Sunday noon the alarming symptoms first made their appearance, and which were combated with every effort of art, though unsuccessful. The able assistance of Dr. Hallifax, who was his Grace's physician, was united in the first consultations, the doctor being sent for at the same time with Sir James Earle. By desire of his Grace's friends, Sir James Earle returned to the Abbey on Wednesday, with Mr. William Wadd, his pupil, to inspect the body. They found the intestines in a very putrid state. His Grace was sensible to the last, but not aware of the dangerous state in which he was till the morning that he died. He bore his sufferings, which were most acute, with exemplary resignation. His solicitor, Mr. Gotobed, went down on Monday; and the equanimity and fortitude of his Grace left him full possession of himself, to make what arrangements of his property he deemed proper. A short time before his death he saw his brothers, Lord John and Lord William; of whom he took a most affectionate leave. The scene was very solemn and impressive. The whole of Sunday, February 28, and Monday and Tuesday, March 1 and 2, the road to Woburn was crowded with carriages. His Grace dying unmarried, and without issue, is succeeded in his titles and estates by his next brother, Lord John Russell, a representative in the present



Parliament for the borough of Tavistock, who was born July 6, 1766, and in 1786 married Georgiana-Elizabeth Byng, second daughter of Lord Viscount Torrington, formerly British ambassador to the Court of Brussels. The funeral took place on the 10th; the procession left the abbey about ten on Wednesday night; the coffin was covered with the best crimson velvet, and contained 3000 silver nails. The hearse was drawn by six horses. There were three mourning coaches, filled with persons in his Grace's employ, or service; they were followed by his Grace's carriage, empty, drawn by six bay horses, and three footmen behind it, followed by a footman leading his Grace's favourite hackney. The procession passed through Hockliffe, Dunstable, Market-street, and Redburn, in the most solemn manner. The inhabitants in the places through which the procession passed, were in the road with lights, and the greatest order prevailed. On its arrival at Rickmansworth, about half past nine on Tuesday morning, it was joined by the Buckinghamshire tenantry, and soon after by those of Cheneys, who were in waiting for its arrival; and the whole then proceeded to the place of interment in due order: the procession arrived at the church about one o'clock; and at that time at least 5000 persons were assembled in the village. On its arrival at the church-yard-gate, it was met by the rector of Cheneys, the Rev. Mr. Morris (who had accompanied the Duke, as tutor, on his travels), and the Rev. Dr. Randolph. After the coffin was taken out of the hearse, and placed in the vault, the evening service

was read, and a most excellent sermon preached by Mr. Morris from the 2 Cor. v. 1. A funeral anthem was sung, and was performed by a very respectable band of vocal and instrumental performers. The funeral service was likewise read by Mr. Morris, in the family-vault over the corpse. Just as the coffin was going into the church, the most disgraceful scene of confusion took place; the populace stealing the effluvia from the hearse. A man was knocked down and trampled on by a horse, and his leg torn and bruised in a most shocking manner. On the mourners endeavouring to follow the corpse, some of them were literally carried into the church, and others could not gain admittance, the crowd being so extremely great. The confusion was occasioned by a gang of pick-pockets from London, who went down in post-chaises. A number of persons were robbed of considerable sums of money at the time the corpse was going into the church. These villains made a crowd of themselves. Great numbers of the windows of the church were broken by the populace, who endeavoured to force into the church that way. In London the most marked testimonies of respect were paid to his Grace's memory. The theatre of Drury-lane, of which he was the landlord, was shut, as were many of the shops on his extensive estates. At the parish churches of St. George, Bloomsbury, and St. Paul, Covent Garden, minute bells were tolled from eleven in the morning till two in the afternoon. On Sunday the 14th was performed, at the several parish-churches of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and St. George, Bloomsbury, in memory of



of his Grace, by Messrs. Calcott and Cooke, an appropriate Voluntary and Dirge; after which was introduced the celebrated Dead March in Saul. The pulpit and reading-desk were hung with black, and decorated with achievements of his Grace's arms.

7. At Naples, of a putrid fever, after an illness of six days, the Queen of Sardinia. Her Majesty was a sister of Louis XVI. born September 23, 1759; and married September 6, 1775, to Charles Emanuel, his present Sardinian Majesty.

Colonel Count Sutton Clanard.

13. Mrs. Margaret Dundas, daughter of the late Right Hon. Robert Dundas, of Armiston, Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland.

18. At St. Catherine Bank, near Edinburgh, Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of Alexander fifth Earl of Kelly.

21. At the Earl of Sefton's, in Hill-street, Berkeley-square, the only son of the Hon. Henry Fitzroy.

22. At his house in Rutland-square, Dublin, James Alexander, Earl of Caledon. He was born 1730, and married 1774 Ann Crawford, second daughter of James Crawford, esq. of Crawford-Bevin, Downshire, by whom he has left issue an only son, Dupre, Earl of Caledon, born 1777, and two daughters, viz. Lady Arabella, married 1790 to Andrew Thomas Blayney, eleventh Lord Blayney, and Lady Eliza.

23. In his 85th year, Henry Bellasyse, fifth Earl of Fauconberg, Lord Bellasyse, a lord of the King's bed-chamber, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the North riding of Yorkshire. His Lordship

was taking a walk in the New Road, Mary-le-bone, and, it is presumed, was seized with an attack in his head, which compelled him to go into a house on the spot, where he was taken ill. As soon as he was in the house, he was just able to articulate, "Send for Mr. Heavyside," whom the family of the house accidentally knew. His Lordship directly after became speechless and senseless. Mr. Heavyside being sent for, came immediately, and found his Lordship in an apoplectic fit. He directly wrote to Lady Fauconberg, to bring instantly a physician, and in the meantime bled him in the temporal artery, and used other means till their arrival; but unfortunately his Lordship survived only an hour. By Charlotte, daughter of Sir Matthew Lamb, and sister to Lord Viscount Melbourne, whom he married 1766, he had four daughters, Lady Charlotte Wynn, Lady Ann Wombwell, Elizabeth Countess of Lucan, now living, and Lady Harriot, who died in her infancy. He married, secondly, Jane, eldest daughter of the late John Cheshyre, esq. of Benington, Herts, by whom he has left no issue. The earldom, therefore, becomes extinct; but the titles of Viscount and Baron Fauconberg devolve on Rowland Bellasyse, esq.

At his seat in Cheshire, the Hon. Booth Grey, brother to the Earl of Stamford. He served in three successive Parliaments for the borough of Leicester, from the representation of which he retired in 1784.

April 2. At Bath, the Right Hon. Lloyd Lord Kenyon, lord chief justice to the Court of King's Bench, custos rotulorum of Flintshire,



shire, a governor of the Charter-house, and a lord of trade and plantations. His death was owing to a complete decay of nature; for many weeks past he had scarcely taken any nourishment, or enjoyed any sleep: still, however, he was subject to little or no pain, and died perfectly composed and resigned. He was born at Gredington, in Flintshire, 1733: and was the eldest surviving son of Lloyd Kenyon, esq. originally of Bryno in the same county, and one of the younger sons of the ancient family of Kenyon of Peele, in Lancashire. He received the elementary part of his education at Ruthen in Denbighshire, whence he was taken, at an early age, and articled to Mr. W. J. Tomlinson, an eminent attorney at Nantwich, in Cheshire. On the expiration of his articles, Mr. Kenyon determined to enter into a line which afforded a more ample scope to his industry and talents, and, accordingly, became a member of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, in Trinity Term 1754, and, after a sedulous application to the requisite studies, was called to the bar in Hilary Term 1761. In the early part of his professional career, his advancement was but slow; he was unassisted by those means which powerful connexion and interest afford. The branch of his profession, to which he chiefly applied himself, that of conveyancing, was not calculated to bring him forward into public notice; but the sterling merit of genuine abilities and persevering industry were not to be overlooked: he rose gradually into practice; few opinions at the bar, at the time, carried more weight and authority, and he was frequently resorted to as an advocate. In

1773 he formed a matrimonial connexion with his relative, Mary, the third daughter of George Kenyon, of Peele; and, not long after, contracted an intimacy with Mr. afterwards Lord Thurlow, and chancellor. About this period too, and for some years after, his practice in the Court of Chancery was very extensive and of the most lucrative kind, by which, as well as in the other lines of his profession, he acquired a very considerable property. In 1780 a circumstance occurred which not a little contributed to establish his reputation as an advocate and a public speaker, his being employed as leading counsel for the defence of the late Lord George Gordon, on a charge of high treason; on this interesting occasion his second was Mr. Erskine, who on that day distinguished himself in such a manner as in a great degree laid the foundation of his future fame. In April 1782, soon after the accession of the Rockingham party to ministerial power, Mr. Kenyon was, without serving the intermediate office of solicitor, appointed to the important situation of attorney-general, and, at the same time, chief justice of Chester; in the former office he succeeded the late James Wallace, esq. In parliament Mr. Kenyon took a decided part in politics, warmly attaching himself to the party of Mr. Pitt; and distinguishing himself not a little by his speeches on the noted affair of the Coalition, Mr. Fox's India Bill, &c. In March 1714, he was appointed Master of the Rolls, an office of high judicial dignity, and generally leading to still higher legal honours; yet its emoluments fell very short of those which he necessarily relinquished by



by discontinuing his professional pursuits as a counsel. About this time he was created a baronet. In this situation Sir Lloyd Kenyon continued till the latter end of May 1788, when, on the resignation of the venerable Earl of Mansfield, he was appointed chief justice of the Court of King's Bench, and at the same time was elevated to the peerage, by the title of Lord Kenyon, Baron of Gredington, in the county of Flint. In this important situation, he was distinguished by laudable, firm, and persevering exertions to keep the channels of the law clear and unpolluted by low and sordid practices, which were particularly exemplified in the vigilant and salutary exercise of his authority over the attorneys of his own court, the utility of which has been experienced in a very considerable degree. Secondly, his unprecedented zeal in the cause of morality and virtue, which most conspicuously appeared in his conduct with respect of cases of adultery and seduction. On these occasions, neither rank, wealth, nor station, could shield delinquency from the well-merited censure and rebuke of offended justice and morality. A third consideration, and which highly redounds to the honour of his lordship's magisterial character, is the strictness, not to say severity, with which he administered the justice of the law against the pernicious tribe of gamblers of every description. On these occasions, the conduct of this truly virtuous Judge was such as incontrovertibly shewed that "the Law is no respecter of persons." In private life, the character of Lord Kenyon was amiable and praise-

worthy in the highest degree; no man could excel him in the relations of husband and father; in the former, he may be considered as a pattern of conjugal virtue. In his mode of living he was remarkably temperate and regular; and frequently afforded gratuitous assistance, in his professional capacity. He is said to have died worth 300,000*l.* all acquired by his own professional exertions, and a rigid spirit of economy. Lord Kenyon had issue by his lady three sons; Lloyd, born in 1775, whom his father appointed filazer of the Court of King's Bench; he stood not long since an electioneering contest for the county of Flint, and died September 15, 1800; the manner in which his Lordship was affected by this melancholy event is supposed, in some degree, to have accelerated his own dissolution. Secondly, George, the present Lord Kenyon, born in 1776; and appointed by his father to the lucrative situation of joint chief clerk of the Court of King's Bench, on the demise of the late Earl of Mansfield, better known as Lord Viscount Stormont, and joined in the patent with John Way, esq. And, thirdly, the Hon. Thomas Kenyon, born in 1780.

6. Suddenly, the deposed heir of the Nabob of Arcot, whose death was followed by those of his Highness's father in law, and of his dearest friend and chief counsellor, the venerable Najub Khan, who survived his sovereign but nineteen days. The Prince, on his death-bed, made a will in favour of his brother, Hussaun Ul Malk, who, of course, succeeds to all his legitimate claims to the sovereignty.

At



13. At Moira-house, the Hon. Ferdinand Forbes, youngest son of the Earl of Granard.

In George-street, Westminster, aged 90, after a long illness, the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Mofs, bishop of Bath and Wells, which see he had filled 28 years, being promoted to it in 1774 on the death of Dr. Willes 1773, who, like him, had been translated from St. David's. He was of Caius College, Cambridge, A. B. 1731; A. M. 1735; S. T. P. 1747; archdeacon of Colchester, 1750; prebendary of Salisbury; bishop of St. David's, 1766; and F. R. S.

17. . . . He printed a Spital Sermon 1750; one on the Fast for the Earthquake 1756; one before the Salisbury Infirmary 1769; one before the Lords, January 30, 1769; and one before the Society for propagating the Gospel, 1776. He had amassed a private fortune to the amount of 140,000l.; 20,000l. of which he bequeathed to an only daughter, who is married; and the remaining 120,000l. to his son, Dr. Mofs. His son Robert died in June last.

14. At his house in Windsor castle, Mrs. Douglas, wife of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

16. At Belfast, in Ireland, the Dowager Countess of Roden.

17. At his house in Hanover-square, the Right Hon. Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, in Ireland, LL. D. His lordship was born December 4, 1739, and succeeded to the titles on the decease of his grandfather; in 1766 he was appointed a commissioner of the Admiralty, and represented in parliament the borough of Eastloe, in Cornwall, Borough-bridge in Yorkshire, and latterly

Winchester. He married first, 1767, Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Poole, bart. of Poole-hall, in Cheshire, and had issue an only daughter; and secondly, 1783, Mary Mee, by whom he had issue Henry John, now Lord Palmerston, born 1784. His lordship was in the male line the representative of the ancient family of Temple, which has produced so many distinguished characters in the political and literary world, and from which, in the female line, the Marquis of Buckingham (who has assumed the name of Temple), is descended. His lordship died of what the faculty terms an ossified throat; in consequence of which, he must inevitably have been starved to death for want of nourishment, had he not been relieved from so dreadful a calamity by an earlier dissolution.

21. At Mr. Coutts's, in Stretton street, Piccadilly, George Augustus North, Earl of Guildford, Baron North and Guildford. His Lordship was born September 11, 1757, and married, in 1785, Miss Hobart, daughter of the present Earl of Buckinghamshire, by whom he had three sons, who died in their infancy. He married, secondly, the eldest daughter of Thomas Coutts, esq. by whom he had a son, who died January 25 last. He has left three infant daughters; Lady Maria, by his first lady; and Lady Susan and Georgiana North, by his present lady. The long and painful ill state of his Lordship's health arose from a fall from his horse, a few years since, at Cheltenham, owing to the animal taking fright as his lordship was presenting a basket of fruit to Miss Coutts, afterwards Countess of Guildford. By this accident, it is supposed,



supposed, the spine of his back was affected, and from this fatal source were derived all the bodily sufferings under which he languished for several years, and that baffled all the skill of the ablest physicians. His immediate dissolution was looked for all the last week; on the preceding evening, he fell into a somnolency for eight hours, out of which he awakened suddenly, a little before five o'clock the next morning, when casting his eyes around, and lifting up both hands, he uttered one groan, and expired. The Earl dying without male issue, the Barony of North is supposed to be separated from the Earldom, and to descend in abeyance to his Lordship's sisters, Lady Glenbervie, Lady Sheffield, and Lady Charlotte Lindsay.

26. At Bath, in his 79th year the venerable and Rev. E. Nelson, rector of Burnham-Thorpe, Norfolk, and father of the gallant Lord Nelson.

28. The Hon. Caroline, wife of John Gawler, esq. of Ramridge-house, Hants, and eldest daughter of John, third Lord Ballenden.

May. At Berlin, aged 77, Baron de Haugwitz, the Prussian Minister.

4. At Edinburgh, in her 50th year, Lady Forbes, of Pittligo.

17. At Flading's hotel, in Oxford-street, the Hon. Frederick Stuart, M. P. for the county of Bute, in Scotland.

18. At Vienna, Prince Philip of Lichtenstein, well known by his residence at Paris during the first years of the French Revolution.

19. At his house in Merrion-street, Dublin, Charles Stanley, Lord Viscount Monck, Baron Monck, so created 1800. He is

succeeded by his son, the Hon. Henry Monck, now at Eton college.

20. In Edward-street, Portman-square, in her 78th year, Mrs. Mary Noel, sister of the late, and aunt of the present, Lord Viscount Wentworth.

22. At his Lordship's house in St. James's-place, the Countess of Roden.

23. At Lowther-hall, Westmoreland, after eight days severe illness of a bowel-complaint, with which he had been long afflicted, James Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale, and Viscount Lonsdale, so created May 12, 1784; and, on October 10, 1797, Viscount and Baron Lowther. He was, for many years past, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, wherein his immense property in lands, houses, mines, &c. &c. was situated; also, colonel of the Cumberland militia, and a vice-president of the Mary-labonne General Dispensary. For nearly the last two years he had been in very precarious and declining health; and was at times so exhausted as to be incapable of retaining any thing but human milk on his stomach. He was son of Robert Lowther, esq. of Malmesmebatne, governor of Barbadoes 1716, by Catharine, only daughter of sir Joseph Pennington, bart. by Mary his wife, fourth daughter of John Viscount Lonsdale. He died 1745, she 1746, leaving issue the late Earl, another son, Robert, and three daughters: Margaret, married to Henry, present Earl of Darlington; Catherine, to the late Duke of Bolton; and Barbara. The late Earl succeeded Henry third Viscount Lonsdale, who died without



without issue, in his title of baronet 1750; and was also heir to the accumulated wealth of sir James Lowther, of Whitehaven. September 7, 1771, his lordship (then sir James Lowther) married Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of the late Earl of Bute; and, as he afterward obtained a grant from the Crown of part of an estate which had been long held by the Duke of Portland's family as an appendage to an estate in the county of Cumberland, given to their ancestor by King William III. it was rashly and untruly presumed that Lord Bute's interest was used in inducing the Lords of the Treasury to improve his son-in-law's property at the expence of the Duke of Portland, who was then in opposition. In 1782, sir James Lowther waited on the first Lord of the Admiralty, and, after deploring the state of his majesty's navy, voluntarily offered to build and equip, at his own expence, a seventy-four-gun ship; but the peace of 1783 made the execution of this offer unnecessary. His Lordship was, some years ago, violently satirised by Peter Pindar, whom he prosecuted for a libel, but, on receiving a concession, was induced to desist; an instance of placability which does him honour; and he evinced great personal courage in a duel fought, in the year 1792, with Capt. Cuthbert, which, it is supposed, was not the only transaction of the kind in which he had been engaged. In 1784 an antient peerage which belonged to the family, but had been for some time extinct, was revived, and sir James was called up to the House of Lords by the titles already enumerated. He had been more than 30 years a member of the

House of Commons, being several times elected for the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland; and, at the general election, 1767, was returned for both. His parliamentary interest was very considerable; and he had the honour of first introducing Mr. Pitt to the British Senate, whom he caused to be elected, in 1781, upon his interest, for Appleby, at the instance of their common friend the late Duke of Rutland. He was always anxious for the extension of his Borough interest; yet although the possession of such influence is reckoned favourable to the views of ambition, he never occupied any official situation. Dying without issue, the earldom becomes extinct; but the viscounty descends to sir William Lowther, bart. of Swillington, Yorkshire, M. P. for the county of Rutland.—On the 9th of June, at 8 A. M. the Earl was interred in the family-vault at Lowther, Westmoreland. He was attended by his own servants, having given directions that his funeral should be private, and that they only should attend; and, although it was not known to any person, except the family, when the ceremony was to be performed, yet a very great crowd of people from the neighbourhood was assembled, and behaved with the greatest respect, decency, and decorum.

June 1. At Barrogill-castle, in his 13th year, John Lord Berriedale, eldest son of the Earl of Caithness.

4. At Fulbeck, Lincolnshire, the Hon. Henry Fane, M. P. for Lyme Regis, Dorset, brother to the late, and uncle to the present, Earl of Westmoreland. He was surveyor of the King's private roads; and married,



married, in 1778, the daughter of Edward Buckley Batson, esq. of London, banker.

At his house in Oxford-street, the Right Rev. Lewis Bagot, D. D. lord bishop of St. Asaph. He had been for ten years past in a decline, but was confined to his bed only the day before his death. An illness of such long continuance had wasted him to a mere skeleton. Though but little known in the world, from the weak state of his health, which did not admit of his mixing much in it, he was a man of great learning, an accomplished scholar, and of the most gentle and amiable manners. He was translated from the see of Norwich to that in which he died.

7. At his seat at Rushton-hall, Northamptonshire, in his 92d year, Charles Cockayne, fifth Viscount Cullen, of Ireland. He was born September 21, 1710, and attained the above advanced period of life in the enjoyment of an uninterrupted state of good health, of excellent abilities, and of a very cheerful turn of mind, to which he united the inestimable virtues of true benevolence and unbounded generosity. His lordship was of ancient lineage, and paternally descended from Andreas Cockayne, Lord of Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, in the reign of King Henry II.; whose descendants frequently represented that county in parliament. With others of his maternal ancestors may be named the O'Briens, Earls of Thomond, and the Lords Willoughby of Parham; of the elder branch of the former his lordship was the representative; and by the latter he derived his descent from the illustrious houses of York, Lancaster, Arundel, and

Rutland. He married first, May 4, 1732, his first cousin, Anne, daughter of Borlase Warren, esq. of Stapleford-hall, Nottinghamshire, by whom he had three sons and six daughters; only one daughter living; 2dly, Sophia, daughter of John Baxter, esq. by whom he had William, married to Barbara, youngest daughter of Serjeant Hill, and now Viscount Cullen. This second lady survived him but five weeks, dying July 12.

8. At Brompton, the Hon. Mrs. Allen.

9. At Edinburgh, David Leslie, sixth Earl of Levan and Melville. He succeeded to the title on the death of his father, 1754; and had filled the office of his Majesty's high commissioner in 19 consecutive assemblies; and is succeeded in titles and estates by his eldest son, Alexander, Lord Viscount Balgonie. He went very early into the army, and soon rose to the rank of captain, but on his father's (Alexander) death, resigned. He married Wilhelmina, daughter of William Nisbet, esq. of Dirleton, by whom he had three sons and three daughters.

13. At Berlin, Baron Krudener, the Russian minister at the Court of Berlin.

15. At Fulbeck, Lincolnshire, (the seat of the Hon. Henry Fane), Charles Blair, esq. of Blandford St. Mary, Dorset. He married, early in life, Lady Mary Fane, sister to the late, and aunt to the present, Earl of Westmoreland.

29. At her house in Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, the Hon. Jane Parker. This lady was of the ancient family of Cæsar, in Hertfordshire, and had for her first husband Sir Charles Dormer Cottrell, master



master of the ceremonies at St. James's, to whom she bore the present Sir Clement Dormer Cottrell, and a daughter who died young. Her second husband was the late Hon. lieutenant-general George Lane Parker, brother to the Earl of Macclesfield, who died without issue. Throughout the present reign, even after diminution of the bloom of youth, this lady was one of the finest women in the British court; and the amiability of her conduct in the characters of private life did as much honour to her heart and principles as her carriage in the great world did to her temper and education.

July. Right Rev. Richard Marlay, D.D. bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in Ireland; so consecrated 1787. His remains were interred in the family-vault in St. Mary's church, Dublin.

At Rome, aged 80, Cardinal Cevizzani.

4. At Ratibon, in his 63d year, the Electoral conference minister of Mentz and directorial envoy, Baron Steigentesch. The death of this distinguished and patriotic statesman is a loss equally unexpected, and sensibly felt by the Diet of the empire.

5. At the Grove, Yoxford, Suffolk, in her 69th year, the Hon. Frances-Ann Davy, wife of Eleazer Davy, esq. She was the daughter of the late Lord Carbery, and aunt to the present lord.

6. At Malvern-hall, in Solihull parish, Warwickshire, after a lingering illness, the Hon. Charlotte wife of Henry Grefwold Lewis, esq. eldest daughter of the late Sir Orlando Bridgeman, created Earl of Bradford in 1794, and sister to the present earl.

12. At the King's Arms inn, Ox-

ford, on her return from Bristol, Lady Cullen, relict of Lord Viscount Cullen, of Rushton-hall, Northamptonshire. Her ladyship had been in a declining state for some time past, and had not survived her husband above five weeks.

Aged 59, the Hon. John Grey, youngest brother to the Earl of Stamford and Warrington. By Susanna, fourth daughter of Ralph Leycester, esq. he has left two sons and four daughters, of whom the eldest was lately married.

14. At Aldborough house, Dublin, Right Hon. the Countess of Aldborough, widow of Edward, the late Earl, and since married to George Powell, esq. barrister at law. Her ladyship bore a long and tedious illness, with exemplary patience and fortitude. She was the daughter of Sir John now Lord Henniker, and was married to the Earl of Aldborough, the 14th of May, 1787; and was, secondly, married to George Powell, esq. in the month of December last.

22. At her house in Upper Grosvenor-street, the Countess Dowager of Somerset.

26. At Lady Mendip's house at Twickenham, in her 71st year, Lucy Dowager-Viscountess Clifden, eldest surviving daughter of John Martin, esq. of the kingdom of Ireland. Her ladyship was first married to the Hon. Henry Boyle Walsingham, son of the Earl of Shannon, by whom she had one son, who died an infant; secondly, to James Agar, the late Viscount Clifden, by whom she has left issue Henry Welbore, the present Viscount Clifden; and (also Baron Mendip, of the United Kingdom), Charles Ellis a barrister at law, and one daughter.

In Calabria, the Bishop of Cat-tazaro.



tazaro. He was shot as he was proceeding to the convent where he lived. This respectable prince of the church was the intimate friend of Cardinal Ruffo.

At Naples, of apoplexy, Cardinal Gallo, Bishop of Viterbo.

At Vienna, Baron Herbert, Imperial privy-counsellor, and upwards of 20 years minister plenipotentiary from the Emperor of Germany to the Porte.

At Polignac, on his way to Aix, in Savoy, for the recovery of his health, Baron Stael, formerly the Swedish ambassador at the Court of France.

At Nancy, in France, Lady Anne Saltmarsh, sister to the late, and aunt to the present, Earl of Fingal.

August 3. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, at his country palace at Remsberg, aged nearly 77, Prince Frederic Henry Lewis of Prussia, brother to Frederic the Great, great uncle of the present King, general of infantry, colonel of a regiment of foot, knight of the order of the Black Eagle, provost of Magdebourg, &c. &c. This prince was born in 1726, on the 18th day of January, a day which has been solemnized during a century as the anniversary of the foundation of the Prussian monarchy. He made his first campaign in his 16th year, accompanying the royal army as a colonel, in 1742, into Moravia, and being soon after present, at the victory at Chotusitz. In the seven years war, where he commanded the second army, he distinguished himself in a manner which procured him the admiration of all Europe. In the war concerning the Bavarian succession, he again commanded the second army, and penetrated from Saxony into Bohemia. In 1776 he

travelled to Stockholm, and thence to Petersburg, whence he returned to Berlin with the Grand Duke (afterwards Emperor) Paul. In 1780 he went to Spa, whence he had a conference with the Emperor Joseph; and he afterwards visited France. He was married to her Serene Highness the Princess Wilhelmina, daughter of Maximilian, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the marriage was consummated at Charlottenberg, June 25, 1752. As an honour to his memory, the King ordered that all officers wear a crape on their arm for a fortnight. The Court also went into mourning for the same time. On the 5th, his body, after having been first openly exposed to view, in the simple uniform of his regiment, was laid in the sepulchre, which he had caused to be built for himself two years ago, and purposely in such a manner, that it was in the full view of the windows of his sitting room.

4. Charles Count Lockhart, son of the late General Count Z. of the holy Roman Empire, some time in the imperial service.

5. At Earl's Court, Kensington, after an illness of two months, which did not, however, confine him till of late, Richard Earl Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave, and Baron Grosvenor, of Eaton, Cheshire. His death was rather unexpected, he appearing in tolerable health, though weakly. He was born in June, 1731, being the son of Sir Robert Grosvenor; and was the first peer of his family, having been raised to that rank in 1761, and created an Earl in 1784. He married, 1764, Henrietta, daughter of Thomas Vernon, by his wife, daughter of the Earl of Stafford. By his death one of the largest properties



perties in the kingdom descends, with his titles, to his eldest son, Lord Viscount Belgrave, M. P. for Chester. His Lordship was a great sportsman; and his death will be much regretted on the turf. On the 12th instant his remains were conveyed to the family-vault at Eccleston, in Cheshire.

15. At Warwick castle, in his 20th year, the Hon. Henry Greenville, third son of the Earl of Warwick.

18. At her house in Sackville-street, Dublin, in her 81st year, Margaret Cecil Hamilton, Viscountess-dowager Southwell, relict of Thomas-George Lord Viscount Southwell, of Ireland. She was descended from the noble and illustrious houses of Cecil, prime minister to Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burleigh, ancestor to the present Marquises of Exeter and Salisbury, and of Hamilton, ancestor to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton.

19. At Worthing, Sussex, where he went for the recovery of his health, the Hon. Augustus-Philip Monckton, third son of Viscount Galway.

20. At Bishofsheim castle, in Suabia, at a very advanced age, Bleichard IV. Count of Helmstatt, sovereign lord of Bishofsheim, Berwangen, &c. in Creichgan, and lord of Morangé in Lorrain, late colonel of a regiment of horse, bearing his name, in the French King's service, knight of St. Louis, &c. &c. The Count has left no issue by Louisa de Montmorenci Laval, his wife, daughter of Claudius Roland de Montmorenci, marshal of France.

At Southampton, Lady Jane Terry, wife of David-George Terry, esq. and sister of the Earl of Dysart.

September. Found drowned in

the Danube, near Vienna, Baron de Vega, lieutenant-colonel of artillery in the Austrian service.

4. At Buxton, Derby, in his 56th year, of the gout in his head, Henry Thomas Fox Strangways, Earl of Ilchester and Stavordale, Baron Strangways, of Woodford-Strangways, Dorset, and of Redlynch, Somerset. He married, 1772, Mary, daughter of Standish Grady, esq. of Coppercullen, in Ireland, by whom he had five daughters and a son. He is succeeded by his son, Henry-Stephen Lord Stavordale.

16. Suddenly, at Anhalt Coethen, aged 24, Prince Louis of Anhalt Coethen. He was interred on the 20th; and, within two hours after, his widow, Princess Louisa, was safely delivered of a son and heir.

19. At Vienna, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. She had come from Schonbrunn to lie-in, and had so difficult a labour that an operation was found necessary, which was performed with apparent success, but neither she nor her infant long survived it. She was a daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies; born June 27, 1773; and married to the Grand Duke, September 19, 1790. She died on the anniversary of her wedding-day: and was buried, with ceremony suitable to her high rank, on the 21st, in the family-vault of the House of Austria.

22. At Troyes, Mark-Antony de Noé, formerly bishop of Lescar, from the year 1763 till the period of the Revolution, and lately appointed to the bishoprick of Troyes. He was born, in the diocese of Rochelle, in 1724.

October 6. His Serene Highness Craft Ernest, reigning Prince of Oettingen-Wallerstein, born in 1748.

9. At Fonterivo, his Royal Highness



ness Don Ferdinand, infant of Spain and Duke of Parma. He was born July 20, 1751, and took possession of his dukedom in 1765. His sister is the Queen of Spain; and the eldest of his three daughters espoused Prince Maximilian of Saxony. He dined on the 7th at Ponterrivo, where he visited a school, and after dinner assisted at an exercise of the scholars, when he was suddenly seized with a colick, which reduced him to such extremity that he expired in 24 hours. Before his decease, however, he provided for the administration of public affairs, and appointed a Regency of State, at the head of which is the Archduchess his widow. Since his death, his possessions have been annexed to the Republic of France.

21. At Berlin, the Prussian Minister of State, Philip Charles Count Alvensleben. He was born at Hanover, December 12, 1745, where his father was of the Privy Council of War, and his grandfather had been Minister of State.

29. At Sassari, in the island of Sardinia, of which he was governor, aged 36, Prince Joseph Benedictus Maria Placidus, of Savoy, brother to his Sardinian Majesty.

November 1. At St. Domingo, of the fever of the country, after an attack of ten days, Victor Emmanuel Le Clerc, captain general of the French troops on that island; brother-in-law of Bonaparte. The body, bowels, and heart, were conveyed on board the Swiftsure ship of war, and the sabre and hat of the Captain-general consigned to the captain, to remain deposited, during the whole of the voyage, on the coffin; the whole to be given, on the arrival of the vessel in

France, to the officer charged to accompany the remains. The Consular Court, on this occasion, go into mourning for *twelve days*.

5. At Grenada, the Honourable George-Vere Hobart, late governor of that island, and second son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. He had only been married a short time previous to his appointment; and, on his arrival, fell a victim to the disastrous malady that so fatally prevails in that country, leaving his disconsolate widow to mourn, in conjunction with his numerous friends, the irreparable loss of a young man whose kind heart, integrity of mind, and unaffected manners, would not only have been an ornament to his country, but reflected honour on himself and his family.

25. At his house in Dover-street, Edward-Hussey Montague, Earl of Beaulieu. His lordship was in ill health for several years previous to his decease; and his death was owing to the decay of nature, being in his 82d year. He was the eldest son of James Hussey, esq. of Westown, co. Dublin, by Catharine, daughter of Richard Parsons, Viscount Ross; and marrying Isabella, eldest daughter and co-heir of John Montague, Duke of Montague, and relict of William Montague, Duke of Manchester, on the death of his father-in-law, took the name and arms of Montague; in 1753 was installed K. B.; in 1762 was advanced to the peerage of Great Britain by the title of Lord Beaulieu, of Beaulieu, co. Hants, to him and his heirs male by his said wife Isabella; and in 1784, Earl Beaulieu, of Beaulieu. He represented the borough of Tiverton. He had issue, John Montague, born 1747,



and Isabella, born 1750, died 1772. His seats are Ditton park, Bucks, and Beaulieu, Hants. It is remarkable, that his lordship died possessed of the lands granted to his own and his lady's ancestors by the Conqueror. Between eight and nine o'clock of the morning of December 2, his remains were removed in great funeral pomp to the family vault at Beaulieu, Bucks.

Lately, at Hesse Cassel, Baron Julius, Gurgon de Wittorf, a singular instance of merit exalted by patronage and exertion. From the 10th year of his age, being born at Zell in 1714, to the period of his death, he had been in the service of five successive Landgraves; first as a page, and afterwards as an officer of dragoons serving in the campaign upon the Rhine in 1734. After leaving the army, he became master of the horse; then chief master of the court, filling this office under three Landgraves. He afterwards became chief master of the horse; and, before the conclusion of his public career, minister of state, upper chamberlain, commandant of Marburgh, knight of both the Prussian Eagles, &c.

December 1. At Bath, the Countess of Selkirk.

9. At Altona, greatly regretted by the poor and her numerous friends, Anne Dowager Lady Clifford, mother of the present Lord Clifford, and last surviving sister of the late George Henry Earl of Lichfield.

10. At his palace at Hereford, in the 85th year of his age, Dr. John Butler, bishop of that see.

11. At Elderslie-house, near Glasgow, the seat of A. Speirs, esq. Lady Dundas, relict of the

late Sir Lawrence Dundas, bart. and mother of Lord Dundas.

12. At Paris, M. de Bourdeilles, formerly bishop of Soissons. He was buried the next day in his pontifical habits.

19. At Mount-Panther, Downshire, Ireland, Francis-Charles Annesley, Earl Annesley, Viscount Glerawly, and Baron Annesley. He was born 1740; succeeded his father, the first Viscount, 1770; and married, 1766, Mary daughter of Richard Grave, of Ballyhimmoc, co. Cork, esq. Dying without issue, he is succeeded in titles and estates by his brother, the Right Hon. Richard Annesley, now Earl Annesley, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, and a chief commissioner of the revenue in Ireland.

20. In Argyle-street, in her 77th year, Viscountess Bateman.

Mrs. Mary Hughes, wife of John Hughes, gentleman, and daughter of the Hon. G. Sempill, esq. by Mary only daughter of W. Mawhead, sen. of Finchley, Middlesex, and the last survivor of that family.

*SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1802.*

*Bedfordshire.* John Higgins, the younger, of Turvey, esquire.

*Berkshire.* The Hon. Thomas Windsor, of Braywick.

*Buckingham.* James Oldham Oldham, of Missenden-Abbey, esquire.

*Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.* Thomas Aveling, of Whittlesea, esquire.

*Cheshire.* Lawrence Wright, of Mottram St. Andrew, esquire.

*Cumberland*



*Cumberland.* Edward Hassell, of Dalmain, esquire.

*Derbyshire.* Thomas Princep, of Croxall, esquire.

*Devonshire.* Sir John Davey, of Creedy, baronet.

*Dorsetshire.* Edmund Morton Pleydell, of Whatcombe, esquire.

*Essex.* Robert Raikes, of Great Ilford, esquire.

*Gloucestershire.* James Musgrave, of Barnley-Park, esquire.

*Herefordshire.* Thomas Debits, of the Apostles, esquire.

*Hertfordshire.* Jacob Bosanquet, of Broxborn Park, esquire.

*Kent.* Thomas Godfrey, of Ash, esquire.

*Leicestershire.* John Paris, of Newarke, esquire.

*Lincolnshire.* Henry Dalton, of Naith, esquire.

*Monmouthshire.* Thomas Morgan, of the Hill, esquire.

*Norfolk.* Robert Wilson, of Didlington, esquire.

*Northamptonshire.* Robert Carey Elwes, of Great Billing, esquire.

*Northumberland.* Charles W. Bigge, of Benton-House, esquire.

*Nottinghamshire.* Robert Lowe, of Oxtou, esquire.

*Oxfordshire.* Thomas Toovey, of Nettlebed, esquire.

*Rutlandshire.* William Gilson, of Burleigh, esquire.

*Shropshire.* William Ferriday, of Dawla Parva, esquire.

*Somersetshire.* Benjamin Greenhill, of Stone Easton, esquire.

*Staffordshire.* Robert Parker, of Park-Hall, esquire;

*County of Southampton.* Sir Edward Hulse, of Breamore, baronet.

*Suffolk.* Thomas Cockfedge, of Bury St. Edmund's, esquire.

*Surrey.* Edward Peppin, of Walton-Lodge, esquire.

*Suffex.* Sir William Ashburnham, of Broomham, baronet.

*Warwickshire.* Heneage Legg, of Aston, esquire.

*Wiltshire.* Sir Andrew Bayntun, of Spye-Park, baronet.

*Worcestershire.* Thomas Newnham, of Broadwas, esquire.

*Yorkshire.* Sir William Foulis, of Ingleby Manor, baronet.

## SOUTH WALES.

*Carmarthen.* Thomas Owen, of Glassoult, esquire.

*Pembrokeshire.* David Lewis, of Hen Llan, esquire.

*Cardiganshire.* David Davis, of Glan yr Occas, esquire.

*Glamorganshire.* Richard Mansell Phillips, of Sketty-Hall, esquire.

*Brecon.* Joseph Sparkes, of Penyworlod, esquire.

*Radnor.* John Sherburne, of Llandrindod, esquire.

## NORTH WALES.

*Carnarvon.* Robert Wynne, of Llannerch, esquire.

*Anglesey.* William Bulkeley Hughes, of Bryndda, esquire.

*Merioneth.* John Meredith Mof-tyn, of Clegir, esquire.

*Montgomery.* David Edward Lewis Lloyd, of Fann, esquire.

*Denbigh.* Edward Lloyd Lloyd, of Penyllan, esquire.

*Flint.* Sir Stephen Glynne, of Broad-Lane, baronet.

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SHERIFF appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1801.

*County of Cornwall.* Thomas Carlyon, of Tregrehan, esquire;



## APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

London Gazette, Dec. 22, 1800.

*Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Keith, K. B. Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, the 14th of September, 1801.*

“ S I R,

“ I T is with great concern that I acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, of the capture of his Majesty's ship the *Swiftsure*, by Gantheaume's squadron, on his return to France, after his unsuccessful attempt to debark troops on the coast of Egypt; I inclose a copy of Captain Hallowell's communication of that unfortunate event; and have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c.”

*On board l'Indivisible, in Toulon Road, 24th July, 1801.*

“ M Y L O R D,

“ It is with infinite concern I have to inform your Lordship of the capture of his Majesty's late ship *Swiftsure*, by a squadron of French ships under the command of Rear-Admiral Gantheaume.

Having separated from my convoy, consisting of cartels and light transports, on the 22d ultimo, I was making the best of my way to Malta, when on the morning of the 24th, at half past three, the

wind at N. W. Cape Derne bearing S. W. distant about seven leagues, we discovered five sail to leeward of us, nearly hull-down.

As Lieutenant Sheppard, of the *Pigmy* cutter, had informed me on the 19th that an enemy's squadron had quitted Durassio on the 7th, where they had attempted to land their troops, I concluded the ships in sight were those of which he had given me intelligence, and made all the sail possible to get from them: at sun-rise my suspicions were realized: we clearly distinguished four of them to be of the line, the other a large frigate, and their signal-flag soon pointed them out to be enemies. At half past five, two of the line of battle ships tacked, by signal, and stood on till they fetched into our wake, while the other two and the frigate stood upon the same tack with us. At eight o'clock, the two ships and frigate having fore-reached considerably on us, tacked and stood towards us until they got on our lee-quarter, when they tacked again. From their great superiority of sailing, they closed with us so fast as to be nearly within gun-shot by two P. M.; and as the ships a-stern were coming up very fast, I determined on bearing down and engaging the two ships and frigate to leeward, hoping



hoping to disable one of them before the whole squadron could be brought into action, and thereby effect our escape by getting to leeward of them: at three o'clock, I bore up and steered to pass a-stern of the sternmost ship, all our steering-fails set on the starboard-side, when the enemy tacked and stood towards us: at half past three the Indivisible, of 80 guns, bearing Rear-Admiral Gantheaume's flag, and the Dix Aôut, of 74 guns, being in close order, and within half gun-shot of us, opened their fire, which was instantly answered, and a warm action ensued. Their great superiority in point of sailing gave them every advantage of position, and baffled all our attempts to get to leeward of them. At thirty-seven minute past four, the Jean Bart and Constitution, of 74 guns, being within gun-shot, and closing upon our starboard quarter very fast, the Indivisible almost on board of us on our larboard bow, and the Dix Aôut on our larboard-quarter, our fore-yard and fore-top-sail-yard shot away, all our running and part of our standing rigging cut to pieces, the fore-mast, mizen-mast, and main-yard badly wounded, our deck lumbered with the wreck and sails, all hopes of making our escape or falling in with any succour being cut off, and only one of the enemy's ships apparently much damaged, I thought farther resistance, in our crippled state, would be exposing the lives of valuable men without any advantage to their country resulting from it, with pain, therefore, I ordered his majesty's colours to be struck, after an action of one hour and seven minutes.

Most sincerely, my Lord, do I lament our having been opposed to so very superior a force, as from the steady and gallant conduct of the officers and men I had the honour to command on this occasion, and with whom I had been acting nearly four years on various services, I have not a doubt of what would have been the issue of a contest on more equal terms. Our loss has been principally in masts, yards, sails, and rigging, having only two men killed, Lieut. Davis, and seven men wounded (two of whom are since dead of their wounds), the enemy's intention being to disable us in our rigging, in which they succeeded too well. At the commencement of this unequal contest, we were eighty-six men short of complement, and had fifty-nine sick, those who returned from the army before Alexandria having introduced a bad fever into the ship.

Four hundred men were put on board the Swiftsure on the evening of her capture, many of the prisoners removed, and the ship in so crippled a state as to render it necessary to take her in tow; the next day, carpenters and seamen from all the ships were sent on board to repair her damages, and soldiers to complete her number to seven hundred; and with all their exertions, and the advantage of smooth water, it was six days before they were able to make sail.

On the 4th of July, between Lampedusa and Pantalaria, they fell in with and captured the Mohawk letter of marque, from Bristol to Malta, laden with various articles of merchandize; on the 22d, they anchored in this road, in general, very sickly, without ha-



ving landed any part of their troops on the coast of Egypt or Barbary, although they attempted a debarkation at Derne, on the 23d ult. but from the hostile appearance and reception of the natives, they did not persevere, and returned to their ships without landing a single person.

I feel it a duty I owe to Admiral Gantheaume to mention to your Lordship the handsome manner in which we have all been treated by the officers of his squadron, and by him in particular; the strictest orders have been issued to preserve the property of every individual, and he has done every thing in his power to render the situation of the officers and men as comfortable as possible.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, &c.

(Signed) BEN. HALLOWELL."

Right Hon. Lord Keith. K. B.

&c. &c. &c.

*Downing-street, Jan. 2, 1802.*

A dispatch from the Resident of the Hon. East India Company at Amboyna, dated 6th July, 1801, of which the following is an extract, has been received by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and communicated to the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

"I do myself the honour to congratulate your Lordship, in Council, on the important event of the surrender of Ternate to the British arms, which was delivered over, by capitulation, to Col. Burr, on the 21st ultimo.

The Dutch Governor made a most resolute resistance, having defended the place with uncommon

firmness for 52 days, though, I am sorry to add, at the expence of the poor inhabitants, who perished by famine, from ten to twenty a day, from our strong blockade by sea and land.

During this excellent disposition of our military and marine forces, the latter under the command of that gallant officer, Captain Hages, the annual supplies for the enemy were intercepted through his vigilance, which certainly contributed, in a high degree, to the ultimate success of the enterprise. The value of the captured property taken by the squadron amounts to a lack and fifty thousand dollars.

The difficulties the Hon. Company's forces by sea and land had to encounter on this arduous service, and the spirit and intrepidity which they manifested during a siege of nearly two months, do them infinite credit, and have seldom or ever been exceeded in this part of the globe. The accounts we have received of the strength of Fort Orange, and its numerous detached batteries, proved exceedingly erroneous, inasmuch that Col. Burr declares the place to be extremely strong by nature, and most excellently improved by art, with a powerful garrison, and so well provided with arms and ammunition, as to throw difficulties in the way of our force, which were as distressing as unexpected; they, however, persevered and kept their ground with so much bravery and resolution as to compel the enemy to surrender their different strong holds, one after the other, until the principal fort and town were so completely blockaded both by sea and land, and so reduced by famine, as to make them  
sue



sue for conditions, which, I understand, are very satisfactory.

I am happy to inform your lordship, in Council, that, arduous as this service was, and much as our forces were exposed to the repeated attacks of the enemy, the loss of killed and wounded of the troops does not amount to above nine or ten; that of the marine does not exceed 12 seamen."

London Gazette, Feb. 6.

*Letter from H. W. Boynton, Esq. Captain of His Majesty's Ship Cumberland, and senior Officer for the Time being, of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to E. Nepean, Esq. dated at Port Royal, Oct. 11.*

"A brilliant little exploit was performed the other day by two boats of the Lark: a copy of Lieut. Johnstone's (the acting Captain) letter on that occasion, I think right to transmit; at the same time to remark, that Lieut. Pasley has, in many instances, performed the like."

Lark, Port Antonio, Sept. 17.

"My Lord,

"I arrived in this port yesterday evening, having quitted my station on Tuesday last for the purpose of landing some prisoners of war which we took in a Spanish privateer schooner on the night of the 13th last: we had chased her the whole of the afternoon, close in with the Cuba shore, till dark, when she took shelter within the Portillo Reefs. I immediately sent Lieut. Pasley with the yawl and cutter, Mr. M'Cloud, Mid-

shipman, and 16 men in each. About half past ten Mr. Pasley found her at anchor in the place he expected; she was waiting the attack in readiness, which she commenced by a discharge from one nine and two four pounders, which severely wounded several in each boat. Notwithstanding, they boarded, and after a short but severe contest they carried her. She proved the Esperance, from St. Jago, which port she left on the 18th of August, and since that time had taken the Eliza sloop and Betsey brig, belonging to Kingston. She was commanded by Joseph Callie; and from the best accounts I have been able to collect since, she had on board, when the action commenced, 45 men, 21 of whom were killed, and six wounded. The Captain and all the Officers were amongst the former. On our part we have to lament the loss of John Jones, coxswain of the cutter, who was killed early in the action, Mr. M'Cloud and twelve seamen wounded.

I have been able to land the prisoners under the security of the garrison, having promised to take them again on board on my way to Port Royal. And I am much indebted to the Commanding Officer, Major Cod, of the 60th, who has had the goodness to receive, under the care of their surgeon, Mr. M'Cloud and four others, who are thought to be the most dangerously wounded: I shall sail immediately, and lose not a moment to regain my station.

I am, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) J. JOHNSTONE."



London Gazette, Feb. 20.

*Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Rainier, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the East Indies, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Madras Road, the 29th of September, 1801.*

" Sir,

" I have at present nothing very particular to communicate to you, for their Lordship's information, beyond what may be collected from the Disposition-list of his Majesty's Squadron under my command, herewith enclosed, except the capture of the French national frigate Chiffonne, in Mahé Road, at the Seychelles, on the 19th ult. force as per margin, by his Majesty's ship La Sybille, Captain Charles Adam, after a short but gallant action, in which a well-constructed battery of the frigate's fore-castle guns, furnished with a furnace for heating red-hot shot, co-operated in her defence. This circumstance, added to the advantage the French frigate derived from her position, being at anchor, while his Majesty's ship had to steer for her opponent, at the greatest hazard, through a winding and intricate channel, formed by various dangerous shoals, with no other guide than as the water was seen to discolour on them by a man at the mast head, placed there for that purpose, may be fairly estimated to over-balance the trifling difference in the calibre of the metal of the enemy's ship, and justly entitle Captain Adam, his Officers, and crew, to the distinguished honour of having taken a ship of equal force,

The Chiffonne was commanded by a Monsieur Guieyffe, sailed from Nantes 14th of April last, is a fine new ship, had never been at sea before, completely armed and equipped; her errand to the Seychelles was to land thirty-two persons who had been suspected of being concerned in an attempt on the life of the First Consul of the French Republic. As his Majesty's ship Suffolk will proceed shortly with convoy to Spithead, I shall defer to that opportunity the forwarding a copy of Captain Adam's letter on the occasion, with other particulars; but it may be proper to acquaint you that, on the 15th of May, near the coast of Brazil, the Chiffonne took a Portuguese schooner; and three days after a frigate of that nation, named L'Hirondelle, armed *en flûte*, with 24 carronades, 24 pounders, after a short action, but after throwing her guns overboard, and taking out her stores, suffered her to go about her business, the Captain and officers giving their parole for themselves and crew. On the 16th of June, off the Cape, she captured the English ship Bellona, laden with a very valuable cargo, from Calcutta bound to England, who got safe into the Mauritius.

I have only to add that I have given orders for the purchase of the Chiffonne for his Majesty's service, and shall place her on the establishment of a thirty-six gun frigate, agreeably to her dimensions, and that of her masts and yards,

I have the honour to be, &c.

PETER RAINIER."

*Killed*



*Killed and wounded on board La Sybille.*

Two seamen killed; one Midshipman wounded.

*Killed and wounded on board La Chiffonne.*

23 seamen killed, and 30 wounded.

London Gazette, Feb. 23.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. William White, Commander of the Chance private Ship of War, fitted out at the Cape of Good Hope, to Vice Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, bart.*

“ At four P. M. on the 19th of August, the island St. Laurence bearing N. E. two leagues, saw a large ship bearing down towards us; at nine brought her to close action, and engaged her within half pistol-shot for an hour and an half, but finding her metal much heavier than ours, and full of men, boarded her on the starboard quarter, lashing the Chance's bowsprit to her mizen-mast, and after a desperate resistance of three quarters of an hour beat them off the upper deck, but they still defended from the cabin and lower deck with long pikes in a most gallant manner, till they had 25 men killed, and 28 wounded, of whom the Captain was one; getting final possession, she was so close to the island that with much difficulty we got her off shore, all her braces and rigging being cut to pieces by our grape shot. She proved to be the new Spanish ship Amiable Maria, of about 600 tons, mounting 14 guns, eighteen, twelve, and nine-pounders, brads, and carrying 120 men, from Conception bound to Lima, laden with

corn, wine, bale goods, &c. On this occasion, I am much concerned to state, Mr. Bennett, a very valuable and brave officer, was so dangerously wounded, that he died three days after the action; the second and fourth Mates, Marine Officer, and two seamen, badly wounded by pikes, but since recovered. On the 20th, both ships being much disabled, and having more prisoners than crew, I stood close in and sent 86 on shore in the large ship's launch to Lima; we afterwards learned that 17 of the wounded had died. At four A. M. on the 24th of September, standing in to cut out from the Roads of Puna, in Guayaquil Bay, a ship that I had information of, mounting 22 guns, fell in with a large Spanish brig with a broad pendant at main top mast-head; at five she commenced her fire on us, but she being at a distance to windward, and desirous to bring her close to action, we received three broadsides before a shot was returned; at half past five, being yard-arm and yard-arm, commenced our fire with great effect, and after a very severe action of two hours and three quarters, during the latter part she made every effort to get away, I had the honour to see the Spanish flag struck to the Chance; she proved to be the Spanish man of war brig Limeno, mounting 18 long six-pound guns, commanded by Commodore Don Philip de Martinez, the senior officer of the Spanish Marine on that coast, and manned with 140 men, sent from Guayaquil, for the express purpose of taking the Chance, and then to proceed to the northward to take three English whalers laying in one of their



their ports; she had 14 men killed and six wounded; the captain mortally wounded, who died two days after the action; the Chance had two men killed and one wounded, and had only 50 men at the commencement of the action, mounting 16 guns, twelve and six pounders."

London Gazette, July 20.

*Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir Home Popham, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. dated at Calcutta, the 18th of November 1801.*

"SIR,

"I have much pleasure in transmitting you a copy of Captain Collier's letter of the 10th September, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, giving a very detailed account of his sinking the French national ship *La Fleche*, of 22 guns, and 170 men. The result of Captain Collier's unremitting perseverance under every trying circumstance, and his determined conduct in warping the *Victor* into Mahé Harbour, is likely to be of very material service to the commerce of India, as *La Fleche* was unquestionably intended to cruise in the Bay of Bengal.

*His Majesty's Sloop Victor, Mahé Roads, Sept. 19, 1801.*

"SIR,

"The state of the crew of his Majesty's sloop under my command, after leaving the Red Sea, induced me to put into the island Diego Garcia; after procuring a large supply of turtle and good water, I left that harbour on the 27th of August, and proceeded on the execution of the particular ser-

vice pointed out in your orders of the 22d July; and on the 2d inst. in sight of these islands, his Majesty's sloop fell in with a French national corvette, and after a few ineffectual manœuvres on her part, from the superior sailing of the *Victor*, when going large, I had the pleasure of bringing her to a close action at three quarters past five P. M. The disguised state of the *Victor* did not long deceive the enemy, the second broadside proved sufficient, the corvette hauling her wind and endeavouring to escape, which, in about twenty minutes, I was sorry to observe, by having almost solely directed her fire at our masts and sails, she had a fair prospect of effecting; for, on her tacking under our lee, I endeavoured to wear, with the hope of boarding on her bow, when I had the mortification to find both lower and top-sail braces shot away on the starboard side, as well as preventer ones and bow lines, and before others could be rove the corvette was half a mile to windward; night fast approaching added to the chagrin I felt on observing the corvette sail better than the *Victor* on a wind; the chase continued all night, frequently within gun-shot, and at sun-set the following day, from the wind having favoured the enemy, she was four or five miles to the windward; in the night of the 4th lost sight of the chase, when, probably by tacking, she escaped. In this affair I had one man wounded with two musket balls, and Mr. Middleton, master's mate, slightly; the damage sustained in the hull trifling, the foremast shot through; and I have to regret our sails and rigging much



cut. Judging from the course the corvette was steering, when first seen, she must be bound to these islands, I pushed for them, and towards sunset of the 5th she was again seen running in for this anchorage; I kept under easy sail till dark, when the Victor was anchored; at day-light I had the satisfaction of seeing the corvette moored with springs in the basin or inner harbour, with a red flag at the fore (which, as I since learn, was in defiance); being unacquainted with the channel, and having no pilot, Mr. Crawford, the Master (though ill of a fever), and Mr. Middleton, being volunteers, were sent to sound, which service they completely performed; nor did the latter gentleman desist till repeatedly fired at by a boat from the corvette. The extreme narrowness of the channel, added to the wind not being very favourable, compelled me to use warps and the stay-sails only, which exposed the ship to a raking fire for some minutes, till, shoaling our water, I was obliged to bring up. Having two springs on the cable, our broadside was soon brought to bear; and at three quarters past eleven A. M. a well-directed fire was opened, which was kept up incessantly from both vessels till twenty minutes past two, when I plainly perceived the enemy was going down; in a few minutes her cable was cut, she cast round, and her bow grounded on a coral reef. Mr. McLean, the First Lieutenant, with a party of officers and men, were sent on board; though scarce had they put off, ere we discovered the enemy to be on fire; Lieut. Smith, and other officers were then sent with proper assist-

ance, but just as they had succeeded in extinguishing the fire she fell on her larboard bilge into deeper water and sunk. She proves to have been the French national corvette *La Fleche*, mounting twenty long French eight-pounders, answering to English nines, with two stern chasers, though it appears all her guns were not mounted in the first action; was larger than the Victor in dimensions, perfectly new, a remarkable fast sailer, and not four months from France, commanded by Captain Bonamy, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, with four Lieutenants, and a complement of one hundred and forty-five men, some of whom had been left sick at Bourbon. From a number of dead and dying men reported to be found on her forecabin, as well as two alongside, I am induced to believe the carnage was great, though only four are acknowledged by the French Captain. She had twenty men to assist at her guns, forming a part of the crew of the French frigate *La Chiffonne*, captured here a few days since by his Majesty's ship *La Sybille*, Capt. Adam. The obstinate defence made by *La Fleche* was on the supposition of the Victor being a privateer. From the length of time elapsed ere this business was brought to a close, I have felt it necessary to be thus particular in my detail, and I trust for your excuse should I dwell longer, as I feel I should do an injustice to every officer and man on board, did I neglect paying a just tribute to the cool and determined bravery they evinced; even men labouring under a lingering fever (of which I had unfortunately thirty), felt a proportionate zeal. I beg leave to recommend to your notice



notice Lieut. M'Lean, as well as solicit your interest for the confirmation of my Second, Mr. Smith, as also Mr. Hyde, Gunner, observing, that whenever Mr. Middleton or Mr. Graves (both having passed for Lieutenants), shall obtain the rank, they will do equal credit to your patronage. In this action I most fortunately had not a man either killed or wounded; our hull, rigging, and boats have suffered much, besides having some shot between wind and water.

GEORGE R. COLLIER."

7th August.

*The following Official Letter from Major General Campbell, commanding the Forces in the ceded Districts, to the Government of Madras, has been received via Bombay.*

*To John Chaunier, Esq. Chief Secretary to the Government, Fort St. George.*

"SIR,

"I have great satisfaction in reporting, for the information of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, the following particulars relative to the operation against Timakull, which have happily terminated in the fall of that fort, and chastisement of its rebel defenders. Immediately after the affair of the 20th inst. I detached Major Strachan, Captain Noble, and Mr. Deputy Commissary Best, to Gooty, to prepare such heavy guns as the place afforded. On a minute inspection only one iron twelve, one iron and one brass nine-pounder, were found fit for our purpose. By the strenuous exertions of the garrison, these guns

were brought down from the rock, and 250 rounds of ammunition for each, with carriages, and the articles necessary to keep them in order, were got ready; and with this supply the Major and party arrived in camp on the 26th. Fascines and gabions had been made here; and in the night of the 29th, a battery for six guns, against the north-west curtain of the lower fort, was constructed by Captain Crofdill, of Artillery; and another for three guns against the east face of the fort and citadel, by Lieut. Fitchet, of his Majesty's 73d regiment: the guns were also got into them, and at a quarter past six o'clock yesterday morning, both opened with the best possible effect. In the course of the day, the fire of Lieut. Fitchet's battery effected a practicable breach in the lower wall, and at the same time opened the face of the citadel; while that from Capt. Crofdill's made a breach in the curtain sufficiently wide for a company to enter abreast. These desirable objects being attained, the line turned out at half past three in the afternoon, and the storming parties were formed in the following order: that for the north-west breach under Lieutenant Colonel Davis, seconded by Major Strachan, consisting of the flank and two battalion companies of his Majesty's 73d regiment; one company of the 2d battalion of the 4th regiment; and four companies of the 1st battalion of the 12th regiment, native, flanked by forty volunteer dismounted dragoons of his Majesty's 25th regiment: that for the eastern breach, under Captain Robert Munro, consisted of three battalion companies of his Majesty's



Majesty's 73d regiment; the flank companies of the 2d battallion of the 4th regiment, and two companies of the 2d battallion of the 15th regiment, native infantry. At a quarter before four o'clock the troops were ordered to advance, and in half an hour were completely masters of the place, the rebels having quitted the works, and retreated to their well-built houses, where they for some time individually defended themselves: most of them were, however, killed, and of those who fled, but very few, if any, escaped the cavalry, who surrounded the fort. To the honour of the troops, I must beg leave to add, that every woman and child was humanely spared, only two of the former, and none of the latter, having fallen, even from accidental shot. The wound formerly received by Lieutenant-Colonel Money Penny, deprived me of his valuable services on the present occasion; but his place was most ably filled by Lieutenant-Colonel Davis; and though it is difficult to discriminate where all have behaved in a manner so honourable to themselves, with such perfect unanimity, and so much to my entire satisfaction, I yet feel it my duty to point out to his lordship's notice, Lieutenant-Colonel Money Penny, Lieutenant Colonel Davis, Major Strachan, Capt. Robert Munro, Capt. Croisdill, Capt. Noble, and Lieut. Fitchet, as officers whose zeal and ability have shone conspicuous throughout, and to whose exertions I am particularly indebted.

Much praise is due to my Aide-Camp, Captain Read, whose zeal and activity, during our va-

rious operations against the place, were unremitted. Nor can I pass over in silence the meritorious conduct of Lieut. Maclean, of his Majesty's 25th light dragoons, who on the several attacks of the 14, 20th, and 30th instant, stepped voluntarily forward to accompany Major Strachan. The conduct of Mr. Deputy Commissary Best has also been much to my satisfaction. It gives me the most heart-felt pleasure to add, that not a life has been lost on this occasion, and that the accompanying return (not received), of wounded, will be found to contain but very few. The officers and most of the men formerly wounded, are doing well. A minute examination of the fort, and the knowledge since obtained, enables me to add, that the attack made by Major Strachan, on the 14th inst. was by no means more spirited than judicious, for determined resistance must long ere that have been the fixed intention of the rebels, as it is now ascertained that the several gates were previously built up. The Potail, or Killedar, of Timakul, has been hanged, but the women, children, and such of the wounded rebels as were collected after the assault of yesterday, have been permitted to depart. It is my intention to destroy the whole of the fort, and I feel confident that this example will effectually restore the tranquillity of the Adoni Province.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) DUGALD CAMPBELL,  
Major General."

*Camp at Timakul, Jan. 1, 1802.*

*Trial*



*Trial and Execution of several Seamen  
for Mutiny at Bantry Bay.*

Naval Court-Martial for the Trial of the Mutineers, late of his Majesty's Ship *Temeraire*, held on board his Majesty's Ship the *Gladiator*, in Portsmouth Harbour.

*Wednesday, Jan. 6.* Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning the following officers were appointed members of the court :

Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, President.

Vice-Admiral Pole, Rear-Admiral Holloway, Rear-Admiral Collingwood, Rear-Admiral Campbell, Captain Bertie, Captain Jones, Captain Grindall, Captain Osborne, Captain Sir E. Neagle, Captain Gould, Captain Wells, and Captain Louis.

M. Greetham, Esq. Judge-Advocate.

The following seamen were then brought in, and put on their trials : — John Mayfield, late Captain of the fore-castle ; James Ward, belonging to ditto ; James Chesterman, ditto ; John Fitzgerald, Captain of the fore-top ; Thomas Cross, belonging to ditto ; James Lockier, belonging to the maintop ; John Cummins, ditto ; Christopher White, ditto ; William Hillier, belonging to the fore-top ; James Collins, the ship's butcher ; John Daly ; Joseph Rowland, a carpenter ; Thomas Jones, and William Cooke.

The prisoners were charged with mutiny, with holding mutinous and seditious language, with taking an active part in certain mutinous and seditious assemblies, and with having heard mutinous and treasonable words, and not revealing the same to their commanding officer.

Captain Eyles, of the *Temeraire*, was the prosecutor ; and his narrative of the mutiny given in, and read as evidence.

John Aufrey, a seaman belonging to the *Temeraire*, was the first witness. He gave the following account of the mutiny :—“ On the 1st of December, in the larboard bay, in the morning, I saw 19 or 20 people ; they were drinking either grog or wine ; they swore to be true to each other. When they were going to begin, they said, ‘ Drink to us like British heroes ; there is no fear, we will go through the business. Shake hands like brothers, stick to each other ; there is no fear, if there are no informers ! ’ On the morning of the 5th, Fitzgerald, Collins, Chesterman, and Cooke, asked the ship's company, ‘ if they were willing to tell their officers, now the war was over, that they did not wish to go out of the land. ’ They told Lieut. Douglas, and afterwards the Admiral, ‘ that they were not willing to go out of the land. ’ The Admiral ordered them to be peaceable, saying, ‘ he should be sorry to report a mutiny in the ship. ’ The word was passed fore and aft the same evening, that the first man who was caught lying on the yard to bend the sails would be punished by themselves. Fitzgerald said to me, ‘ their intention was not to kill or hurt any officer in the ship, in case they did not draw their arms against them ; but if they (the officers) did fire, or draw their arms, they would shew no mercy. They (the officers) could not kill any more than 50 or 60 of the foremost men ; and the first mutineer who turned treacherous, and would not obey the same as the others, should be knocked down dead directly. ’—

A great



A great many more besides myself heard this conversation. On the 6th of December, as the men were at dinner, I saw Mr. Lawrence, the master's mate, going round the deck. After he came, Fitzgerald, Chesterman, Allen, Lockier, and Taylor, said, 'Now is your time, lower the ports down, douse the ports;' they were all down but one, which Allen lowered down himself, and cheered. At this time Lieut. Douglas had his foot on the fore ladder, asking 'what noise this was?' when Hillier and another tried to unship the ladder; and Simmons (not one of the prisoners) went and said he had like to break the Lieutenant's neck down; Jones and Cook said, 'Break his neck, and kill him.' A few minutes after, the officers came down, and tried to keep the people quiet. Cooper, Lockier, Fitzgerald, Collins, Chesterfield, Cummins, Jones, Hillier, and Allen, cried out, 'shoot, shoot!' They then went up to the quarter deck, when the Admiral asked the ship's company what they wanted, and why they made so much noise and confusion? Jones said, they wanted to know where they were going. The Admiral asked if they had ever before been made to know where they were going? Jones said, 'No.' The Admiral then said, they had better be quiet, not to be obstreperous, as they would gain nothing by it: he said, he did not know himself where he was going; he was ordered to sea on a cruise, and he must obey his orders; that it was enough when he called all hands, and then he hoped they would go with goodwill. Many cried, 'no, no, we will not go from the land; we will go to England.' Fitzgerald and

Jones joined in this cry. On Sunday morning, at 10, I espied a few cannon cartridges of powder in the locker-nippers, and a match lighted on the larboard side, in a small washing tub, covered with two shirts. John Daly, when I was looking over the locker, asked me what I wanted; desired me to be gone, and if I did not, he would make me: a sentinel was put at the door by the party. I heard Daly say to Bill Hilliard, 'We have plenty of powder forward in the nipper-lockers, to cool the officers' tempers.' Hilliard said, 'That will do very well.'—Fitzgerald told them 'he would soon get two guns pointed aft, for the guns were loaded ready.'—On Monday the 17th, James Ward ordered 'that they should do their work better, if possible; that no man should be treacherous to their King or country; that the war was over, and that they would not go out of the land; that the first man who was found drunk should be punished among themselves.' On Tuesday the 8th, silence was kept fore and aft, and persons came round to know if the other ships were in the same mind with the Temeraire. Fitzgerald and Chesterman said, 'The Formidable, Majestic, and Vengeance, were in the same mind; that there was no fear, the fleet would not fire at the ship, they would find supplies and reinforcements in the three other ships:' this they talked of in their own births, before their messmates, about six in number. On Wednesday night Taylor wrote a letter under the bowsprit. They had different pass-words while the latter was writing; the first of all they said—'Catch the rat—take hold of the rat;' it was a notice of



of an officer's coming. The other watch words were, 'Give me a chew of tobacco,'—'I want a drink of water.' Many persons used to tell Taylor what to put in the letter; when it was wrote, Ward went fore and aft, and bid the men not to mind the officers, and be careful to bring up and down their hammocks as usual. On the next morning I heard Fitzgerald and Chesterman say, 'in case the Temeraire should be in alarm, they would fire a sky rocket, and make a signal to the other ships that were going out, to get their assistance.' Fitzgerald said, 'in case the officers should draw their arms against us, we shall shew no mercy; they could not find 60 men to take possession of the magazines of powder.' John Allen said that night to Stephenfon, 'By G—d there will be bloodshed before the week is at an end.' Stephenfon replied, 'it would be a bad job, somebody might pay for it.' They were drinking at the time. Allen said, 'God give me heart and strength, there is no fear; we will go through with it, so that there are no informers.' About five in the evening the boatswain's mate, having been drunk, was clobbered; and a great noise was made in going to cob Patrick Cannan. Lieut. Bogden came down, and asked what noise it was? and told them 'they should punish nobody with their own hands, but send them aft to be punished.' Collins said, 'it was only a clobbering match.' Immediately after Lieut. Bogden was shoved in the crowd; I saw a man strike him, I cannot tell who it was. An alarm came directly afterwards, and George Dixon came down the fore-ladder from the main-deck,

and sung out, 'Bear a hand, here's a man in irons;' the people went up, and made a rush to go aft to take possession of the arms and disarm the sentries, and go upon the fore-castle, and kill all the officers; they said, 'they would soon clear these gentlemen quality off the fore-castle, and send them away;' and began cheering all the way they went. They stopped, and did not go aft; when they found the marines were under arms, they went to the fore-castle, and gained the others; Fitzgerald wanted them to go aft, and take the arms. The Captain immediately after that came on the fore-castle, and asked what they all wanted; they said, 'they wanted the prisoner to be delivered up, he should not be punished.' The Captain said, 'he should; he had been drunk on duty, and insolent to his superior officers.'—On the 8th, Tuesday, I forgot to state that John Allen asked M'Evoe, 'If he thought they should find plenty of marines to join them; it was their own good as well as theirs?' M'Evoe said, 'he could answer for 20 or 24, that would join them;' he said, 'Captain Vallock might order the marines to fire; there might be a few gullies who would, but the rest would fire over their heads, and then throw their arms down, and come and join them; perhaps with their arms, if it was possible to get them; if not, the bayonet would do.' On Thursday, in the forenoon, the Admiral called all hands on the quarter-deck concerning the letter that was sent to him respecting the ship's company; 'that they were willing to fight for their King and Country, but not to go out of the land; that the most part of them had been



five, seven, or eight years in the service, and now the war was over they wished to go home.' Admiral Campbell desired to know if the marines were in the same mind.—John Allen, as soon as the people came down from the quarter-deck, desired M'Evoy to go aft and tell the serjeants of marines to appoint two men to tell the Captain and the Admiral. A man of the name of M'Eash went, but I don't know what he said. Mayfield was the first man picked out by the officers, on Thursday, between five and six; Fitzgerald was the next. Admiral Campbell came to the marines, to try to make them quiet. A few sung out, 'stand your ground.' Jones said this, and said, 'if every man was of my mind, no prisoner should go out of the ship, except they punished all.' On that day all the prisoners were picked out, except Daly and Hillier. I heard Dixon and Comayne say, and many more with them, near 150, 'they would take knives and stab the marines when they were asleep in their hammocks. If every man was of their minds them poor fellows should not go out of the ship.' On the 11th, George Dixon and George Comayne sung out as loud as they could, 'that in case they could not destroy the marines, they would kill the officers out of revenge; that their comrades were gone out of the ship, and if that would not do, they would blow the ship up.' Thomas Simmonds, a fore-top-man, was there at the same time, and said to me, 'he was sorry he had not killed the officers on Sunday; he had it in his power at the time, as he had a crow-bar in his hand.' George Dixon said, 'I was not fit to be one of the true Britons, he

thought I should report them; he gave me a kick, and I went away, and never went there again.

*Thursday 7th.*—James Richardson being sworn, gave a narrative of the commencement and progress of the mutiny, confirming the principal allegations of the former witnesses, and giving a variety of other facts, all tending to strengthen the general charge. He never heard any of the prisoners propose to break open the magazine, or to kill the officers.

*Friday 8th.*—John Blake, boat-swain's mate, deposed, that during Sunday two or three hundred men came to Fitzgerald's and Chesterman's birth, at different times, from whence it appeared to him that they were very active in the disturbance: when the men came to his birth, they stooped down, and from all making that motion, he concluded they were taking an oath, or passing a watch-word. He did not hear any of the prisoners say they would not quit the land: they kept every thing close from him.

Michael Fielding, Tim. Whitfield, John Snowden, —— Douglas, William Dare, George Parrot, and Henry Smith, severally gave evidence; which, however, in no respect tended to alter the general complexion of the case.

After the deposition of each witness, the prisoners were allowed to cross-examine them, and put what question they pleased: they however, in most instances, tended further to criminate themselves.

*Saturday 9th.*—This morning the prisoners were called on for their defence.—Several of them delivered written papers, pleading their long and faithful services, disavowing the intention of any acts of cru-



elty to their officers, acknowledging their fault, and supplicating for mercy.

*Monday 11th.*—Several witnesses spoke to their characters and general conduct, in the most favourable terms.

*Tuesday 12th.*—The Court met at nine o'clock, and deliberated till two; when, the prisoners being called in, the Judge Advocate pronounced sentence, that the charges were proved against all the prisoners, except Christopher White, and adjudged them to suffer Death, by being hanged by the neck, on board such ship as the Lord High Admiral of England shall direct.

Christopher White, who was not included in the general sentence, was ordered to be punished with 200 lashes.

Collins then said, "Permit me to return my sincere thanks to the Court for the patience and indulgence shewn me. I acknowledge the justice of my sentence: I have violated the laws of my country, and the discipline of the navy; but I declare to Almighty God, that the intention of murder never entered my head. I solemnly call God to witness this declaration, and trust to the truth of it all my hopes of pardon in the other world.—May God protect the British isles, and the Government! and may God receive my soul!"

At these words all the other prisoners exclaimed "Amen."

Chesterman then said, "I hope they will allow a friend of mine to bury my body;" and concluded by praying the Court to allow him a little time to prepare himself for eternity. The President replied, "That does not rest with us, but with other authority."

Fitzgerald said, 'he had offended against the laws; but he solemnly declared, that he never entertained any intention of committing murder.'

On Friday, January 15, at 11 o'clock, six of the mutineers were executed; four on board the *Temeraire*, one on board the *Formidable*, and one on board the *Majestic*.—The example, it is supposed, was made on board these two last ships, in consequence of some part of their crews having manifested a refractory spirit. At the moment this awful sentence was fulfilling, a part of the squadron destined for the West Indies was ordered to sail; and in the evening, the *Temeraire* and *Formidable*, of 98 guns each; the *Theseus*, *Majestic*, *Orion*, *Vengeance*, and *Resolution*, of 74; *Desiré*, of 44; and *Morgiana*, of 16 guns; dropped down from Spithead to St. Helen's. The prisoners, in contemplation of the awful moment, had most warmly and respectfully solicited the pious aid of the Rev. Mr. Jones, the Chaplain; and they met their fate with fortitude and resignation.

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*Trial of JOSEPH WALL, formerly Governor of Goree, in Africa, for the wilful Murder of BENJAMIN ARMSTRONG.*

- The Court was assembled at the Old Bailey, the 20th of January, 1802, by virtue of a special commission directed to the Lord Chief Baron Sir Archibald Macdonald, Mr. Justice Lawrence, and Mr. Justice Rooke. The Judges having taken their seats, the prisoner was put to the bar, and arraigned upon an indictment, which charged him with



with the wilful murder of Benjamin Armstrong, a serjeant under his command, at Goree, in Africa, by causing him to be flogged with a rope, in a cruel manner, on the 10th of July, 1782, in consequence of which severe chastisement, the said Armstrong had died on the 15th of the same month.

The prosecution was conducted by the Attorney-General, assisted by the Solicitor-General, and Messrs. Wood, Fielding, and Abbott. After the pleadings had been opened by Mr. Abbott, the Attorney-General entered at great length upon the charges against the prisoner. He first alluded to the length of time which had elapsed since the offence was committed: the blame of which rested with the prisoner alone, inasmuch as he had, when the business was in a course of trial, and he in custody, withdrawn himself from justice. He next defined the nature of the charge, shewing that the prisoner must either be acquitted, or found guilty of murder. After detailing the circumstances of the case, as contained in the indictment, and explaining the rank and situation which the governor, at that time, held upon the island, he stated, that the day after the punishment alluded to was inflicted upon the prisoner, he (the governor) quitted his station, and sailed for England, where he arrived in the month of August following. In March, 1784, he was apprehended under a warrant issued by order of the Privy Council, at which time most of the witnesses, who were material to prove his innocence, were living, and might have been produced. Some time previous to the governor's departure from Goree, the

garrison had been subjected to short allowance; and when this restriction, in point of provisions, was found necessary, it was usual to allow a pecuniary compensation equivalent to the deduction of food. The paymaster of the forces, a person of the name of Dearing, was about to quit the island with the governor, and the men, being anxious to have a settlement of their account, before he went, repaired to the house of the former, and requested the payment of what was due to them. As the whole affair in dispute rested entirely between the paymaster and the soldiers, the Attorney-General contended that the governor had no reason for interposing. When the men were passing the house of the latter, in their way to that of the paymaster, he reprimanded them, and ordered them to return, under pain of military punishment. The men obeyed; but in an hour or two afterwards, several persons, among whom was Armstrong, again assembled; when the governor, whose whole conduct during the transaction, the Attorney-General described to be "furious and full of malice," met them, and questioned Armstrong as to the cause of the tumult. Here the Attorney-General entered into a digression as to the supposition of a mutiny, on which, he understood, the governor intended to rest his defence. He said, "if there really did exist a mutiny, *or any appearance of a mutiny* in the garrison, which required the strong arm of power to suppress it, a crime so enormous, and so dangerous in its consequences, *might supersede the ordinary mode of trials;*" and, "God forbid," added he, "that a man should be con-



sidered as a criminal for acting with the best intention, although some excess may have attended his conduct; for the power that is given to commanding officers, in such cases of emergency, is given to them not for their own safety only, *but for the safety of us all, which cannot be preserved, unless prompt and vigorous measures be taken for the suppression of mutiny.*" He then continued to state, that in the evening of the abovementioned day the governor ordered a long roll to be beaten, and a circle being formed by the men, in the midst of which were the governor and officers, as also a gun-carriage, for the purpose of flogging, Armstrong was called out and ordered to strip, when, being tied to the gun-carriage, he was chastised by blacks, brought there for the purpose. These executioners were changed at every twenty-five lashes, till the deceased sufferer had received the number of 800. The instrument used on this occasion was not a cat-o'-nine-tails, but a piece of thick rope, called inch rope. During the infliction of the punishment, the governor urged the blacks to shew no mercy to the man in their power, exclaiming, "cut him to the liver, cut him to the heart, &c." and added, that the sickly season was approaching, which, together with the punishment, would do for him. After receiving 800 lashes, Armstrong was conducted to the hospital, and soon after died. Previous to his dissolution he made a declaration, which is considered by the law of this realm as tantamount to an oath; that he was punished without any form of trial, or without having an opportunity to say any thing in his defence. Here the

Attorney-General again said he would admit, "that immediate and urgent necessity may supersede the forms of trial, in cases of mutiny and dangerous insubordination," but on producing the letters sent by the prisoner to the Secretary of State, in 1782, as also the official returns, which he made of the state of the settlement, not a word was mentioned of the existence of a mutiny. He laid much stress on the circumstance of the prisoner withdrawing himself in the year 1784, when in custody of a King's Messenger, and on the proclamation, offering a reward of 200l. for apprehending him. The Jury would have two questions to try: Was the man's death occasioned by the beating? and, Was the prisoner justified in inflicting this beating? They would listen to the evidence with unprejudiced ears, and frame their verdict accordingly.

Evan Lewis was the first witness called. He said he was a soldier in the garrison of Goree in 1782; he landed in April 1779, and continued till the year 1783; a private at first, he was made a corporal and serjeant by Governor Wall. In July 1782, he was a corporal doing serjeant's duty; he was the orderly serjeant on the 10th and 11th of July 1782; the governor left the island on the 11th; his intention was known a day or two before. While on duty as orderly serjeant in front of the governor's house on the morning of the 10th, he saw about fifteen or twenty men pass. He was sent by the governor to enquire what they were about. He went, and brought back word that they were going to the commissary's for their short allowance money.



money. He told them, by the governor's orders, to go back to their barracks, or they would be flogged. They retired submissively; they were totally unarmed. In about an hour and a half another party came, rather more in number. Armstrong was among them; these were also unarmed. The governor asked Armstrong what they wanted; Armstrong answered, "their short allowance money." "You are a fool," said the governor, "get back to your barracks." Armstrong held his hat in his hand all the time, and retired immediately, without saying a word. The men had been for some months on short allowance; and it was known that the commissary was to come away with the governor; both the applications were in the forenoon. In the evening, the officers that dined with the governor went away earlier than usual: the governor walked towards the parade, the witnesses attending him. The governor walked up and down on the ramparts opposite the main-guard; after some time, he ran suddenly by the witnesses, and began to beat a man that was in arms in front of the guard-house; he beat him first with his sword, and then with a bayonet which he took from the sentinel; he then put both him and the sentinel into confinement. The governor then ordered the drum to beat; and when the men assembled, they were ordered to form in a circle; they obeyed directly; they were without arms. The governor was in the centre, with Captains Lacy, Ford, Fall, and Shanley. The carriage of a six-pounder was brought from the ramparts, and there were blacks within the circle. The governor

spoke with the officers for a little time, and then called Benjamin Armstrong from the ranks, where he stood in his place as serjeant. Armstrong came out. He was ordered by Governor Wall to strip. He was then tied to the gun-carriage, and flogged with rope by black men, changing at every twenty-five lashes. Governor Wall was in the circle, urging and threatening the blacks to lay on. The witnesses heard him say several times—"Lay on, or I will lay on you. Cut him to the heart. Cut him to the liver!" He believes Armstrong called for mercy; but does not recollect in what words. After the punishment, Armstrong was taken to the hospital, where he died in a few days. There was not the least appearance of mutiny or disorder. There was no court-martial held in any shape on Armstrong, nor was he ever called on for a defence. The rope with which Armstrong was flogged was about an inch in diameter. This witness, it appeared, had been degraded from the degree of serjeant to the ranks for misbehaviour, and was at the time of giving his testimony, a Bow-street officer. He underwent a long cross-examination, but did not vary in any material point from his original testimony.

Roger Moore said he was a private in the garrison of Goree on the 10th of July, 1782, on which day they were paraded, between four and five in the afternoon. The governor ordered Lieutenant Paul to form a circle; where the officers conversed some little time, but he did not hear what was said. Armstrong was called out of the ranks, when the governor represented him as being the ring-leader of a mutiny.



tiny. Armstrong made some reply, but in so low a tone that the witnesses could not collect what he said. After a little time, the timbers of a six-pounder were brought into the circle, when the Governor ordered Armstrong to be tied to it, and commanded the linguist to interpret to the blacks how to inflict the punishment; which was done with pieces of rope about an inch in circumference. Eight hundred lashes were given by five or six blacks, they changing, after each giving about five and twenty. When it was over, Armstrong walked away towards the hospital, and in four or five days the witnesses saw him carried to be buried. There was no appearance of mutiny, but the men were dissatisfied at not having received their money for the time they had been on short allowance, and they understood that if it was not settled before the governor and commissary Dearing went away, they should never have any. The parade was ordered so much sooner than usual, that many had not time to put on their uniforms: nevertheless it was formed in an orderly and quiet manner. During his punishment, he heard Armstrong ask to be forgiven, saying he would never be guilty of the like again; and the governor replied, that he hoped it would be a warning to him. If what passed with the officers in the centre of the circle, previous to Armstrong's receiving punishment, was called a court martial, he never saw one like it before nor since, for the whole form was, the deceased's being charged as a ring-leader of a mutiny, and in a few moments ordered to be punished. There had never been any settlement for the

short allowance; and he heard that all the officers who attended Governor Wall on that day are now dead. On his cross-examination, he denied hearing any of the men say, that the governor should not leave the island until their claims were settled; some of them had drunk pretty freely. When the circle was formed he was in the front rank, and consequently could see all that passed. He recollected the governor being called out of the circle by Lieutenant Ford, he believed during the punishment of Armstrong, to go to the main-guard about some disturbance there, but he could not say what the disturbance was; he had heard that a private of the name of Fawcett was sentry; he believed the drummers of the corps were in the circle, but could not say whether they were or were not drunk; and although he was so near while the punishment was inflicting on Armstrong, he did not hear the governor make use of any such expression as "cut out his heart, cut his liver out."

Thomas Poplett was a lieutenant at Goree at the time this circumstance took place, and saw the whole transaction of forming the circle on the parade, from his own quarters, being at the distance of about forty yards, and upon an elevation of eleven feet; from that spot he could plainly see into the circle, and in its centre were Governor Wall, Captain Lacey, Lieutenant Ford, Ensign Shanley, and he believed Lieutenant Paul was also there; besides these, there were several black men and their interpreter. He knew Armstrong from that distance, saw him fastened to the gun-carriage, and flogged on the bare back by the black men, who were frequently



frequently changed, and, as well as he could judge, at about every twenty-five lashes; when it was over, he perceived them to unloose Armstrong, who was supported by two men in a direction towards the hospital. He could not undertake to say he could exactly distinguish what was made use of by the blacks to flog Armstrong with, but he produced a piece of rope which he said he received the same evening from one of the men, who assured him it was a piece of what had been made use of. It appeared to be somewhat thicker than what is called a two-penny cord. He declared that he never had seen such used in the army for punishment; the usual cat-o'-nine-tails were made of lobster line, and when the punishment was intended to be moderate, whipcord was adopted, with a handle made of wood. He did not know of Armstrong's having been tried, nor did he see the least appearance of any thing like it. Being questioned as to the officers he had mentioned, he said that Captain Lacey was alive in 1784, and that he served under him in that year at Chichester; but he understood he was since dead. Ensign Shanley died in his passage home with the witness, who arrived in England in February, 1784. Lieutenant Paul he had been informed died in the Fleet prison: and Ensign Ford was also dead. The blacks, who inflicted the punishment on Armstrong, were not soldiers, but negro slaves, though it was usual in the army to have that office performed by the drummers of the corps. For his own part he saw no appearance of a mutiny, nor did he believe there was any. Lieutenant Dearing came away from Goree with Go-

vernor Wall; him, the witness, saw him between three and four years back at his solicitor's chambers, but knew not what had since become of him. On the 10th of July the witness was himself a prisoner at his own quarters, under the sentence of a court-martial, but was afterwards restored to his rank by command of his Majesty.

Patrick Ferrick, who was garrison surgeon at that time at Goree, stated that the first time of his seeing Governor Wall on the 10th of July, was at the evening parade, to which he was sent for to witness a man's receiving punishment. When he came to the parade, he found the men formed into a circle, and Governor Wall, Captain Lacey, Lieutenant Paul, and Ensigns Shanley and Ford, in the centre. The punishment of flogging was at this time inflicting upon Armstrong, and the governor said he was a d—d mutinous scoundrel. The sentence was executed by negroes, with ropes; he attended to the man, but made no representation of the punishment being too severe for him to undergo without danger; indeed he did not appear to be more affected than men usually were. This was on the 10th, and on the 15th he died. From that time to the present he had always supposed that punishment to be the cause of his death. He did not see any thing on that day that had the appearance of a mutiny. There was a greater chance of a man's dying by being so punished, than if with a common cat-o'-nine-tails, because it did not cut but bruised, from which more fatal consequences might arise, but which he did not then know, nor did he at the time think it to be dangerous; but he had not doubted, from his



attendance on the deceased, that the flogging he had received was the cause of his death. He did not recollect that he had forbidden him the use of strong liquors, though it was probable he had, because of the general order that none should be admitted into the hospital. On being pressed as to his permitting it to go on so far, he replied, he durst not interfere; but his explanation was objected to by the prisoner's counsel.

The Court asked, what was the deceased's state of health at the time? To which the surgeon replied, that he was so healthy as not to have been under his hands before.

William Rosser was assistant surgeon in the hospital of Goree at the time: he attended Benjamin Armstrong, who, as soon as he came into the hospital, said he had been punished by the order of Governor Wall, by his black men, and that he should certainly die. On preparing to dress him, he found his back to be as black as a new hat; from his first coming into the hospital he regularly grew worse and worse, and appeared to be in a dying state; insomuch that the witness had at no time any hope of his recovery. On his cross-examination he said, that Armstrong, during the time he was in the hospital, was regularly supplied with the garrison allowance of half a pint of brandy, or a pint of wine, per day, which he might have drank if he chose; but the witness did not recollect having seen him drink any.

The prisoner's letters and returns to Lord Sydney on his arrival in England were produced by a clerk from the Secretary of State's Office, and read by Mr. Shelton. They

stated that the garrison had been for several months on short allowance, but made no mention of any thing like a mutiny.—The last witness was Mr. Oldham, Deputy Advocate General, who swore, that no return of a court-martial upon Benjamin Armstrong, in the year 1782, had been made to his office.

[Here the case was closed on the part of the prosecution.]

The prisoner, being called on for his defence, said, that, having proposed to return to Europe on the 10th of July, some of the men came up to the Government-house on the morning of that day, and made a demand on account of short allowance of provisions; but they were easily persuaded to return to the barracks. About two o'clock of the same day, they came again very much intoxicated. He expostulated with them for a length of time to no effect, and ordered the deceased to march them back. The deceased said, he would be d—d if he should, until they were settled with, and the demand complied with. He then ordered the whole to face to the left, and march back. To which they answered, that they would be d—d if they would not immediately break open the stores and satisfy themselves. Finding them bent on proceeding to extremities, he begged an hour or two to consider an answer: to which they consented, upon condition, that he should not leave the island until the business was settled. The deceased then marched back the men, shouting and making a great noise. He then sent for Captain Lacy, Lieut. Shanley, and Ensign Ford, the only officers then off duty, who came to the Government house, and all agreed that immediate punishment should



should be inflicted. Lieut. Shanley was then dispatched to the drum-major, to desire him to have every thing ready ; and on his return, he reported from the drum-major, that the cats were all destroyed, and that the men were all agreed not to suffer any punishment. Captain Lacy proposed that nothing should be done until parade, which was adopted ; the prisoner asked the men, when drawn out, what was their complaint ? A man came forward, and said, he had a demand upon the Commissary upon account of short allowance. He then called out the deceased, and asked him : but at this moment a lieutenant came and told him, that a man in confinement was breaking prison, and that the soldiers would not obey orders to prevent him. He then left the parade, and went to the guard-house, and saw the person who had been in confinement at large. He made an attempt to force him back ; but the soldier who stood sentry clapped his bayonet to his breast, and said he should not enter there. He struck the bayonet down ; and, after having reprimanded the guard, he returned to the parade, where he had ordered the artillery to be drawn up with the African corps. On his return to the parade, he ordered the said three officers to form a court-martial, which they did. He then charged the deceased, who was on the parade, with mutiny. He then went on the outside of the troops, who formed a circle round the court-martial. Some time after, Capt. Lacy came out of the circle, and informed him that they had sentenced the deceased to receive 800 lashes. Some small cords were then produced, and shewn to the

surgeon before the punishment, who approved of them, and said they were not so bad as a cat-o'-nine-tails. The punishment was then inflicted upon the deceased, who was tied to a gun, which was the usual way in the African corps, who never had halberts. The deceased, in the course of the evening, drank spirits so as to become intoxicated. The prisoner shortly after came home to England, and found, upon his arrival, that several charges had been preferred against him by two officers of the African corps. The charges were heard, and proved to be groundless ; and Lieut. Robert, one of the officers, was reprimanded for bringing them. Some time after, two messengers went down to Bath, and took him into custody : they took a post-chaise and four, and on their way to town they stopped to sup at Reading. At this time he knew nothing of any charge of murder, and the messengers refused to tell him the cause of his arrest. An opportunity offered to make his escape, and he embraced it. It was not until afterwards that he was charged for murder. But, an impression to his disadvantage having been made upon the public mind, by paragraphs in newspapers, stating that he had caused a man to be blown from a cannon, he was deterred from surrendering to take his trial.

The prisoner's counsel called the following witnesses :

Harriet Lacy, the widow of Captain Lacy, who succeeded the prisoner in the government of Goree, confirmed the statement of the men coming up twice in a mutinous manner to the Governor's house. They amounted to between



seventy or eighty, and their demand was for short allowance money, not due in the prisoner's time, but in that of his predecessor. She also proved the consultation with the three officers. On her cross-examination, she swore positively that one Carney, and not Evan Lewis, was the orderly serjeant on that day at the Governor's house.

Sarah Faulkener said, she heard the deceased and others desire Serjeant Beson to make out an account; and the latter answered, that they were not aware of the consequences of such proceedings; to which they replied, that if the governor should not comply they would have his life. She also swore positively, that Carney, and not Lewis, was the orderly serjeant at the Government-house on that day.

John Faulkener swore that there was a trial; that Captain Lacy charged Armstrong with mutiny, threatening to stop the governor, and to bring the stores on shore. Armstrong made no defence.—The governor had retired without the line, while Capt. Lacy and the other officers were deliberating; that is, from a quarter of an hour to half an hour. The sentence was then pronounced, that 800 lashes should be given by the interpreter and his people; the surgeon was present during the whole of the punishment; the rope was not thicker than a man's little finger.

Mary Faulkener swore strongly to the number and violence of the mutineers; they were seventy or eighty: she heard them in Serjeant Beson's room, swearing they would be d—d if the governor should go till they had their short allowance money, and that they would break the stores. Patterson was under arrest, and attempting to escape;

and when the governor wanted to prevent him, Fawcet, the sentinel, pointed his bayonet at the governor's breast. The governor then ordered the parade.

The above was the whole of the evidence produced by the prisoner, as applied to the fact. He received a high character for humanity from a number of gentlemen who had known him for many years, among whom were General Forbes, Governor Mackenzie, Majors Phipps and Mall, the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and many other very respectable characters.

The Chief Baron summed up the evidence, making such observations as his wisdom and official duty pointed out to him as necessary to make, and which occupied two hours and a half, when the Jury retired from the box, and, after deliberating about three quarters of an hour, returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

On this, Governor Wall (who had been leaning forward at the bar, the better to hear the verdict), drew himself upright, and lifted up his hands and eyes in seeming astonishment; at the same time commending himself to God in silent agony.

The Recorder then pronounced sentence in the usual terms, ordering him for execution on Friday the 22d.

The trial lasted from nine in the morning until eleven at night.

A melancholy circumstance happened in the Old Bailey during the above trial. Major Winter, who resided at Woolwich, coming to speak in favour of the Governor, in getting out of the coach, dropped down, and instantly expired.

*For the circumstances attending Mr. Wall's execution, see Chronicle, Page 7.*



*Account of the Ceremony of proclaiming Peace in London, with a Narrative of some attending Circumstances.*

On the 29th of April, at half past ten, the Horse Guards arrived at St. James's, and drew up two deep in front of the Palace (their faces towards the Palace), stretching their line from St. James's-street, along Pall-Mall, to the Union Club House; in their front, the beadles, constables, high constable, high bailiff, and the civil officers of Westminster, assembled in an opposite line. At a quarter past eleven, the King's band struck up "God save the King:" "Rule Britannia," &c. were played before St. James's. The heralds, and marshal with his men, in the mean time assembled in the Stable-yard of the Palace, from which they proceeded precisely at twelve o'clock; and when they were coming out of Cleveland-row, the heralds sounded their trumpets, marched forward till they passed St. James's Gate, and came opposite the balcony window east of it, in which were the Queen, several of the Princesses, and other branches of the Royal Family, to see the sight. Here, about ten minutes past twelve, the trumpets having sounded, the Windsor Herald read, for the first time, the Proclamation of Peace\*.

At the conclusion the trumpets sounded; and the spectators, who were as numerous as it was possible to crowd together, gave one loud and general huzza. The procession then moved forward along Pall-Mall in the following order:—

Horse Guards clearing the way.  
Beadles of Westminster, two and two, bareheaded, with staves.  
Constables of Westminster, in like manner.  
High Constable, with his Staff, on horseback.

Officers of the High Bailiff of Westminster, with white wands, on horseback.

Horse Guards to flank the Procession.	Clerk of the High Bailiff.	the Horse Guards to flank the Procession.							
	High Bailiff and Deputy Steward.								
	Horse Guards.								
	Knight Marshal's Men, two and two.								
	Knight Marshal.								
	Drums.								
	Drum Major.								
	Trumpets.								
	Serjeant Trumpeter.								
	Pursuivants.								
Serjeants at Arms.	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>{</td> <td>Heralds.</td> <td>}</td> <td>Serjeants.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>{</td> <td>Kings of Arms.</td> <td>}</td> <td>at Arms.</td> </tr> </table>	{	Heralds.	}	Serjeants.	{	Kings of Arms.	}	at Arms.
{	Heralds.	}	Serjeants.						
{	Kings of Arms.	}	at Arms.						
	Horse Guards.								

When it arrived at Charing Cross, the trumpets sounded three times,

\* The following is a copy of it.

"By the KING.—A PROCLAMATION.

"GEORGE R.

"Whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Us, the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic, hath been concluded at Amiens, on the 27th day of March last, and the Ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto, We have thought fit hereby to command, that the same be published throughout all Our dominions: and We do declare to all Our loving subjects



times, and the reading of the Proclamation was repeated.

The roof of the New Church was crowded with spectators, like that of most other edifices in the course through which the procession was to pass. The area below, which is enclosed with a parapet wall and iron palisadoes, and elevated above the level of the street, was also filled with people. A melancholy accident happened just as the Heralds came abreast of this place. A stone railing runs round the roof of the church, adorned with stone urns at equal distances; and a man on the outside, in the bow on the eastern end, happened to be leaning his hand upon the urn before him. As he stretched forward, it fell off. Newcastle-street, the end of Hollywell-street, and the southern side of the Strand, all commanded a view of the spot; and all the windows being crowded, and the attention being drawn to that quarter, several of the spectators saw the stone in the commencement of its fall, and raised a loud shriek. The church being very high, this notice excited an alarm before the stone reached the ground, and several of the people below ran from their situations; but whether into or out of the danger, they did not know. Three young men were crushed in its fall. The one was struck upon the head, and killed upon the spot; the second so much wounded that he died on his way to the hospital;

and the third died two days after. A young woman was also taken away apparently much injured, and several others were hurt; but whether by flying splinters or the pressure of their companions, they do not know. The urn, which weighs about 200lb. struck in its descent the cornice of the church, and carried part of it away; but this was the only obstruction which it met in its fall. An officer of the church went up to ascertain the man whose hand was upon the urn when it tumbled over. He had fallen back and fainted upon its giving way. He was taken into custody; but we do not find that any blame is imputable to him. The urn stood upon a socket; but, instead of being secured by a strong iron spike running up the centre, there was nothing but a wooden one, which was entirely decayed, and consequently broke off with the pressure of the man's hand, as he was in the act of leaning forward. The stone broke a large flag to pieces in the area below, and sunk nearly a foot into the ground.

Just as the procession arrived at Temple Bar, it being one o'clock, the Park and Tower guns were fired. An hour before this time the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, had arrived at the same place from the Mansion House in grand procession. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs in their state carriages, the Aldermen in their

subjects Our will and pleasure, that the said Treaty of Peace and Friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all Our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

“ Given at Our Court at Windsor, the 26th day of April 1802, in the forty-second year of Our reign.

“ GOD save the KING.”

private



private coaches, accompanied by the Officers of the City, the Militia, the East India Company Volunteers, and an immense concourse of people. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs alighted at Temple Bar, and went into the house of Messrs. Child, Dent, and Co. Bankers. The state carriages passed through the Bar, empty, and turned in the space newly widened for the projected improvement to the West of the Bar. They then returned through the Bar, and resumed their stations in the line of Aldermen's carriages.

As soon as notice was brought to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the approach of the Heralds and suite from St. James's, they came forth and mounted their chargers. The Lord Mayor rode a very fine chefnut horse. The Sheriffs had also beautiful horses. They were all dressed in their robes and chains of office—the Lord Mayor held in his hand the ancient sceptre, which is regularly transferred when the Lord Mayor is sworn in, but seldom or never used in public; it is about eighteen inches long, made of gold and glass, ornamented with pearls and precious stones round the coronet; at the top is the British arms. The Sheriffs bore their wands. They were received with a grand acclamation of trumpets and other musical instruments; and took their station within the Gate, which was shut and guarded.

On the approach of the procession on the Westminster side, the Horse Guards filed off, and lined both sides of the way. The Beadles of Westminster, the Officers of the High Bailiff, and the Constables, did the same, and made a

lane for the Knight Marshal and his Officers to ride up to Temple Bar, the gates of which were shut. The junior Officer of Arms, coming out of the rank between two Trumpeters, preceded by two Horse Guards to clear the way, rode up to the gate; and, after the Trumpets had sounded thrice, knocked with a cane. Being asked by the City Marshal from within, "Who comes there?" he replied, "The Officers of Arms, who demand entrance into the City to publish his Majesty's Proclamation of Peace."—The gates being opened, he was admitted alone, and the gates were shut again. The City Marshal, preceded by his Officers, conducted him to the Lord Mayor, to whom he shewed his Majesty's warrant, which his Lordship, having read, returned, and gave directions to the City Marshal to open the gates, who, attending the Officer of Arms on his return to them, said, on leaving him, "Sir, the Gates are opened." The trumpets and Guards being in waiting conducted him to his place in the procession, which then moved on into the City (the Officers of Westminster filing off, and retiring as they came to Temple Bar). The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs took their place in the line immediately after the Heralds and other Officers of the College of Arms. At the bottom of Chancery-lane the whole halted, and, the Trumpeters having made their sound, the Heralds read aloud his Majesty's Proclamation. The state coach fell into the rear of the Marshals, Heralds, &c. and was followed by ten Aldermen's carriages, among whom were those of Messrs. Combe,



Combe, Cadell, Skinner, and Staines, who were much applauded at different times. The procession then moved on through Fleet-street, up Ludgate-hill, through St. Paul's Church-yard, and into Cheapside.

One of the Sheriffs (Rawlins), whose horse was frightened at the noise and crowd, had nearly received a severe fall under St. Dunstan's Clock. While the Cavalcade was going along Fleet-street, a child slipped out of a woman's arms in a one pair of stairs window; but the mob caught and saved it.

The order of procession in the City was as follows:

Horse Guards, to flank the Pro- cession, in single file.	Horse Guards.	Pro the to flank the Horse Guards, in single file.
	Knight Marshal's	
	Men, two and two.	
	Knight Marshal.	
	Drums.	
	Drum Major.	
	Trumpets.	
	Serjeant Trumpeter.	
	Pursuivants of Arms.	
	Ser-jeants at Arms { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; text-align: center;">             Heralds Kings of Arms           </div> } Ser-jeants at Arms	
Four Constables together.		
Six Marshal-Men, three and three, on foot.		
Six Trumpeters, three and three.		
Band of Music.		
Sheriffs Officers on foot.	{ <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; text-align: center;">             Two City Marshals, on horseback. Two Sheriffs, on horseback. Sword and Mace, on horseback.           </div> }	Sheriffs Officers on foot.

Porter, in a black Gown and Staff. { LORD MAYOR, on horseback. } Beadle

Household on foot.

Six Footmen in rich liveries, three and three.

State Coach, with six horses, with ribbands, &c.

Aldermen in seniority, in their coaches.

Carriages of the two Sheriffs.

Officers of the City, in carriages, in seniority.

Horse Guards.

The Volunteer Corps of the City.

The Artillery Company and East India Volunteers.

At the top of Wood-street, the cavalcade again halted, and the Trumpets having sounded thrice, the Proclamation was again read. When the procession came opposite the Mansion-house, a scaffold built in front of the building gave way. The brother of the Lady Mayors, Mr. Hadley, it is said, broke his leg; Mr. Dixon, Common-Councilman for Tower Ward, was also severely bruised. The procession having reached the Royal Exchange, where Alderman Curtis was in military command, the Proclamation was read for the last time, amid loud and reiterated huzzas. The procession passed along Cornhill and Leadenhall-street, to Aldgate-Pump, where it doubled back along Fenchurch-street, up Gracechurch-street, down Cornhill, and formed opposite the Mansion-House, where his Majesty's thanks were presented by the Lord Mayor to the various Volunteer Corps. He invited their Commanders, as well as the Aldermen,



Aldermen, &c. to dine with him. The Horse Guards escorted the Heralds back to the Heralds College in Doctors Commons, and proceeded to St. James's, with the Knight Marshal and his men. As they went along, they deposited the three maces at Mr. Isherwood's, on Ludgate-hill. The Lord Mayor invited the Heralds to dine with him in their tabarts. This they could not do; but they went in full dress.

The Proclamation of Peace was followed by an illumination, in which a general emulation seemed to prevail to greet the event with superior brilliancy. Lights profusely and fancifully disposed, in form of letters, wreaths, crowns, anchors, and other emblems, were aided by transparent paintings of great effect and admirable execution.

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*Account of the Celebration of the Birth Day of the Right Honourable William Pitt, which took Place the 28th May 1802.*

The public prints having announced, that Mr. Pitt's birthday would be celebrated at the London Tavern, under the patronage of Earl Spencer, the Marquis of Worcester, the Earl of Euston, Earl Temple, Viscount Morpeth, Lord Grenville Levison Gower, Lord Lovaine, Sir John Wrottesley, and about twenty of other gentlemen of the highest character and fortune, the demand for tickets, at one guinea each, was so great, that it was found the London Tavern would be inadequate to the accommodation of the company, and Merchant Taylors Hall was procured for the oc-

caſion.—At 4 o'clock the company began to aſſemble, and in half an hour the whole body of the Hall was filled, and thoſe who could not obtain ſeats there found accommodation in other rooms. Their number is thus ſtated.

In the Hall	-	-	505
The ſecond room	-	-	250
The third room	-	-	149
			<hr/>
			904

To whom are added about one hundred and fifty perſons of diſtinction who occupied the head table, and others who found ſeats in the galleries.

Earl Spencer was in the chair: among the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons preſent were, the *Dukes* of Rutland and Montroſe; *Marquiſes* Cornwallis, Townſhend, Worcester, Headfort, Buckingham and Exeter; *Earls* Camden, Cheſterfield, Caryſfort, Aboyne, Compiſham, Temple, Beverley, Euſton, Romney, Eſſex, Forteſcue, Gower, Weſtmoreland, Courtown, Dartmouth, Cowper and Yarmouth; *Lords*, Amherſt, Grenville, Braybrooke, Caſtlereagh, Bulkeley, Belgrave, Rolle, F. Montagu, Hinchinbroke, Newark, Valentia, Chetwynd, Limerick, Glaſtonbury, Waſſingham, Whitworth, Hawkeſbury, De Dunſtanville, Morpeth, Louvaine, Alvanley, George Thynne, John Thynne, Levifon Gower, Harvey, Ducie, George Seymour, Craven, Bridport, Arden, Minto, Bruce, Longford, Cawdor, Loſtus, Bayning, W. Gordon, F. Campbell, Carington, Gwydir, Hood, Yarmouth, Wodehouſe, Mulgrave, and Villiers. *The Right Hon.* George



George Rose, G. Wodehouse;—Curzon, Frederick Campbell, G. Canning, John Staples, T. Wallace, T. Grenville, C. Yorke, W. Wickham, Sir W. Fawcett, H. Dundas, D. Ryder, J. C. Villiers, Sir W. Grant, C. Bragge, T. Steele, and W. Windham. To these was added a long list of Barons, Knights, naval and military Officers of the highest ranks, sons of Peers, members of Parliament, bankers, merchants, and gentlemen forming together an assemblage unrivalled on any similar occasion.

Dinner was supplied from the Londern Tavern, and served at a quarter past six. On the cloth being removed, *Non nobis* was sung by the Knyvetts, Gore, Nield, Sale, &c. Then followed the health of—"The King, with three times three," which was drank with the loudest acclamations of joy—"The Queen, with three times three."—"The Prince and Princess of Wales, ditto."—"The Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal Family, ditto."—"Mr. Pitt."—Earl Spencer prefaced Mr. Pitt's health by observing that that gentleman had been invited by the committee and stewards to be present at the meeting on that day, but he had received a letter from him, which he would take the liberty of reading to the company; and the substance of which was, that he felt most deeply the honour which was done him; but as from the nature of the meeting, and the partiality of his friends, for which he was impressed with the most lively gratitude, he could not reconcile it to his feelings to be present, he entreated his Lordship to offer his excuses to the company.

The letter was received with the loudest applause; and Mr. Pitt's health was drank with great enthusiasm. The company was not satisfied with the common expressions of huzzaing and clapping of hands; but hundreds of handkerchiefs waved in the air, and produced an undescribable effect.—After the tumult of applause had subsided, the following song, written for the occasion (by G. H. Rose, Esq.), was sung by Mr. Dignum:

SONG.—To the Tune of the Anacreontic

To the statesman; whose genius and judgment matur'd;  
From Gallic ambition, 'midst Anarchy's cry,  
To his country her laws and her commerce secur'd,  
Can Britons the grateful memorial deny?  
Nò! just to his claim  
Of a patriot's name,  
They trust not his merit to *posthumous* fame.  
Remember with pride what by Chatham was done,  
And hallow the day that gave birth to his son.  
Rome's senate decreed to her worthies ovations,  
With civic rewards she encircled their brows;  
To a true British worthy we pour our libations,  
While our senate her *order of merit* bestows:  
Amidst Europe's alarms,  
With persuasion's blest charms;  
Britain's councils he led, rous'd her heroes to arms.  
In the dread wreck of nations her empire maintain'd,  
Her spirit unconquer'd, her credit unstain'd.  
No Jacobin rites in our fête shall prevail;  
Ours the true feast of reason—the soul's social flow;  
Here we cherish the friend, and his virtues we hail,  
But the Gallic fraternal embrace disavow;

Impress'd



Impress'd with his worth,  
 We indulge in our mirth,  
 And bright shines the planet that rul'd at  
 his birth;  
 Round the orbit of Britain, O! long  
 may it move  
 Like attendant satellites circling their  
 Jove.  
 To the counsels of Pitt\*, in an æra that's  
 past,  
 Her high rank 'midst the nations this  
 city may trace;  
 Though his statue may moulder, his mem-  
 'ry will last;  
 "The great and the good live again in  
 their race."  
 Ere to time's distant day  
 Our marble convey  
 The fame that now blooms, and will know  
 no decay,  
 Our father's example our breasts shall  
 inspire,  
 And we'll honour the Son, as they ho-  
 nour'd the Sire.

The next toasts were,—“The  
 “wooden walls of Old England.”  
 —“The army, militia, yeo-  
 “manry, and volunteers of the  
 “United Kingdom.”—“The Lord  
 “Mayor, and prosperity to the  
 “city of London.”—The toast  
 that succeeded was applicable to  
 the occasion—“The pilot that  
 “weathered the storm,” which  
 was received by the company, with  
 a fervour of enthusiasm, as was the  
 following song, composed for the  
 occasion by the Right Hon. G.  
 Canning, and sung by Mr.  
 Dignum.

If hush'd the loud whirlwind that ruffled  
 the deep,  
 The sky if no longer dark tempests de-  
 form;  
 When our perils are past, shall our grati-  
 tude sleep?  
 No—Here's to the pilot that weather'd  
 the storm!

At the footstool of Power let Flattery  
 fawn;  
 Let Faction her idols extol to the skies;  
 To Virtue, in humble retirement with-  
 drawn,  
 Unblam'd may the accents of Gratitude  
 rise!  
 And shall not *his* mem'ry to Britain be  
 dear,  
 Whose example with envy all nations  
 behold;  
 A statesman, unbias'd by int'rest or fear,  
 By pow'r uncorrupted, untainted by  
 gold?  
 Who, when Terror and Doubt through the  
 universe reign'd,  
 While Rapine and Treason their stand-  
 ards unfurl'd,  
 The heart and the hopes of his country  
 maintain'd,  
 And one kingdom preserv'd 'midst the  
 wreck of the world.  
 Unheeding, unthankful, we bask in the  
 blaze,  
 While the beams of the sun in full ma-  
 jesty shine;  
 When he sinks into twilight with fondness  
 we gaze,  
 And mark the mild lustre that gilds his  
 decline.  
 So, Pitt, when the course of thy greatness  
 is o'er,  
 Thy talents, thy virtues, we fondly re-  
 call;  
 Now justly we prize thee, when lost we  
 deplore;  
 Admir'd in thy zenith, but lov'd in thy  
 fall!  
 O! take, then—for dangers by wisdom  
 repell'd,  
 For evils, by courage and constancy  
 brav'd—  
 O! take, for a throne by thy counsels up-  
 held,  
 The thanks of a people thy firmness  
 has sav'd!  
 And, O! if again the rude whirlwind  
 should rise,  
 The dawning of peace should fresh  
 darkness deform;  
 The regrets of the good, and the fears o  
 the wife,  
 Shall turn to the pilot that weather'd  
 the storm!

\* The late Earl of Chatham.



Sir R. Peele proposed the health of the noble chairman, which was drank with great applause, and his lordship, in very handsome terms, returned his acknowledgments.—The following toasts succeeded:—"The memory of Earl Howe, and the heroes of the 1st of June 1794."—"Earl St. Vincent, and the heroes of February 14, 1797."—"Viscount Duncan, and the heroes of Camperdown."—"Viscount Nelson, and the heroes of the Nile and Copenhagen."—"The memory of Sir R. Abercromby; and Lord Hutchinson, and the army of Egypt."—"The Throne, the virtue that fills it, and the councils that saved it."—This toast was received with particular marks of approbation and applause.—"The landed interest of

"the United Kingdom."—"The Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of Merchant Taylors Company, and thanks to them for the use of their hall."—A little after ten o'clock the noble chairman having gratified the company by repeating the toast of "the pilot who weathered the storm," and Mr. Dignum having repeated the song, his lordship left the chair, amidst the thanks and plaudits of the company, for the very able and satisfactory manner in which he had filled it. A large proportion of the company went away at the same time. The Marquis of Worcester took the chair after Lord Spencer had quitted it, and supported the spirit of the company that remained for a considerable time after, with good effect.



## A GENERAL BILL

O F

## All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 15, 1801, to DECEMBER 15, 1802.

Christened { Males 10564 } Buried { Males 9889 } Increased in Burials  
 { Females 9354 } { Females 9490 } this Year 5.

Totals Males and Females Christened 19918.—Total Males and Females Buried 19379.

Died under Two Years	5925	—Thirty and Forty	1782	—Eighty and Ninety	369
Between Two and Five	2379	Forty and Fifty	2112	Ninety and a Hundred	62
—Five and Ten	892	Fifty and Sixty	1885	A Hundred	0
—Ten and Twenty	523	Sixty and Seventy	1353	A Hundred and One	0
—Twenty and Thirty	1199	Seventy and Eighty	896	A Hundred and Two	2

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.	
<b>A</b> Bortive & Still-born	457	Cow Pox	2	<b>B</b> Broken Limbs	2
Abcess	32	Croup	27	Bruised	3
Aged	1452	Dropfy	845	Burnt	19
Ague	2	Evil	3	Broken Neck	1
Apoplexy and sud-		All Fevers	2201	Drowned	112
den	266	Fistula	3	Excessive Drinking	10
Asthma and Phthi-		Flox	1	Executed *	6
lic	639	Flux	9	Found dead	10
Bedridden	2	French Pox	11	Fractured	4
Bile	2	Gout	107	Frighted	2
Bleeding	20	Gravel, Strangury,	16	Frozen	2
Bursten and Rup-		and Stone	6	Killed by Falls,	
ture	25	Grief	6	&c.	78
Cancer	65	Headmouldshot, Hor-		Killed by Fighting	1
Canker	1	shoehead, and Wa-		Killed themselves	41
Chicken Pox	2	ter in the Head	109	Killed by a Bull	1
Childbed	193	Imposthume	1	Killed by a Mad-	
Colds	14	Jaundice	77	man	1
Colick, Gripes, twist-		Jaw Locked	2	Poisoned	2
ing of the Guts	24	Inflammation	635	Scalded	3
Consumption	4078	Leprosy	2	Smothered	1
Convulsions	3503	Lethargy	1	Starved	3
Cough and Hooping-		Livergrown	7	Strained	1
Cough	1004	Lunatick	125	Suffocated	4
Cramp	2	Measles	559		
		Miscarriage	1		
		Mortification	336		
				Total	297

\* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey 8; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the Bills of Mortality.

PRICES



## PRICES OF THE STOCKS FOR 1802.

Date.	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Confol.	4 pr Ct. Confol.	5 pr Ct. Navy.	6 pr Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	Exche. Bills.	Omnium.	India 5 per Ct.	Imperial 3 per Ct.	Lottery Tickets.
January	{ 190	69	68	85	98	99	20	5	214	5s.	—	98	68	16
February	{ 187	67	87	84	97	98	19	5	212	do.	—	96	66	16
March	{ 192	70	69	87	100	101	20	5	215	do.	—	100	69	16
	{ 190	69	68	85	98	99	19	5	213	do.	—	98	67	16
	{ 188	68	70	86	103	101	20	5	214	do.	—	100	69	23
	{ 187	68	67	85	99	100	20	5	212	Par.	—	99	67	16
April	{ 200	77	77	92	107	106	22	5	226	pr.	7	105	75	80
	{ 194	74	70	89	103	104	21	5	226	do.	2	101	70	24
May	{ 193	75	76	91	104	105	21	5	225	do.	3	102	74	—
	{ 188	72	72	87	101	102	20	4	219	diff.	Par.	99	70	—
June	{ 184	75	—	90	104	105	21	5	216	Par.	1	102	73	17
	{ 180	70	—	84	103	102	20	4	—	diff.	2	98	70	17
July	{ 190	74	74	90	108	105	21	5	215	pr.	1	101	73	18
	{ 189	71	70	88	109	103	20	5	208	do.	3	101	69	17
August	{ 186	72	72	88	101	104	20	5	207	do.	3	—	70	48
	{ 182	67	66	84	98	101	19	5	203	Par.	12	—	66	21
September	{ 183	67	70	86	102	103	20	5	208	—	6	101	69	17
	{ 182	67	67	85	101	102	20	5	208	—	10	100	66	17
October	{ 183	68	70	86	101	103	20	5	208	—	7	101	68	17
	{ 179	66	67	83	99	101	19	5	201	—	10	98	68	17
November	{ 180	67	68	83	101	101	19	5	204	pr.	7	97	66	18
	{ 178	66	67	82	100	100	19	5	202	do.	10	97	65	17
December	{ 190	72	67	87	101	104	20	5	201	diff.	2	100	71	24
	{ 177	66	67	82	100	99	19	5	201	do.	11	97	64	18



METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1802.

Thermometer without.				Thermometer within.				Barometer *.				Hygrometer.			
Greatst. Height.	Leaf. Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Greatst. Height.	Leaf. Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Greatst. Height.	Leaf. Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.	Greatst. Height.	Leaf. Height.	Mean Height.	Deg.
1802.															
* January -	48	16	35,4	54	41	47,4	30,46	29,31	29,93	90	64	80,2	0,146	Rain.	Inches.
○ February -	55	30	41,1	57	48	52,6	30,16	29,19	29,67	90	72	80,5	1,500		
☾ March -	62	29	43,7	64	51	55,2	30,48	29,32	30,08	90	60	74,9	0,397		
April -	67	35	51,8	62	55	59,1	30,33	29,57	30,22	84	60	72,6	0,989		
May -	76	35	54,0	66	54	59,5	30,33	29,51	30,08	84	55	68,7	1,196		
June -	77	43	61,0	66	60	62,8	30,38	29,46	29,90	90	60	72,3	1,862		
July -	70	50	60,0	64	60	62,0	30,12	29,38	29,86	85	61	74,7	2,816		
August -	81	53	68,2	74	63	69,1	30,30	29,74	30,04	90	61	72,4	0,517		
September -	75	42	60,9	71	61	66,3	30,41	29,42	30,05	85	61	73,6	0,672		
October -	74	33	52,8	69	57	61,1	30,43	29,22	29,80	89	62	77,8	1,641		
November -	53	30	42,7	58	51	54,5	30,13	28,63	29,63	90	73	82,7	1,044		
December -	50	29	39,5	56	48	52,0	30,28	29,07	29,73	94	73	85,5	1,196		
Whole Year.			50,8			58,6			29,91			76,3	13,964		

\* The Quicksilver in the bafon of the Barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water spring tides at Somerfet Houfe.



The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to John James Catherwood, Esq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of January, 1803.*

## E X P O R T E D.

1802. ENGLAND.	BRITISH. Quarters.	FOREIGN Quarters.	
Wheat - - - - -	147	94,351	} Bounties Nil. Drawbacks Nil.
Rye - - - - -		6,484	
Barley - - - - -	2,785	1,337	
Malt - - - - -	3,148		
Oats - - - - -	11,319	2,185	
Beans - - - - -	6,750	42	
Pease - - - - -	2,330	14	
Indian Corn - - - -		1,327	} Bounties Nil. Drawbacks Nil.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour - - - -	61,181 0 4	87,901 2 18	
Oatmeal - - - - -	2,022 1 20	240 0 0	
Indian Meal - - - -		400 0 0	} Bounties Nil. Drawbacks Nil.
SCOTLAND.			
	Qrs.	Qrs.	
Wheat - - - - -		11,281	
Barley - - - - -	897		
Oats - - - - -	1,376		
Ditto Irish - - - -	254		
Pease - - - - -		25	
Groats - - - - -	1		
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour - - - -	705 0 0		
Ditto - - - - -		7,377 0 0	
Biscuit - - - - -	2,920 1 26		
Oatmeal - - - - -	798 3 0		
Ditto Irish - - - -	238 3 0		

IMPORTED.



I M P O R T E D.

ENGLAND.				Quarters.	
Wheat	-	-	-	447,635	} £.589 4s. 8d.
Rye	-	-	-	15,171	
Barley	-	-	-	11,756	
Oats	-	-	-	437,812	
Beans	-	-	-	5,792	
Pease	-	-	-	9,697	
Malt	-	-	-	2,302	
Indian Corn	-	-	-	734	} £.684,776 4 3
				cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	-	-	-	282,845 2 13	
Rye Meal	-	-	-	1,162 1 14	
Indian Meal	-	-	-	15,389 3 0	
				Bolls.	} Bounties paid on Corn and Rice.
Oatmeal	-	-	-	25,354 3 17	

I M P O R T E D.

SCOTLAND.				Quarters.	
Wheat	-	-	-	110,000	} £.50 6 6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Barley	-	-	-	3,495	
Oats	-	-	-	79,123	
Pease	-	-	-	970	
Buck Wheat	-	-	-	4	
				cwt. qrs. lbs.	} £.30,547 12 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wheat Flour	-	-	-	32,177 0 2	
Indian Corn	-	-	-	3 2 0	
Ditto Meal	-	-	-	123 3 0	
				Bolls.	
Oatmeal	-	-	-	58,677 0 0	} Bounties paid on Corn and Rice.

N. B. No distinction can be made between the Bounties paid on Corn and Rice imported, being paid under one Act of Parliament.

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester Bushel, for the year 1802.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
8 5	5 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 11 $\frac{1}{4}$

N. B. The price of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed, and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.	6d.
		* O 4				A List





*A List of Public Acts passed in the Second Session of the First Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

NOVEMBER 21, 1801.

For continuing and granting to his Majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

For continuing and granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco and snuff, for the service of the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

To receive and continue until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, so much of an act made in the forty-first year of his present Majesty, as relates to permitting the use of salt, duty free, in preserving of fish, and to discontinue the bounty payable on white herrings exported; and to indemnify all persons who have issued or acted under any orders for delivering salt, duty free, for the purposes in the said act mentioned.

To repeal an act made in the forty-first year of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to prohibit, until the first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and one, and from thence to the end of six weeks next after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, any person or persons from selling any bread which shall not have been baked twenty-four hours;" and to indemnify bakers and other persons who have sold, or exposed to sale, any bread within the time prohibited by the said act.

DECEMBER 11, 1801.

For granting annuities to satisfy certain exchequer bills.

For raising the sum of 500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

To rectify a mistake in an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majesty a certain sum of money for the service of Great Britain, to be raised by a lottery," and to amend so much of the said act as relates to the commencement of the drawing of the said lottery.

To continue until the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and two, so much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the reducing the duties upon worts, or wash brewed or made from molasses or sugar, or any mixture therewith, or to any distiller or distillers, or maker or makers of spirits; for reviving and continuing, for the same period, so much of the said act as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch; and for continuing, for the same period, an act made in the same session of parliament for prohibiting the making of low spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or other sort of grain, or from any meal, flour, or bran, in Scotland; and so much of an act made in the last session of parliament, as relates to the allowing the distillation of spirits in Scotland from molasses or sugar, at a lower rate of duty.

To repeal an act made in the thirty-ninth year of his Majesty, intituled "An act to permit, until  
" the



“ the first day of August, one  
 “ thousand eight hundred and two,  
 “ the importation of certain naval  
 “ stores from Hamburgh and other  
 “ parts of Germany.”

To continue, until the first of January, one thousand eight hundred and three, and amend an act of the thirty-ninth year of his Majesty, for prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn, and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty; and to continue for the same period, an act of the last session of parliament, for prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other provisions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty.

To revive and continue, until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and three, an act made in the thirty-third year of his Majesty, intituled, “ An act  
 “ for the relief of the captors of  
 “ prizes with respect to the bring-  
 “ ing and landing certain prize  
 “ goods in this kingdom.”

To regulate, until the twenty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, the number of private militia-men in the several counties, ridings, and places therein-mentioned; and for supplying of vacancies in the militia.

To remove certain restraints upon the correspondence by letter between persons residing in Great-Britain and Ireland, and persons residing in certain foreign countries.

DEC. 15, 1801.

To prohibit the distillation of spirits from wheat in Ireland.

To permit, until the tenth of July, 1802, the making of starch from rice or potatoes, or any mixture thereof, and the importation of any such starch from Ireland, free of duty.

To continue, until the first of July, 1802, an act made in the thirty-fifth year of his Majesty, for permitting the importation of organized thrown silk, flax, and flax seed, into this kingdom, in ships or vessels belonging to any kingdom or state in amity with his Majesty.

FEB. 24, 1802.

For raising a further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1802.

For continuing the premium allowed to ships employed in, and for enlarging the limits of the Southern whale fishery.

To amend so much of an act made in the twenty-ninth year of George II. intituled, “ An act for  
 “ explaining, amending, and re-  
 “ dering more effectual an act made  
 “ in the twenty-second year of his  
 “ present Majesty, intituled, An  
 “ act for making a free market for  
 “ the sale of fish in the city of  
 “ Westminster, and for preventing  
 “ the forestalling and monopoli-  
 “ zing of fish, and for allowing  
 “ the sale of fish under the dimen-  
 “ sions mentioned in a clause con-  
 “ tained in an act of the first year  
 “ of his late Majesty’s reign, in  
 “ case the same are taken with a  
 “ hook,” as relates to the sale of eels.

MARCH 19, 1802.

For raising one million, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1802.

To



To repeal the duties on cinnamon, imported by the East India company, and on cassia lignea of all sorts, and for granting new duties in lieu thereof; and to repeal the custom duties on certain hides and skins, and to repeal certain duties granted by an act of the last session of parliament upon box-wood imported, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

To indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for certain offices and employments.

For making perpetual so much of an act made in the nineteenth year of his Majesty, as relates to the allowing a drawback of the duties on rum shipped as stores to be consumed on board merchant ships on their voyages; and to continue several laws relating to the permitting the exportation of tobacco pipe-clay from Great Britain to the British sugar colonies in the West Indies, until the twenty-fourth of June, 1808; to the giving further encouragement to the importation of naval stores from the British colonies in America, until the twenty-ninth of September, 1812; to the regulating the payment of the duties on cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and mace; to the allowing the importation of certain fish from Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador, until the twenty-fourth of June, 1808; and to the allowing the importation and exportation of goods from and to India and China, in ships not of British construction, during the continuance of the exclusive trade to and from the East Indies, granted to the East India company by an act of the thirty-third of his Majesty's reign.

For continuing, until the twenty-fifth of December, 1804,

the bounties granted for the encouragement of Greenland whale fisheries, and for continuing and amending the regulations respecting the same.

MARCH 24, 1802.

For continuing until the twenty-fifth day of March, 1803, several acts of the last session of parliament, for continuing and granting duties to his Majesty in Ireland.

For punishing mutiny and desertion.

For regulation of the marine forces, while on shore.

To empower his Majesty to cause certain countervailing duties, granted by an act of the thirty-seventh year of his reign, intituled, "An act for carrying into execution the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded between his Majesty and the United States of America," to cease or be suspended until the twenty-fifth day of March, 1803, under certain circumstances.

For continuing, until the twenty-fifth of March, 1805, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and amending several laws relating to the transportation of felons, and other offenders, to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland respectively.

To authorize the East India company to make their settlement at Fort Marlborough, in the East Indies, a factory subordinate to the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, and to transfer the servants, who, on the reduction of that establishment, shall be supernumerary to the presidency of Fort St. George.

To continue until the twenty-fifth of July, 1802, an act made in the



the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to stay, until the "twenty-fifth of March, 1802, "proceedings in actions under the "statute of King Henry the "Eighth, for abridging spiritual "persons from having pluralities of "livings, and from taking of "farms."

To enlarge the powers, and explain and amend an act made in the twenty-second of George II. intituled, "An act for the better repairing the highways, and cleaning the streets within the parish "of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, &c."

APRIL 15, 1802.

For raising twenty-five millions by annuities.

For granting additional duties on windows, and inhabited houses, and for consolidating the same with the present duties thereon.

To continue, until the twentieth of September, 1803, several acts of the last session for reviving, continuing, and amending several laws for the better collection and security of the revenues of Ireland.

For regulating, until the fifteenth of February, 1803, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain.

For enlarging the terms and powers granted by several acts, of laying a duty of two pennies Scots upon every pint of ale and beer brewed and vended within the town of Dundee, and the liberties and suburbs thereof.

To amend and render more effectual an act made in the seventeenth year of his Majesty, for the better relief and employment of the poor of the parish of St. Mary,

Islington, in the county of Middlesex.

APRIL 30, 1802.

For granting additional duties on servants, carriages, horses, mules, and dogs, and for consolidating the same with the present duties thereon.

For granting additional duties on beer, ale, malt, hops, and on spirits distilled in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, for repealing certain allowances to brewers of beer and ale, and for preventing frauds and abuses in the revenue of excise on beer, ale, and malt.

For extending the time for the payment of loans made to persons connected with, or trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

To continue, until the first of March, 1803, the restrictions contained in several acts of the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth years of his Majesty, on payments in cash by the bank.

For continuing and enlarging the term and powers of two several acts, of the thirty-second George II. and of the twentieth of his present Majesty, charging a duty of two pennies Scots, or one-sixth part of a penny sterling, upon every Scots pint of ale, porter, and beer, brewed for sale, brought into, tapped, or sold, within the town and parish of Kelso, in the county of Roxburgh, for the purpose therein mentioned.

MAY 4, 1802.

To enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer bills on the credit of aids or supplies, granted by parliament for the year 1802.

For repealing the duties on income



come; for the effectual collection of arrears of the said duties, and accounting for the same; and for charging the annuities specifically charged thereon upon the consolidated fund of Great Britain.

MAY 7, 1802.

For granting certain duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Great Britain, and on the tonnage of ships and vessels entering outwards or inwards in any port of Great Britain to or from foreign parts.

For permitting French wines to be imported into Great Britain in bottles or flasks, under certain restrictions.

To continue, until three months after any restriction imposed by any act of the present session of parliament on the bank of England from issuing cash in payments shall cease; an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-seventh year of his Majesty, for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank of Ireland.

To require overseers and guardians of the poor to keep a register of the several children who shall be bound or assigned by them as apprentices, and to extend the provisions of an act passed in the twentieth year of his Majesty, to the binding of apprentices by houses of industry, or establishments for the poor, which have been authorised so to do by subsequent acts.

MAY 10, 1802.

To continue until the twentieth day of May, 1803, and amend an act made in the last session, relating to certain duties on sugar and coffee exported; for permitting British plantation sugar to be ware-

housed; and for regulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported.

MAY 24, 1802.

For enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity of 12,000*l.* on his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and a like annuity of 12,000*l.* on his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, during his Majesty's pleasure.

For further continuing until the first day of February, 1806, an act made in the twenty-seventh year of his Majesty, intituled, "An act to enable the lord high treasurer, or commissioners of the treasury, for the time being, to let to farm the duties granted by an act made in the twenty-fifth year of his present Majesty's reign on horses let to hire for travelling post, and by time, to such persons as should be willing to contract for the same."

For continuing an act made in this session, intituled, "An act for punishing mutiny and desertion."

For continuing until the twenty-fifth day of June, 1802, an act made this session, for the regulation of marine forces while on shore.

For defraying the pay of the militia in England, for the year 1802.

To indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

MAY 28, 1802.

For granting a sum of money, to be raised by lotteries.

For making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia during peace.

JUNE 3, 1802.

For raising a certain sum of money.



money, by way of annuities or debentures, for the service of Ireland.

To repeal an act, passed in the twenty-fifth year of his Majesty, for granting stamp duties on certain medicines, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof, and for making effectual provision for the better collection of the said duties.

For allowing, until the 20th of May 1803, additional bounties on refined sugar exported, and discontinuing the duty thereon granted by an act of this session.

To amend so much of an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-seventh year of his Majesty, intituled, "An act for vesting a certain fund in commissioners at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by them applied to the reduction of the national debt, and to direct the application of additional funds, in case of future loans, to the like purpose," as relates to the commissioners for carrying the same into execution.

To continue, until the 30th of May, 1803, and amend an act, made in the last session, for regulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported from Ireland, and for allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused in Ireland, and for granting an additional drawback on the exportation of refined sugar.

For extending the provisions of an act, made in the thirty-fourth year of his Majesty, intituled, "An act for directing the appointment of commissioners to administer certain oaths and declarations, required by law, to be taken and made by persons offering to vote at the election

"of members to serve in parliament," to all oaths now required by law to be taken by voters at elections for members to serve in parliament.

For the further encouragement of Irish mariners, and for other purposes relating thereto.

JUNE 22, 1802.

To authorise the licensing an additional number of hackney coaches.

To enable the Treasury of Ireland, to sell, lease, convey, or dispose of, the parliament house in the city of Dublin, and all the premises and appurtenances thereunto belonging to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.

To amend, and render more effectual, two acts, passed in the twenty-sixth and thirty-second years of his Majesty, for reduction of the national debt.

For punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

For amending so much of an act passed in the seventh year of his Majesty as relates to the secreting, embezzling, or destroying any letter or packet sent by the post, and for the better protection of such letters or packets, and for more effectually preventing letters and packets being sent otherwise than by the post.

To enable his Majesty to avail himself of the offers of certain yeomanry and volunteer corps to continue their services.

To revive, and further continue, until the 25th of March, 1803, and to amend so much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of his Majesty, as grants



grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant majors of militia disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

To enable his Majesty to accept and continue the service of certain troops or companies of yeomanry in Ireland.

For making allowances until the 25th of March, 1803, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia of Ireland, during peace.

To authorise the sending and receiving of letters and packets, votes, proceedings in parliament, and printed newspapers, by the post, free from the duties on postage, by the members of the two houses of parliament of the United Kingdom, and by certain public officers therein named, and for reducing the postage on such votes, proceedings, and newspapers, when sent by any other persons.

To enable such officers, mariners, and foldiers, as have been in the land or sea service, or in the marines, or in the militia, or any other corps of fencible men, since the twenty-fourth year of his present Majesty, to exercise trades.

For directing certain public accounts to be laid annually before parliament, and for discontinuing certain other forms of account now in use.

To amend the laws for the better regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland.

For repealing several acts made in the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, thirty-ninth, and fortieth years of his Majesty, relating to the admission of certain articles on merchandize in neutral ships, and to the issuing of orders in council for that purpose, and for making other

provisions in lieu thereof, to continue until the first of January, 1804.

To continue until the twenty-ninth of September, 1803, an act made in the parliament of Ireland in the thirty-seventh year of his Majesty, for regulating the import, export, and sale of coffee, and securing the duties payable thereon; and also for securing the duties payable on licenses to persons in Ireland not being maltsters, or makers of malt, selling malt by commission, or otherwise.

For repealing an act made in the thirty-eighth year of his Majesty, intituled, "An act for raising a body of miners in the county of Cornwall and Devon, for the defence of the kingdom during the present war," and for the more effectually raising and regulating a body of miners for the defence of Great Britain.

For the further regulating the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in parliament, and for expediting the proceedings relating thereto.

For the trying and punishing in Great-Britain, persons holding public employments, for offences committed abroad, and for extending the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-first year of the reign of king James, made for the ease of justices, and others, in pleading in suits brought against them, to all persons either in or out of this kingdom, authorised to commit to safe custody.

To alter, amend, and render more effectual, an act made in the twenty-fourth year of his Majesty, for the more effectual prevention of smuggling in Great-Britain.



To revive and continue, until the 5th of April, 1804, and to amend several acts passed in the twenty-seventh, thirty-fifth, and thirty-ninth years of his Majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries, and to continue, until the 14th day of June, 1803, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, so much of an act of the sixth year of his Majesty, as relates to the prohibiting the importation of foreign wrought silks and velvets.

To prevent British built ships to carry on the fisheries in the Pacific Ocean without license from the East-India Company, or South Sea Company.

To continue, until the 8th of April, 1803, an act passed in the last session of parliament, for staying proceedings in actions under the statute of Henry VIII. for abridging spiritual persons from having pluralities of livings, and of taking of farms; and also to stay proceedings in actions under an act of the thirteenth of Elizabeth, touching leases of benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings with cure.

For vesting certain lands and hereditaments in trustees, for promoting the service of his Majesty's ordnance at Woolwich.

For repealing two acts made in the thirty-second and thirty-sixth years of his Majesty, for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace, in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey as lie in or near the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies, and for making other provisions in lieu thereof, and for increasing the

salaries of the justices at the Thames Police-office, until the first day of June, 1807, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament.

For the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton, and other mills, and cotton and other factories.

To amend an act made in the twenty-second year of his Majesty, for the better relief and employment of the poor, so far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-house.

To extend the provisions of an act made in the thirteenth year of his Majesty, intituled, "An act for repealing so much of an act made in the twenty-third of George II. as relates to the preventing the stealing or destroying of turnips, and for the more effectually preventing the stealing or destroying of turnips, potatoes, cabbages, parsnips, pease, and carrots," to certain other field crops, and to orchards, and for amending the said act.

For repealing so much of an act made in the second year of his Majesty, intituled "An act for the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fish," &c. as limits the number of fish to be sold by wholesale within the said city of London, and for the better regulation of the sale of fish by wholesale in the market of Billingsgate.

To remove doubts as to certain acts relating to the admeasurement of coals in the city and liberty of Westminster, and parts adjacent, and to revive and continue an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of his



his Majesty, relating to the ad-measurement of coals within the limits aforesaid, and to indemnify all persons who have acted in pursuance of any of the provisions of the said act.

JUNE 26, 1802.

For raising five millions, by loans, or Exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

For raising 1,500,000*l.* by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

For granting to his Majesty the sum of 200,000*l.* to be issued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt of Great-Britain.

For settling and securing a certain annuity on Lord Hutchinson, Baron Hutchinson of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, and the two next persons to whom the title of Baron Hutchinson shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

For repealing certain duties on paper, pasteboards, millboards, scaleboards, and glazed paper, imported into, or made in Great-Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

For providing a proper salary for the office of Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal in Ireland.

For repealing the duties granted by an act made in this session on spermaceti oil, blubber, train oil, fish oil, or oil of seals, and granting other duties in lieu thereof; for repealing the duties granted by the said act on linen yarn made of

flax, and on goods, wares, or merchandize imported by the East-India Company, and exported from the warehouse in which the same shall have been secured; for exempting stone, the produce of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man, from duty; and for permitting merchandize, the produce of any of the colonies ceded to the French and Batavian Republics, to be imported for three years from the passing of this act, upon payment of certain duties.

For allowing the stamping certain deeds until the 31st of December, 1802; for amending an act passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to duties on legacies and shares of personal estates; for exempting certain legacies from the payment of duty; for reducing the allowance on present payment of stamp duties, and for reducing certain stamp duties on policies for sea insurances.

For exempting from the auction duty estates and effects bought in for the owner, and goods imported in any British ship from any British colony in America, or from any part of the United States; for the better collecting and securing the duties of excise on wine, home-made spirits, starch, auctions, rum shipped as stores, and on goods or merchandize chargeable with duties of excise; for granting a further allowance of salt in the curing and preserving of pilchards and seals; and for allowing certain draining tiles to be made free of duty.

For enlarging the time for which horses may be let to hire without being subject to any annual duty; for explaining and amending several acts relating to the duties on horses,



horses, servants, and carriages; and for authorising the allowance in the accounts of the Receivers' General, of the several sums advanced by them, in pursuance of the acts for raising a provisional force of cavalry, and not reimbursed to them by assessment.

To repeal the additional duty of 6l. per centum on the duties payable on the importation into Ireland of certain goods imported by retailers or consumers; and for repealing and reducing certain duties on policies of sea insurance in Ireland.

To authorise the Commissioners of Excise to order the restoration of exciseable goods seized or detained by officers of excise.

For the regulation of marine forces while on shore.

For amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia.

To raise and establish a militia force in Scotland,

For consolidating the provisions of the several acts, passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax, into one act, and for making further provision for the redemption and sale thereof, and for removing doubts respecting the right of persons claiming to vote, at elections, for knights of the shire, and other members to serve in parliament, in respect of messuages, lands, or tenements, the land-tax upon which shall have been redeemed or purchased.

To require persons licensed to keep lottery-offices in Ireland, to divide into shares a certain number of whole lottery tickets, and for empowering the Commissioners of the Treasury of Great-Britain, to remit to the Exchequer of Ireland

a certain sum of money out of the contributions for lotteries.

For regulating the trial of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in the United Parliament for Ireland.

For repealing several acts for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases, and for substituting other provisions in lieu thereof.

For repealing the rates and duties of postage upon letters to and from France and the Batavian Republic, from and to London, and for granting other rates and duties in lieu thereof; and for exempting from the duty of tonnage the ships and vessels to be employed in conveying the mails of letters from France to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

To authorize the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain, and Ireland, to order the use of the hydrometers now employed in the management of the revenues, to be discontinued, and other instruments to be used instead thereof.

For enabling his Majesty to permit the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into, and from the port Road Harbour, in the Island of Tortola, until the 1st day of July, 1803, and from thence until six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of Parliament.

For authorising, and rendering valid, the discharge of certain militia men in Ireland, and for giving indemnity to the several counties and places in Ireland which may incur any expence in consequence of the discharge of certain militia men.

To continue, until the 5th of July, 1803, two acts, made in the



thirty-eighth year of his Majesty, and in the last session, for the further encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the Isle of Man, and for improving the revenue thereof.

More effectually to prevent the stealing of deer.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

For extending the provision of two acts of the thirty-fifth and thirty-eighth years of his Majesty, so far as they relate to the encouragement of persons coming to Milford Haven for the purpose of carrying on the southern whale fishery.

JUNE 28, 1802.

For granting to his Majesty certain sums of money out of the respective consolidated funds of Great Britain and Ireland; for applying certain monies therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1802; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of Parliament.

For granting certain additional duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Ireland.

For defraying the charge of the pay of the militia in Ireland, until the 25th of March, 1803; and for holding courts-martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied.

To suppress certain games and lotteries not authorized by law:

Also Road and bridge bills,	54
Enclosure bills,	28
Building bills,	10
Canal and internal navigation bills,	10

*Report of the Commissioners appointed for the Sale of the Land-tax.*

To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled. "The Lords Commissioners for regulating, directing, approving, and confirming all sales, and contracts for sale, made by bodies politic or corporate, or companies, for the purpose of redeeming their land-tax," have received his Majesty's directions to lay before the House of Commons a statement of their proceedings, distinguishing the number and value of the sales, and contracts for sale, approved by the said Commissioners; the amount of land-tax redeemed, or to be redeemed, by virtue of such sales, and contracts for sale; the quantity of stock purchased by the produce of such sales; the gain to the public resulting from the proceedings under the said commission; the expence incurred, and the estimated value of the entire property of which the tenure has been, or will be changed, by the effect of such sales, or contracts for sale;

And the said Commissioners report accordingly:—I. By an act passed the 21st March, 1799, "to amend and render more effectual the preceding acts for the redemption and purchase of the land-tax," it was made lawful for his Majesty to appoint seven persons of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, to be Commissioners for regulating, directing, approving, and confirming all sales, and contracts for sale, made by bodies politic or corporate, or companies, for the purposes of redeeming any land-tax charged on any of the manors,



nors, messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, belonging to such bodies politic or corporate, or companies. And his Majesty, by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the

March, 1799, nominated and appointed the Right Hon. William Lord Auckland, the Right Hon. Henry Addington (then Speaker of the House of Commons), the Right Hon. William Pitt, the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls (now Lord Alvanley), the Right Hon. Sir William Wynne, Knight, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron, and the Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas (now Lord Glenbervie), for the purposes of the said recited act, and with authority to any two or more of the said Commissioners to do any act, matter, or thing, which by the said commission the said Commissioners are authorized to do: and various legislative provisions have since been made, to facilitate and extend the operation and effect of the said commission:—II. The Lords Commissioners, on the 29th March, 1799, severally took the oath prescribed by the act of Parliament, and afterwards entered upon the execution of their office. Their meetings have been continued from time to time by adjournments of more or less frequency, according to the nature and importance of the business to be transacted; and the Commissioners have acted with the advice of counsel, in such cases as have been thought to require professional assistance. In adjusting and approving the terms and conditions of sale, it has been anxiously and invariably the object of the Lords Commissioners to establish and maintain certain uniform prin-

ciples calculated to prevent any improvident sales, and beneficial as well as safe to the property of the church, and of other corporate bodies, as far as might be compatible with the nature of the property to be disposed of, and with the different tenures to which that property might be subject. Pursuing these principles, the Board have found it necessary to discuss many questions of intricacy and detail, with respect both to legal constructions and to modes of valuation. Their minutes and decisions have been consequently very voluminous, and have been accurately and carefully entered and preserved. The Lords Commissioners take this occasion to acknowledge the ready and efficient assistance and attention which they have experienced from time to time, from his Majesty's law officers, from the Directors of the Bank, the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and from the officers of the Bank of England. The current business of the commission, as will appear in the two following sections of this Report, is gradually diminishing; still, however, it is considerable and important.—III. The number of sales, and contracts for sale, approved by the Commissioners, has been,

From the 29th March 1799	
to 28th March 1800	895 sales.
From the 29th March 1800	
to 28th March 1801	433 sales.
From the 29th March 1801	
to 9th June 1802	277 sales.
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Total	- 1,605
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IV. The value of the sales, and contracts for sale, was,



In the first of the above periods	-	-	£. 364,678
In the second	-	-	227,420
In the third	-	-	161,736
			<hr/>
			£. 753,834
			<hr/>

And the said sum of 753,834*l.* was obtained in the following proportions, from sales made by the different descriptions of ecclesiastical and other corporate bodies :

Archbishop of	}	£.	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Canterbury and				
sixteen of the				
bishops				
Dean and chapters		286,982	12	4
Rectors and vicars		100,187	3	10
Colleges and prebends	- - -	85,228	11	3
Lay corporations		91,942	11	1
<hr/>				
£. 753,834 14 9				
<hr/>				

V. The amount of land-tax redeemed, or to be redeemed, by virtue of such sales, and contracts for sale, cannot yet be stated with precision, as, in several instances, the money arising from sales approved and confirmed by the Lords Commissions, has not yet been paid into the Bank. Besides which, the property sold by the corporate bodies, being required by law to be sold free and discharged from land-tax, the land-tax has, in very many cases, by agreement between the parties, been freed by the lessee or purchaser at his expence. It is therefore difficult to ascertain what amount of land-tax may have been redeemed by this part of the operation. On the whole, however, the amount of land-tax redeemed by virtue of the aforesaid sales, and contracts for sale, may be estimated at 35,000*l.* per annum.—VI. The

quantity of stock purchased by the Bank from the produce of such sales, is 1,013,000*l.*; exclusive of the sums not paid into the Bank, and also of sums not yet brought to account, amounting together by estimate to 200,000*l.* stock.—VII. The gain resulting to the public from the proceedings under the commission, consists most immediately in the one eleventh required by the acts to be paid to the public, beyond the value of the land-tax redeemed, and such gain cannot be stated at less than 110,000*l.* stock; and this is exclusive of the land-tax redeemed by the lessees and purchasers of many considerable parcels of the property sold to them. A further gain resulting to the public from the proceedings under the commission, is to be found in the general operation of the redemption of the land-tax, particularly by creating a daily demand of a certain proportion of stock, which can never be brought back into the market. The effect of that circumstance is evidently beneficial, and public credit has been materially assisted, by thus withdrawing from the market nearly twenty millions of stock, in little more than three years, for the redemption of land-tax.—VIII. There are also other descriptions of gain to the public, which are not inconsiderable, when collectively taken, by the accumulation of the one eleventh beyond the amount of the land-tax sold; by the saving of the allowances to the receivers general: by the stamps on renewal of leases, and on conveyances of settled leasehold estates. And in a more indirect point of view, the sales made by the proceedings under the commission may be considered as beneficial to the public,



public, by giving local accommodation to the purchasers, by multiplying the means of improvement, and by increasing the revenues of the corporate bodies, in some instances very considerably.—IX. The expence incurred has been restricted within the narrowest limits, to the salaries of a chief secretary, assistant, and clerks; the fees of counsel, the rent of the office, and certain small incidents; the whole amounting, on the average of three years, to about 1,550*l.* per annum.—X. The value of the entire property, of which the tenure has been changed by the effect of the sales, and contracts for sale, has been computed to be not less than three times the amount of the whole sum received. Assuming this computation to be well founded, the amount sold or contracted for being 753,834*l.* the value in fee of the whole property transferred from corporate bodies will be 2,261,502*l.* The prices approved in sales, and contracts for sale, have varied from six to nine years purchase, for the reversion in fee of lands and tithes under leases for three lives: from eight to fourteen years purchase for the reversion in fee of leases for twenty-one years: five years purchase has been taken for houses let for thirty years, and three years for the reversion in fee of leases for forty years; reserved rents, and property not let on beneficial leases, have been sold from twenty-five to thirty years purchase.—XI. There cannot be a doubt that these sales are convenient to purchasers, advantageous to the sellers and their successors, and highly beneficial to the public in general; and therefore the Lords Commissioners would gladly have added to this Report some estimate of the proportion of

land-tax payable, and not yet redeemed by the bodies corporate. It is, however, difficult to arrive at any certainty in this part of the inquiry. It is probable that the proportion of land-tax redeemed by the corporate bodies and their lessees, may exceed the proportion as yet redeemed by other descriptions of property chargeable with land-tax; still, however, it may be estimated that more than two thirds remain unredeemed.—XII. The general results may be stated to be: that the number of sales approved is 1,605; that the amount in money of such sales so approved, is 753,834*l.* sterling; that the value in fee simple of the property sold, is about 2,000,000*l.* sterling; that the stock purchased for the redemption of land-tax, under the proceedings of the Commissioners, is about 1,200,000*l.*; that the whole expence to the public has been 5,400*l.*; that the gain to the public, by the operation, has not been less than 110,000*l.* stock; exclusive of the other benefits explained and detailed in this Report.

By order of the Lords Commissioners,

W. YOUNG, *Secretary.*

10th June, 1802.

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*Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on Dr. Jenner's Petition, respecting his important Discovery of Vaccine Inoculation.*

The committee, to whom the petition of Edward Jenner, doctor of physic, was referred, have, pursuant to the order of the house, examined the matter thereof; which is divided into three distinct heads of inquiry:

The utility of the discovery itself,  
\* P 3



self, which is the foundation of the petition :

The right of the petitioner to claim the discovery :

The advantage, in point of medical practice, and pecuniary emolument, which he has derived from it.

Upon the first head a number of witnesses of the highest characters, and most extensive experience in the profession, were examined, whose names, with the substance of their respective evidence (strongly confirmed by their general practice, as well as by that in their own families) appear in the appendix ; nor was it for want of the testimony of many other equally respectable physicians and surgeons, whom the petitioner was desirous of producing, that many other names are not inserted ; but because your committee, after having received so considerable a body of evidence to the same purport, and with so little variation in opinion, thought that his case could sustain no injury in being left to rest upon the concurring depositions of those already examined, who had both the most ample experience of the facts, and the best means of forming an opinion upon them. The testimony also of some persons not professional, has been admitted, who could speak to occurrences that tend to illustrate particular points connected with the subject. The result, as it appears to your committee, which may be collected from the oral testimony of these gentlemen (with the exception of three of them) is, that the discovery of vaccine inoculation is of the most general utility, inasmuch as it introduces a milder disorder in the place of the inoculated small pox, which is not capable of being com-

municated by contagion ; that it does not excite other humours or disorders in the constitution ; that it has not been known, in any one instance, to prove fatal ; that the inoculation may be safely performed at all times of life (which is known not to be the case with regard to the inoculation of the small-pox) in the earliest infancy, as well as during pregnancy, and in old age ; and that it tends to eradicate, and, if its use becomes universal, must absolutely extinguish one of the most destructive disorders by which the human race has been visited.

The written evidence which is inserted in the appendix (for your committee have judged it proper to make a selection from a great mass of what appeared most important) is more various, but directed to the same objects : part of it relates to the very extensive and successful practice of this mode of inoculation in every quarter of the globe, the efficacy of which does not seem abated by the cold of the northern, nor the heat of the southern and tropical climates ; and though there are no means of examining the authors from whence some of these attestations come, it would be an act of injustice to the petitioner to exclude these important documents, which shew the consideration in which this discovery is held, and the benefit with which it has been attended, in so many other countries, to at least as great an extent as in our own.

As a comparison between this new practice, and the inoculated small pox, forms a principal consideration in the present inquiry, some facts with regard to the latter engaged the attention of your committee,

and



and they have inserted in the appendix (No. 44) statements of the mortality occasioned by the small pox in 42 years before inoculation was practised in England, and of the 42 years from 1731 to 1772: the result of which appears to be an increase of deaths, amounting to 17 in every 1000: the general average giving 72 in every 1000 during the first 42 years, and 89 in the 42 years ending in 1772, so as to make the whole excess of deaths in that latter period 1742. The increase of mortality is stated by another witness (No. 4.) to be as 95 to 70, comparing the concluding 30 years with the first 30 of the last century, and the average annual mortality from small pox to have been latterly about 2000; for though individual lives are certainly preserved, and it is true that a smaller loss happens in equal numbers who undergo the small pox now, than there was formerly; yet it must be admitted that the general prevalence of inoculation tends to spread and multiply the disease itself; of which, though the violence be much abated by the modern mode of treatment, the contagious quality remains in full force. It deserves also to be noticed, that the deaths under the inoculated sort of small pox, with all the improvements of modern experience, are not inconsiderable; it is stated by one of the witnesses at about one in every 300 throughout England (No. 35); by another, as about one in every 100 in London (No. 38); while the loss in the natural small pox is probably not less than one in six (No. 37); nor ought it to be overlooked, that mistakes have been known to arise in the inoculated small pox, and instances

are cited by some of the witnesses, in which persons supposed to have gone through the small pox by inoculation, have caught it afterwards in the natural way (Nos. 21 and 41); the general laws of vaccine and variolous disease are extremely similar, and it is not surprising that they should resemble each other in their anomalies.

A spurious or imperfect sort of cow pox having been mentioned in some of the examinations, your committee have been particularly diligent in their inquiries into every individual case that came within their notice, where suspicions had arisen or facts were alleged, tending to bring into doubt the preventive power of vaccine inoculation: and although, for the reasons before given, they have restricted and abridged the proofs in favour of this practice, they have thought proper to withhold no part of the evidence that has been received relative to the cases that appear to controvert it; of which it will be observed that some (Appendix, Nos. 31, 32, and 33) evidently resolve themselves into variolous infection, taken previously to the vaccine inoculation; others (Appendix, Nos. 33, and 40) into the patient not having taken the cow pox at all; others again (No. 25) from the vaccine matter being, by want of attention in preserving it, decomposed, or mixed with variolous matter, or from the fluid being taken at too late a period of the pustule; to which last cause it seems probable that most of the errors and dubious cases are to be referred (No. 20.) All the practitioners agree, that there is no difficulty in distinguishing the real disorder from any



spurious or imperfect appearance; and that the regular progress of the pustule itself, if attended to, cannot be mistaken.

The cases (Nos. 45, 46, 47, 48, and 49) are not explained by any particular evidence applied to them in a satisfactory manner: but in leaving them to have such weight as they may appear to deserve; your committee cannot avoid recurring to the multitude of instances in which endeavours have been used to communicate the small pox to patients who have been known to go through the regular vaccine disease, in which neither repeated inoculations, nor exposure to the most malignant small pox, have been able to produce any effect; Appendix (Nos. 6, 9, 16, 36.)

Upon the second head, the whole of the oral depositions, as well as all the written documents from abroad, are uniform and decisive in favour of Dr. Jenner's claim to originality in the discovery; but as some pretensions have been advanced to a knowledge at least of this practice before Dr. Jenner's publications, it may be proper to notice shortly what the nature of those claims is, and in what manner they bear upon this part of the petitioner's case. The extracts which can be considered as in any degree material, are contained in Appendix, (Nos. 50, 51, and 52.) The disorder itself, and its specific property of securing against small pox infection, was not a discovery of Dr. Jenner's, nor of any of those whose writings are referred to: for in various parts of England, in Gloucestershire and Devonshire particularly, there was an opinion of that sort current among the common people employed in dairies,

which the observations of inoculators for the small pox tended to confirm. It appears not improbable, that in some very rare instances this knowledge was carried one step farther, and that the cow pox was communicated either by handling the teat, or by inoculation from the animal for the purpose, and with the intention of securing against the danger of small pox: but the practice of which Dr. Jenner asserts himself to be the original inventor, is, the inoculation from one human being to another, and the mode of transferring, indefinitely, the vaccine matter, without any diminution of its specific power, to which it does not appear that any person has ever alleged a title: and the papers and experiments, whatever accuracy of observation, and spirit of research, they may evince in their respective authors, and to whatever extent they may be supposed to go, as they were never given to the public, so neither is there any intimation that they were imparted to Dr. Jenner; nor is it contended that the world became acquainted with this discovery, by any other means than by the course of trials conducted by the Petitioner, and by his ample and unreserved communications.

Upon the last division of the subject, the evidence of several persons has been received who were acquainted with the medical practice, and former situation of Dr. Jenner, Appendix (No. 40) which confirm the allegation contained in the petition, that he has not only reaped no advantage from his discovery, but that he has been a considerable loser by the persevering attention which he has bestowed upon this one subject, to the neglect



of his other business, without an opportunity of replacing himself in the situation which a desire of publishing and diffusing more extensively, and establishing beyond the reach of controversy the practice itself, induced him to quit. What his gains might probably have been, if he had been solicitous to keep the secret within his own practice, and that of his own immediate pupils, as far as medical men in great practice themselves can form a conjectural opinion, may be collected from the testimonies expressed in the Appendix (Nos. 35 to 43) in which no more than justice is done to the liberality and public spirit of the petitioner, in considering the propagation and extension of this important discovery, and in rendering it rather of universal utility to the human race, than of emolument to himself.

Dr. Edward Jenner begged leave to submit to the Committee, vouchers from correspondents in various parts of the globe, referring to at least one hundred thousand cases. Of these testimonials your Committee have selected the most important, and annexed them in the Appendix to this report.

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*Appendix to the Report from the Committee.*

*[The Evidence delivered by each person is numbered for the sake of reference: but we give them in the order they are referred to in the Report, not in the order of the Appendix.]*

Dr. Blane, F.R.S. and one of the Commissioners of sick and wounded seamen, first heard of

this discovery about ten years ago, but could not give credit to what seemed so extraordinary and romantic, but still he did not desist from making inquiries, as some of his children have suffered much from the small-pox. His inquiries led him to see how it was practised in the Inoculation Hospital, from whence he came away so much prejudiced against it, that he immediately inoculated one of his children with the small-pox. Soon after he found the opinions he had taken up, to arise from the vaccine having mixed itself with the variolous infection in this hospital; and his further enquiries ended in a perfect conviction of the merits of vaccine-inoculation, inasmuch that he inoculated another of his children with it, who went through the disease perfectly well, and has since resisted the variolous infection, which was attempted to be communicated seventeen months after the other. He attributes the discovery solely to Dr. Jenner. In his official situation he recommended to the Admiralty to have it tried on board the fleet, which was done, and in the Kent man of war all those who had received the vaccine-inoculation, were afterwards inoculated with variolous matter, but without effect; that the reports of all the navy surgeons were favourable to its operations; remarking, that the men, during the disorder, were not incapacitated from their usual duties; and so highly did they prize this discovery, that a meeting was held at Plymouth, where a gold medal was subscribed for by them, and presented to Dr. Jenner as its author. He laid before the Committee testimonials from Egypt, signed



signed by Lord Keith and General Hutchinson, in its favour; his own opinion of its advantages he draws from the comparison with the mortality occasioned by the small-pox, which, by computation, amounts to nearly one-tenth of the whole mortality in this country (95 out of every 1000 deaths reported in the bills); and that since the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox, the mortality occasioned by that disease has increased; that the number who die of the small-pox annually within the bills of mortality is about 2000, and in the united kingdoms it may be computed at 45,000; therefore if the vaccine was universally substituted, he thinks the small-pox must in a short time be extinct; he has heard of objections and prejudices against this method, but upon inquiry he has found them grounded on fallacy and misrepresentations; an instance of which occurred in the tenth regiment of dragoons, where he found the lancets used to have been confounded with others armed with variolous matter, which probably occasioned the report of small-pox infection having succeeded the inoculation with vaccine-matter. He gave two or three other instances equally injurious to the practice of vaccine-inoculation, which were evidently founded upon misapprehension. He believes most of these cases to have arisen from the using of matter taken at too late a period of the pustule, which may equally happen in inoculating for the small-pox with virus taken at an improper period of maturation. (No. 4.)

Dr. Bradley, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, Phy-

sician to the Westminster Hospital, and one of the conductors of the medical and physical journal, is in correspondence with the faculty on the Continent as well as in England; has received accounts of the progress of vaccine-inoculation from New York and Philadelphia; from Paris, Malta, Italy, and Germany; from all which parts its excellence is confirmed, and it is now likewise introduced into Turkey. He laid before the Committee all the publications and papers he had received on that head. He looks upon Dr. Jenner as the author of the vaccine-inoculation, and believes no medical man in the world doubts it; and in his extensive correspondence he has never heard any other person lay claim to it; he believes vaccine-inoculation will prevent the small-pox to the extent of human life; for the natural cow-pox has already been proved to do so; and there have been decisive experiments made to prove that vaccine-inoculation will mitigate the small-pox, when caught in the natural way. The spurious sort of cow-pox can be readily distinguished from the real, by an examination of the plates given as illustrations of the practice by Dr. Jenner; he thinks that if Dr. Jenner had settled in London, and kept the practice a secret, he might have made £.10,000 per annum for the first five years, and double that sum afterwards; for notwithstanding the assiduous labour of Dr. Jenner and others to instruct practitioners, important errors are daily committed in it, both at home and in foreign parts. He believes that not less than two millions of persons have been inoculated



culated with vaccine-matter in the world, and he has never known one instance of a patient dying in consequence of this mode of inoculation; and he has only *heard* of four cases which were said to have failed, to the explanation of which Dr. Woodville, Mr. Cline, and Mr. Ring can speak. He believes the computation of deaths occasioned by inoculated small-pox, to be one in three hundred, in England; and not less than one in one hundred and fifty, throughout the rest of Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. (No. 35.)

Dr. Woodville, Licentiate of the royal College of Physicians, and physician to the small-pox hospital, considers Dr. Jenner as the original discoverer of vaccine-inoculation. He has introduced it in one of the hospitals under his care, in consequence of the communications of Dr. Jenner. He gives the preference to the vaccine over the small-pox inoculation, because he finds it equally certain in securing the patient from the small-pox; because it is without danger or risk of life, and not, like the small-pox, contagious. One patient in the hospital was said to have died of the vaccine-inoculation, but in his opinion it was not so, as he had previously caught the small-pox in the natural way, to which his death ought to be attributed; the case of failure which Dr. Bradley mentioned, was a child who had been inoculated with the cow-pox, but who died in consequence of a bowel complaint, attended with a diarrhoea to so violent a degree, that he attributed its death to that disorder, and not to any thing belonging to vaccine-inoculation. He has ino-

culated 7500 patients up to last January with the vaccine-disease, about half of which number have been since inoculated with small-pox matter, in none of whom did the small-pox produce any effect. The mortality occasioned by the small-pox will be found in the calculation delivered in; which agrees with Dr. Blane's. (No. 3.)

Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart. Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, stated, that he never heard of vaccine-inoculation previous to its introduction by Dr. Jenner. Two of his own grand-children were inoculated at the same time; one with the small-pox in the usual manner, who had it at first in a favourable manner, but latterly attended with considerable eruptions and convulsion fits; the other child was inoculated with the cow-pox, which he underwent in the mildest manner possible, and on the 12th day from the inoculation was brought home to his brother, and lived with him during the progress of the small-pox, without the smallest symptoms of catching it. He considers vaccine-inoculation as the greatest discovery which has been made for many years; thinks Dr. Jenner has suffered in his fortune materially by making this discovery public; that on its first being communicated to him by Mr. Cline, he said, that if Dr. Jenner was confident of its success, and would reside in London, he would insure him £.10,000 per annum; but that if he suffered the secret to be divulged, every practitioner would get hold of it, and Dr. Jenner lose all chance of emolument. This has actually happened, and he



he has therefore lost the opportunity of making his fortune.—He is of opinion that vaccine-inoculation is a permanent security against variolous infection, and it never has proved fatal. The general computation of the mortality of the small-pox, when performed in the best manner, is about one in three hundred. (No. 36.)

Mr. John Ring, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, considers Dr. Jenner as the author of vaccine-inoculation, and the discovery itself as being beyond all comparison the most valuable and important ever made by man; he believes it to be a perfect and permanent security against the small-pox; he has inoculated upwards of 1,200 persons with vaccine-matter, and has reason to believe that at least 1000 of them have been either voluntarily or involuntarily exposed to variolous infection, which they all resisted. The vaccine-inoculation is attended with no danger unless from ignorance or neglect. If Dr. Jenner had kept this discovery to himself, his practice might have been worth £.10,000 per annum, it being well known that certain individuals have acquired as much or more by the ordinary practice of physic; all humours and disorders which happen after any species of inoculation, are commonly attributed to that inoculation by persons prejudiced against it, and others are sometimes influenced by their opinions; but he knows of no instance where the cow-pox has occasioned any other complaint, than what may be caused by any other disease which is equally mild; he is of opinion that every disease is capable of exciting other dis-

eases or humours, in proportion to its magnitude; the magnitude of the cow-pox depends much upon the treatment. He never practised the small-pox inoculation in any particular manner, nor ever kept any account of the number he inoculated, but supposes it might amount to about 600; he thinks that about one in every hundred in London, on an average, inoculated with small-pox, die; the reason of a greater mortality prevailing amongst persons inoculated for the small-pox in London, is the unwholesomeness of the atmosphere, and the frequent necessity of inoculating children at an improper age; he has never known any accident happen from inoculating from a spurious sort of cow-pox; in respect of the periods of coming out and turning, the inoculation of the cow-pox is subject to the same laws, and liable to the same variations, with the inoculation of the small-pox; it is not more difficult to determine whether a patient has had the regular cow, than whether the patient has had the regular small-pox, provided care is taken not to interrupt the regular progress of the vaccine-pustule by friction; he has known local inflammation produced both from inoculation with vaccine, and inoculation with variolous matter, without being followed by any pustule; in this respect, therefore, the two inoculations are similar, and he knows of no advantage either in this or any other respect which the inoculation of the small-pox has over that of the cow-pox. (No. 38.)

Dr. James Sims, Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and President of the Medical Society of



of London, stated, that he was originally adverse to vaccine-inoculation, but his confidence has been increasing in it every hour, from the repeated trials and authorities cited of its efficacy. He never heard of it before Dr. Jenner's publication, to whom alone he attributes the discovery, which he looks upon to be the most useful ever made in medicine; he thinks that if Dr. Jenner had kept it a secret, as he might have done, he might, during his life (if protracted to a moderate length) have become the richest man in these kingdoms. The vaccine-disease does not introduce any other disorder into the human frame. The computation made of deaths occasioned by the natural small-pox, by Dr. Jurin and others, is one in six.

Dr. Sims laid before the Committee a testimony, unanimously resolved upon by the Medical Society of London, (which consists of above 150 members, resident in the metropolis, and of more than double that number residing elsewhere) in favour of this very important discovery, signed by himself as President. (No. 37.)

Mr. John Addington, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, is acquainted with vaccine-inoculation, and has practised it since the spring of the year 1799 with uniform success, and has kept an exact register of cases to the number of eighty-one, with all their particulars. He has inoculated with variolous matter, and exposed to the infection of natural small-pox in its most violent forms, and in every stage, by every method he could devise, about one-third of his patients, and in no case was the infection of small-pox com-

municated. He further stated, that he had been particularly careful in the choice of the matter employed in vaccine-inoculation, and had not found in his own practice any case of spurious cow-pox, but had seen many cases of spurious small-pox; and therefore considered that the objections which are thought to arise against the vaccine-inoculation from this source, apply equally against the inoculation of small-pox. (No. 21.)

Dr. Lettsom, F.R.S. Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician Extraordinary to the City of London Lying-in Hospital, stated, that he looked upon Dr. Jenner to be the discoverer of vaccine-inoculation. He thought that inoculation of the small-pox had increased the number of deaths. About the year 1773, he paid particular attention to this subject, which afforded some observations applicable to the present inquiry, and decisive upon a large scale of calculation, which a table by figures more clearly evinced. The experience of forty-two years preceding the introduction of inoculation into this country, was already placed in a clear point of view in the philosophical transactions, by Dr. James Jurin, who was a sanguine advocate for inoculation, and whose testimony was therefore unexceptionable. His numbers were taken from the yearly bills of mortality, and the reason why the fourteen years from 1686 to 1701 were omitted, was, because in the bills of those years the accounts of the small-pox and measles were not distinguished, as in the preceding and following years, but were joined together in one article, so that from them no certain account could



could be drawn of the number of persons that died of the small-pox. It appeared by these tables, that out of 1,005,279 burials within the last forty-two years, 1742 persons more have died of the small-pox than the proportionate number, as collected from the experience of the first forty-two years; seventeen more burials therefore in one thousand had been occasioned by the small-pox, since inoculation had been adopted. He believes that the inoculation of the cow-pox secures the person inoculated from the small-pox, as much as the method of inoculation for the small-pox, with this difference, that the cow-pox is not infectious. Vaccine-inoculation has diminished the fatality occasioned by the natural small-pox, by lessening the number susceptible of taking it. Taking London and the out-parishes as containing nearly 1,000,000 of people, he calculates, that 3000 probably died yearly by the small-pox, or eight every day; or allowing Great Britain and Ireland to contain 12,000,000 of people, no less than 36,000 annually. About eight persons die by the small-pox every day in the metropolis and its environs, or about fifty-six in each week; although, from some defects in the bills of mortality, the amount does not appear to have exceeded forty-five. But if he calculated the last three weeks in March last, which amounted to thirty-five deaths, and compared them with three weeks in March for ten years preceding, which amounted to 697, it would result that the present month was thirty-five less than the average of ten preceding years, that is, from 1790 to 1800. He thought that

the genuine cow-pox was never fatal; he had reason to conclude that about 60,000 persons had been inoculated with cow-pox. He had heard cursorily of four deaths; but upon minute inquiry, he was convinced that three of them had no connection with the cow-pox; of the fourth, he had received no accurate information. But supposing the cow-pox, during its progress, to occupy fourteen days, it appeared by the deaths in London, that on a common average, in every 60,000 healthy subjects, seven died in fourteen days, without the infliction of any disease; but what was in the common course of events; that knowing the fatality of small-pox, and risk occasioned by inoculation, he was early inquisitive upon this important subject, both from its consequence to mankind in general; and from his acquaintance with some particular families, who had suffered both from the natural small-pox and inoculation; and from those who had adopted the practice, no one unfavourable event has resulted. Hence he acquired the most favourable opinion of the practice, which his subsequent experience has not altered: that he had not known any inconveniences to follow the spurious sort of cow-pox. He further stated, that if Dr. Jenner had kept this practice a secret to himself, he might have derived immense pecuniary profits; and that considering the apparent incredibility of the practice to common observation, and the secrecy with which the Suttonians long monopolized the inoculation of small-pox, that Dr. Jenner might have exclusively kept the practice to himself for a long period.



riod. Upon being asked, whether he had ever known a patient who had been inoculated for the small-pox, undergo that disease a second time? he replied, that he had two relations inoculated under the Suttonian method, both of whom afterwards took the small-pox in a natural way, one of whom died; and less than twelve months ago, he had attended two children in different families, the parents of which assured him that they had been inoculated for the small-pox a year or two before his attendance, when both were attacked severely with the natural small-pox. He added, that the mode of small-pox inoculation practised by the Suttons and Baron Dimisdale, was the same as now adopted; but by some vague pretensions of the former, the public opinion ran very generally in their favour, till Baron Dimisdale published his account of the Suttonian method. (No. 14.)

Mr. Cline, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, stated, That in July, 1798, he received some vaccine matter from Dr. Jenner, with which he inoculated a boy who had not had the small-pox; when he had gone through the stages of vaccine-inoculation, he tried to infect him with the small-pox, by inoculation, but in vain; this circumstance, together with the communications he received from Dr. Jenner, produced the strongest conviction in his mind of the great utility of this practice; and he therefore recommended it strongly to all his friends, amongst whom was Sir Walter Farquhar, and he perfectly recollects the conversation

relative to the emolument Dr. Jenner might derive from the practice of vaccine inoculation; but Dr. Jenner at that time declined settling in London. Mr. Cline looks upon it as the greatest discovery ever made in the practice of physic, for the preservation of the human race, as the small-pox had been the most destructive of all diseases.

Mr. Cline was consulted upon the case of a child of Mr. Austin, at Clapton, with whom it was said the cow-pox inoculation had failed; but from particular enquiries of the parents and nurse, he was perfectly convinced the child had never received the vaccine-disease; and this evidence Mr. Taylor, the Surgeon, who inoculated it, confirmed. He thinks that experience has sufficiently demonstrated that persons inoculated with the cow-pox, are incapable of receiving the small-pox; and he believes that in the instances where the small-pox has been caught, and the patient has, before the coming out of the disease, been inoculated with the cow-pox, it mitigates the virulence of the small-pox. The vaccine-disease is not contagious, nor does it create any blemish on the human frame; nor does it excite scrofula, or any other disease, which is sometimes the case with the inoculated small-pox.

In November, 1800, he performed the operation for the stone on William Rench, a child in Isaac's Ward of St. Thomas's Hospital. In a few days after, hearing that this boy was in great danger of catching the small-pox, he directed that he should be inoculated with the cow-pock matter, which



which took effect, and proceeded in the usual manner: but in thirteen days after this inoculation, a few eruptions appeared that seemed to be variolous.

Admitting these eruptions were the true small-pox, the time of their appearance shows the infection had been received before the child was inoculated with cow-pock matter; for the natural small-pock frequently does not appear until sixteen or eighteen days after the patient has been exposed to infection.

A second case was in November 1801, the child of Mary Solloway, in Mary's Ward of the same Hospital: this child was known to have been exposed to the infection of the small-pox, and therefore the mother permitted it to be inoculated with cow-pock matter; but in four days after, the small-pox appeared, and the disease, was very severe; however, the child recovered.

A third case was a patient of Dr. Lister's, whose mother had the small-pox.—In six days after the complaint had appeared in the mother, the child was inoculated with cow-pock matter, and the complaint from this inoculation proceeded as usual; but in about fifteen days a few eruptions appeared that were of a doubtful nature.

From the most minute inquiry, these are all the cases which have occurred in St. Thomas's Hospital, where variolous eruptions have succeeded the vaccine-inoculation, and in each of which there can be no doubt that the patients were exposed to the infection of small-pox previous to their being inoculated. (No. 33.)

Mr. David Taylor, Surgeon of Wooton under-Edge, Gloucestershire, spoke to cases which had been brought before the Committee, as disproving the efficacy of cow-pox in preventing small-pox; the one a child of Mr. Austin, of Clapton, the other of a woman at Old Sudbury. With regard to the first, he had inoculated the child with vaccine-matter himself, but did not see the progress of the disorder, nor was the child attended by any medical person; but from the account given by those who were with the child, he was apprehensive at the time that the vaccine-disease had not taken effect, and strongly recommended that she should be inoculated for small-pox, which she afterwards caught in the natural way. He stated, that a full and minute investigation of the second case had been made by five or six persons, who were unanimous in their opinion that the woman at Old Sudbury had never had the cow-pox. His own practice in vaccine inoculation has been considerable, and he has inoculated about 2000 persons without a single failure; nor has he met with any ulcerations, humours, or diseases following it, supposed to be excited by it. He has inoculated a large proportion of his patients with variolous matter afterwards, without any disease being produced. He further stated, that he was acquainted with the extent of Dr. Jenner's medical practice before he left Gloucestershire, where he was situated in a very populous neighbourhood, without any practising physician within 16 miles; well supported, and of course in the most considerable practice; and he thought



thought that in consequence of his quitting his situation in the country, and coming to town, he had lessened his income most considerably, as two physicians had succeeded to the situation which Dr. Jenner had left, both of whom are in considerable practice; and of course Dr. Jenner's former situation cannot be re-attainable. (No. 40.)

Mr. Jordan, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, two or three years ago inoculated between one and two hundred with vaccine-matter; some matter was received by him from the Apothecary of the Inoculation Hospital (over which Dr. Woodville presides) for vaccine, which proved to be variolous; the patients, not being prepared for it, were very ill, but recovered; he has avoided these mistakes since, by taking the matter himself from the patient; and has learnt by Dr. Jenner's publication how to distinguish and select the proper time for taking it, since which no mistake of the kind above mentioned has occurred. He is of opinion that errors of that kind brought vaccine-inoculation for a time into disrepute. (No. 25.)

Mr. Gardner has known Dr. Jenner more than twenty-two years, and been in the constant practice of hearing his medical opinions and discoveries. It was in the month of May, 1780, that Dr. Jenner first informed him of the particular nature of the cow-pox as a sure preventive from small-pox, and the theory he had framed on the subject; declaring his full and perfect confidence that it might be continued in perpetuity of inoculation from one human being to another, in the same way with the

small-pox, and in time supersede that disease. (No. 26.)

Dr. Thornton, Physician to the Mary-le-Bonne Dispensary, stated the case of two children belonging to Lord Somerville's coachman, whom he inoculated three years ago, with what he supposed to be true cow pox matter; the matter from which the inoculation was performed at that early period of vaccine-inoculation, was taken indiscriminately; as long as there appeared a pustule from whence matter could be procured, he being unacquainted at that time, that the cow-pox inoculation ceased to produce the disease after a certain period, which was known to Dr. Jenner, and published by him, and forms one of the important discoveries respecting the new practice; he was some time afterwards informed that these two children had the small-pox, and upon examining their arms, there were found no scars, which is a criterion that these children had not had the true cow-pox, and he was confirmed in this belief by the mother of the children declaring that the pustules had advanced more rapidly than in the true cow-pox; this case appears to him important, as exhibiting a proof that all other cases adduced against the general principle of security from vaccine-inoculation, must arise from want of acquaintance of the inoculator with the period when to take the matter; which difficulty he deems to be now completely done away, by Dr. Jenner having elucidated a subject before involved in much obscurity. He further states, that matter taken from a pustule, which was a week old, never failed to produce the true cow-pox; but in the afore-



mentioned instances of the two children, he has great reason to believe it was taken the fourteenth day, or later: he states another source of spurious cases in the lancet being corroded with the cow-pox matter, on which it is placed; he inoculated a week before some patients from the same matter with which he inoculated the aforementioned children, who went through the disease in a regular way; one patient in particular has been, during these last three years, inoculated with small-pox matter at least twelve different times; he has even slept with a person who died of the natural small-pox, and has been otherways exposed, but could not take the infection: he says, when he was in the north, at Lord Lonsdale's, he inoculated upwards of one thousand persons, and completely satisfied himself, and all the medical practitioners in that part of England, that the cow-pox was a mild disease, hardly deserving that appellation; not contagious, never disfiguring the person, never producing blindness, never fatal, nor exciting other diseases; equally safe, whether during the period of pregnancy, or the earliest infancy, or extreme old age. (No. 20.)

Earl Berkeley stated, That his youngest son was inoculated with the cow-pox, by Dr. Jenner, at six months old, and went regularly through its course; about a year after a maid-servant in the family caught the small-pox in the natural way, and was attended by Mr. Robert Pope, surgeon, from Staines, who pronounced the girl to be in a very dangerous situation; having in the house at that time three persons who had been inoculated

with the cow-pox, the child above-mentioned, a maid-servant, and a little girl, and being desirous of proving the efficacy of vaccine inoculation, he sent for Dr. Jenner and permitted him to inoculate the child and one of the girls with variolous matter, taken from the maid-servant; the small-pox took no manner of effect on either of them (the girl had been inoculated with vaccine matter four years before) the other girl that was not inoculated attended on the maid-servant the whole time until her death, and resisted the infection.—The effluvia in that part of the house was so offensive, that all the servants were obliged to be removed to another part of the house. Lord Berkeley further stated, That there is an old servant now in his family, seventy-two years of age, who had the cow-pox, from milking cows, when a boy of fifteen, who has never been in the least cautious in guarding against the small-pox, but has exposed himself repeatedly, without being sensible of its effects; and Lord Berkeley once saw him, himself, sitting next a boy who had the small-pox visibly out upon him. (No. 6.)

Robert Pope, surgeon, at Staines, attended the maid-servant from whom Earl Berkeley's son and the girl were inoculated with variolous matter; he deposed to the virulence of the disease, and to her death in consequence. His opinion was not favourable to vaccine-inoculation on the first publication of it; but he is since pretty well convinced, that if properly conducted, it is a preventive of small-pox, and he has practised it himself with success. (No. 7.)

The



The Rev. G. C. Jenner is conversant in the practice of the vaccine-inoculation, and has inoculated three thousand persons, without meeting with one unfavourable case, although he has inoculated persons from the earliest infancy to eighty years of age, and under those circumstances in which it would not be prudent or indeed safe to inoculate with variolous virus, such as children at the time of dentition, and women in every stage of pregnancy, from the first month to the last week. Upwards of two hundred of his patients have since been inoculated with active small-pox matter, and at least an equal number exposed to contagious effluvia, but in no one instance was the small-pox produced. On the arms of some of those inoculated with small-pox, a slight local inflammation shewed itself, which disappeared in four or five days; some of these persons were put to the test of the small-pox, after a period of a year. The perfect pustule is always to be distinguished from the imperfect or spurious, by those who have paid a proper attention to the practice of vaccine-inoculation. He believes that vaccine-inoculation will frequently supersede the infection of the small-pox, when the patient has been exposed to a variolated atmosphere previous to the inoculation, in confirmation of which he related a case under his own immediate observation. A boy, infected with the natural small-pox, came home to his father's cottage; four days after the eruption had appeared upon this boy, the family (none of whom had ever had the small-pox) consisting of the father, mother, and five

children, were inoculated with vaccine virus; on the arm of the mother it failed to produce the least effect, and she had the small-pox; but the six others had the cow-pox in the usual mild way, and were not affected with the small-pox, although they were in the same room, and the children slept in the same bed with their brother, who was confined to it with the natural small-pox, and subsequently they slept with their mother. He is of opinion, that if the practice of vaccine-inoculation is universally adopted, it will in a short time annihilate the small-pox. He has known many instances of the infection not taking in the early part of his practice, owing to his using vaccine-virus taken at too advanced a stage of the disease; but since he has made it a rule never to inoculate with matter after the eighth or ninth day of the disease, he has seldom met with a failure; he inoculated two hundred and thirty-eight individuals on the same day, with recent fluid-virus, taken on the eighth day of the disease, and every one of them had the cow-pox in the most perfect manner. The progress of the cow-pox is in general uniform; he has seen a few exceptions, one or two cases have occurred when the progress of the disease has been retarded for at least a fortnight before there were any visible appearances of the inoculation having succeeded; the course of the spurious disorder is universally quicker than the perfect, so as to form a certain criterion between the sorts in every case which has come under his observation; when the pustule assumes the genuine character, the patient may

be



be considered as safe from any future attack of the small-pox, although there has been no apparent constitutional indisposition. (No. 8.)

Dr. Joseph Marshall, Physician Extraordinary to the king of Naples, first began to inoculate in the summer of 1799, in Gloucestershire, having received instructions on this subject from Dr. Jenner. In July, 1800, recommended by Dr. John Walker, who assisted him in some of these inoculations, he commenced this practice on board his Majesty's ship the *Endymion*, eleven of whose crew were inoculated, and went through the vaccine disease without any remission of their ordinary duty, or any deprivation of their usual allowance of wine or provisions. He also inoculated such soldiers in the garrison of Gibraltar, as had not had the small-pox; the plague, at this time, prevented the garrison from receiving the usual supplies of fresh provisions from Barbary; and Spain was shut against them by the war; their food in consequence was principally salt provisions sent from England, and they generally indulged in drinking new wine; this diet, added to the excesses which soldiers usually commit, put the cow-pox to a severe trial, especially when it is further considered that they, whilst under inoculation, performed their ordinary regimental duties; and so far was the cow-pox from preventing their doing this, that not a single case occurred where any application was requisite to the inoculated part, though the heat of the atmosphere was frequently upwards of ninety degrees; in corroboration of which the surgeon-

major's certificate was produced. At Minorca the same success attended the inoculation, where it was also generally introduced amongst the inhabitants; and their medical men were instructed in the practice; such seamen also on board of the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Lord Keith, as had not had the small-pox, were inoculated with the cow-pox. At Malta, its practice was also generally introduced both among the troops and inhabitants; and an hospital, called the Jennerian Institution, was established by the governor, for the inoculation of the poor. In this island the ravages of the small-pox had always been dreadful; and some of the men of war then in the harbour, had the small-pox on board, and had buried several men; this apprehension was also entertained by the Admiral and General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who each issued general orders for the inoculation of such seamen and soldiers, under their respective commands, as had not had the small-pox. A certificate, confirming the above facts, was delivered in, signed by Sir Alexander Ball, governor of Malta. In Sicily, the small-pox had been, if possible, still more fatal than in Malta; for the computation of deaths, occasioned by it in the year preceding his arrival, exceeded eight thousand in the city of Palermo alone: the introduction of the cow-pox was therefore received with enthusiasm, and an hospital, similar to that at Malta, was immediately established by his Sicilian Majesty; and although the small-pox, soon after his arrival in the city, again appeared, it was immediately stopped by vaccine-inocula-



inoculation, which was also extended through the whole island. The benefits received at Palermo from the cow-pox excited a great wish for its practice in Naples, where the small-pox has always been considered as very fatal. An hospital was also there established by his majesty, and the practice of vaccine-inoculation was speedily adopted throughout the whole kingdom; his Majesty having commanded that children to be inoculated, attended by surgeons to be instructed in the practice, should be sent from each province to the hospital at Naples, to carry both the knowledge of the disease, and the practice of it into their respective provinces. On his leaving Naples, the witnesses received very honourable testimonials from His Sicilian Majesty, which were produced. He also extended this practice to other parts of Europe, to Rome, Leghorn, and Genoa, and in every instance, where tried, he found it resist the infection of small-pox. He never heard that any such mode of inoculation had been practised or known in those countries before; and as an example of the disbelief entertained by the medical men of Naples, he related a trial which they instituted soon after his arrival there, and without his knowledge, at the Foundling Hospital; where they first inoculated with the cow-pox a considerable number of children; and after they had passed through the disease, exposed them to all possible modes of infection of the small-pox, both by inoculation, and by making them sleep in the bed with people infected with the small-pox. This trial, which had excited the attention of the whole

city, completely established the reputation of the cow-pox; and they appointed a deputation to him, publicly to express their conviction of its efficacy. He believes the number inoculated under his direction was upwards of ten thousand; many of them were subjected to every possible means of variolous infection, which all of them resisted. He never did observe the vaccine-inoculation to introduce or excite any other disease; on the contrary, children in a weak state of health have immediately, after passing through the vaccine-inoculation, begun to thrive and became vigorous. He is of opinion, that the spurious or imperfect sort is easily distinguishable from the perfect disease, and that persons who have once seen the true cow-pox pustule can never be mistaken. (No. 9.)

Mr. John Griffiths, surgeon to the Queen's Household, and to St. George's Hospital, has inoculated upwards of fifteen hundred persons with vaccine-matter, not one of whom has had any untoward symptom; among them three of his own children, at various periods, within three years. (No. 10.)

Dr. Skey, Physician to the Worcester Infirmary, stated, that in the spring of last year, the small pox being generally and fatally epidemic in the city of Worcester, he seized the opportunity of inoculating a number of children with the cow pox; that in the district where he inoculated the greatest number, the small pox contagion ceased to exert its influence, and the number of victims gradually diminished; that in every case which he witnessed, the inoculated cow-pox was incomparably less



severe than the natural small-pox ; that none of those patients whom he inoculated with vaccine-matter, received the small-pox afterwards, although they were constantly exposed to the small-pox contagion, and although cases of the two diseases not unfrequently occurred under the same roof, and at the same time ; that he had never yet known a case in which any considerable degree of hazard was incurred by the vaccine-disease, and that he had not met with a single instance in which, after a second or third inoculation, he did not succeed in producing the vaccine-disease. (No. 14.)

Dr. Croft has paid particular attention to vaccine-inoculation ever since its first introduction ; from that time his own children have been inoculated with it, and he has uniformly recommended it to his patients ; he has even recommended infants to be inoculated at the end of the month, but he never dared to recommend the inoculation of the small-pox earlier than at two years of age, except under very particular circumstances. Upon being desired to relate what he knew concerning the inoculation of a child of sir George Dallas, he stated, that he recollected a child of sir George Dallas's being inoculated with the vaccine-disease by Dr. Jenner ; he believed, in five days from the time it was inoculated, it broke out with the small-pox ; it went through the disease rather favourably ; he was not called in to the child till about the third or fourth day of the eruption of the small-pox, when the arm inoculated appeared in the state one should naturally expect to find it from the fifth to the seventh

day. He imagined that the inoculation of this child with the vaccine-matter might have some effect in abating the violence of the natural small-pox, the eruption not being equal to what might have been expected from the violence of the first attack of small-pox fever. Sir George Dallas has since had an infant of one month old inoculated with the vaccine-disease. He had seen children, whose arms had been considerably inflamed from being inoculated with matter taken from under the vaccine-scab as late as the fourteenth day, but does not know why this should be called a spurious sort of cow-pox, as they had none of the characters of vaccine-disease. He is of opinion, that if the vaccine-inoculation were generally introduced, it would be productive of greater blessings on mankind than any discovery that was ever made in medicine, and it would ultimately cause the small-pox only to be remembered by name. (No. 15.)

Mr. James Simpson, surgeon to the Surry Dispensary, and to the Magdalen Hospital, has practised vaccine-inoculation, and has inoculated between fifty and sixty patients, and in no one instance had any symptoms occurred injurious to the part inoculated, or constitution of the patients ; and he believes them to be completely secure from the small-pox. In one particular instance, the patient, a child of nine months, was covered with a crust commonly called the *crusta lactea*, which generally covers the body from head to foot, and had resisted the usual remedies for that disease : but on the tenth day after the infection it began to disappear.



appear, and on the twelfth day was wholly gone, during which time not a particle of medicine was given to it; and it continued in perfect health ever since. (No. 16.)

Many other persons of the first respectability, gave evidence to the same effect as these we have selected; and Dr. Jenner assured the Committee, that he was prepared to produce any number they

might choose to examine. They informed him, that he had established the allegations contained in his petition to their entire satisfaction. And it does not appear that any member of the house, when the report was taken into consideration, entertained the smallest doubt of the Petitioner's claim on the munificence of his country.



*Abstract of the Enumeration of England and Wales, taken in 1801, in Conformity to an Act of Parliament, and copied from the Report.*

<i>Counties of England and Wales.</i>	<i>Inhabited Houses.</i>	<i>By how many Families occupied.</i>	<i>Uninhabited Houses.</i>	<i>Males.</i>	<i>Females.</i>	<i>Total of Persons.</i>
Bedford -	11,882	13,980	185	30,523	32,870	63,393
Berks -	20,573	23,416	622	52,821	56,394	109,215
Buckingham -	20,443	23,834	543	52,094	55,350	107,441
Cambridge -	16,139	19,262	312	44,081	45,265	89,346
Chester -	34,482	37,613	1,139	92,759	98,992	191,751
Cornwall -	32,906	39,040	1,472	89,808	98,401	188,269
Cumberland -	21,573	25,893	872	54,377	62,353	117,230
Derby -	31,822	33,660	1,369	79,401	81,741	161,142
Devon -	57,955	72,559	3,235	157,240	185,761	343,001
Dorset -	21,437	24,142	825	53,667	61,652	115,319
Durham -	27,195	38,109	1,171	74,770	85,501	160,361
Essex -	38,371	46,784	1,027	111,356	115,081	226,407
Gloucester -	46,457	55,133	1,715	117,180	133,629	250,809
Hereford -	17,003	18,822	941	43,955	45,236	89,191
Hertford -	17,681	20,092	491	48,063	49,514	97,577
Huntingdon -	6,841	8,150	135	18,521	19,047	37,568
Kent -	51,585	65,967	1,413	131,374	156,250	307,624
Lancaster -	114,270	132,147	3,394	332,356	350,375	672,731
Leicester -	25,992	27,967	742	63,943	66,138	130,081
Lincoln -	41,395	42,629	1,094	162,445	106,112	208,551
Middlesex -	112,912	199,854	5,171	373,655	444,474	818,129
Monmouth -	8,948	9,903	417	22,173	23,409	45,582
Norfolk -	47,617	57,930	1,523	129,842	143,529	273,371
Northampton -	26,665	29,361	736	63,417	68,340	131,757
Northumberland -	26,518	35,503	1,534	73,357	83,744	157,101
Nottingham -	25,611	30,081	542	68,558	71,792	140,350
Oxford -	20,599	23,750	594	53,786	55,834	109,620
Rutland -	3,274	3,563	87	7,978	8,378	16,350
Salop -	31,182	34,501	929	82,563	85,076	167,639
Somerset -	48,040	57,013	2,136	126,927	146,823	273,250
Southampton -	38,345	45,331	912	105,667	113,989	219,656
Stafford -	45,198	48,185	1,995	118,698	120,455	289,153
Suffolk -	32,253	43,481	552	101,091	109,340	210,431
Surrey -	46,072	63,673	1,514	127,138	141,905	269,043
Sussex -	25,272	30,755	721	78,797	80,514	159,310
Warwick -	40,847	44,028	2,936	99,942	108,248	208,190
Westmoreland -	7,897	9,026	315	20,175	21,442	41,617
Wilts -	29,462	30,527	1,127	87,380	97,727	185,107
Worcester -	26,711	29,741	1,109	67,630	71,702	139,333
York East Riding	25,781	31,544	681	67,457	71,976	139,433
North Riding	31,512	34,542	1,014	74,904	80,602	155,506
West Riding	111,146	117,379	4,723	276,005	287,948	563,953
	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434
Anglesey -	6,679	7,058	127	15,775	18,031	33,806
Brecon -	6,315	6,800	479	15,393	16,244	31,631
Cardigan -	8,819	9,435	221	20,403	22,548	42,956
Carmarthen -	13,449	14,876	371	31,439	35,878	67,317
Carnarvon -	8,304	8,796	129	19,586	21,935	41,521
Denbigh -	12,621	13,765	427	29,247	31,105	60,352
Flint -	7,585	8,216	194	19,577	20,045	39,622
Glamorgan -	14,225	16,596	537	34,190	37,335	71,525
Merioneth -	5,787	6,576	193	13,896	15,610	29,506
Montgomery -	8,725	9,750	223	22,914	25,064	47,978
Pembroke -	11,869	12,448	398	25,406	30,874	56,280
Radnor -	3,675	3,987	212	9,307	9,703	19,050
	108,052	118,302	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546



*Abstract of the Enumeration of England and Wales, taken in 1801, in Conformity to an Act of Parliament.*

SUMMARY.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
England -	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434
Wales -	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546
Army -				198,351		198,351
Navy -				126,279		126,279
Seamen in registered Vessels -				144,558		144,558
Convicts -				1,410		1,410
Grand Total	1,575,923	1,896,723	57,476	4,715,711	4,627,867	9,343,578

In England 1,524,227 persons are employed chiefly in agriculture, and 1,789,532 in trade, manufactures, and handicraft. In Wales 189,062 are employed in agriculture, and 53,822 in trade, &c.

It will be observed, that when the army and navy are added to the males, there is a total excess of the number of males over that of females of 88,844.

*List of all the CITIES and TOWNS in England and Wales, whose Population exceeds FIVE THOUSAND.*

Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
London -	121,229	216,073	5185	393,369	471,476	864,845
Manchester -	12,547	18,560	279	39,110	44,910	84,020
Liverpool -	11,446	16,989	338	34,367	43,286	77,653
Birmingham -	14,528	15,303	1875	34,716	38,954	73,670
Bristol -	10,403	14,413	493	26,943	36,702	68,645
Leeds -	11,258	11,790	341	25,504	27,658	53,162
Plymouth -	4447	10,708	89	18,016	25,178	43,194
Newcastle -	4197	8944	198	16,343	20,620	36,963
Norwich -	8016	9093	747	1,810	21,044	36,854
Bath -	4289	6510	174	12,441	19,759	32,200
Portsmouth -	5510	6937	30	14,309	17,857	32,166
Sheffield -	6518	6754	643	15,483	15,831	31,314
Hull -	4649	7449	118	13,051	16,465	29,516
Nottingham -	4977	6707	100	13,729	15,132	28,861
Exeter -	2692	3947	144	7314	10,084	17,398
Leicester -	3205	3668	85	7921	9032	16,953
York -	2407	3841	72	7018	9127	16,145
Coventry -	2930	3548	204	7672	8362	16,034
Chester -	3109	3427	85	6492	8560	15,052
Dover -	3339	3834	231	7187	7658	14,845
Yarmouth -	3081	3541	78	6463	8382	14,845
Stockport -	2572	2965	126	6983	7847	14,830
Shrewsbury -	2773	3300	88	6647	8092	14,739
Greenwich -	2067	3215	54	7323	7016	14,339
Bolton, Great -	2454	2509	56	5924	6625	12,594
Wolverhampton -	2344	3087	190	6207	6358	12,565
Oldham -	1212	1464	19	5946	6078	12,024
Sunderland -	1365	3372	14	4902	7510	12,412
Blackburn -	2339	2403	13	5558	6421	11,980
Preston -	2169	2347	62	5415	6472	11,887



*Continuation of the List of all the CITIES and TOWNS in England and Wales,  
whose Population exceeds FIVE THOUSAND.*

<i>Cities and Towns.</i>	<i>Inhabited Houses.</i>	<i>By how many Families occupied.</i>	<i>Uninhabited Houses.</i>	<i>Males.</i>	<i>Females.</i>	<i>Total of Persons.</i>
Oxford	1827	2230	82	5920	5774	11,694
Colchester	1959	2829	38	5012	6508	11,520
Worcester	2237	2627	133	4909	6443	11,352
Ipswich	2170	2738	51	4984	6293	11,277
Wigan	2177	2277	59	5068	5921	10,989
Derby	2144	2441	26	4982	5850	10,832
Huddersfield	1873	1873	101	5240	5431	10,671
Quick (Yorkshire)	1215	1873	92	5496	5169	10,665
Warrington	2258	2315	38	4780	5787	10,567
Chatham	1715	2665	14	4699	5806	10,505
Walsal	1984	2084	185	5274	5125	10,399
Carlisle	1314	2303	24	4479	5742	10,221
Dudley	1922	2170	118	4909	5198	10,107
Lynn	1965	2437	47	4540	5556	10,096
Cambridge	1691	2078	42	4964	5123	10,087
Woolwich	1341	2556	21	4476	5350	9826
Reading	1751	2135	32	4642	5100	9742
Spotland (Lancashire)	1672	1707	123	4430	4601	9031
Lancaster	1598	1998	13	3999	5031	9030
Canterbury	1741	2276	58	3805	5195	9000
Halifax	1913	1935	62	3976	4910	8886
Frome	1653	1853	56	4084	4664	8748
Macclesfield	1426	1539	101	3979	4764	8743
Whitehaven	1776	2403	47	3348	5394	8742
Wakefield	1721	1792	81	3701	4430	8131
Shields, South	1260	2225	3	3274	4834	8108
Maidstone	1330	1742	16	3835	4192	8027
Southampton	1509	1876	73	3390	4523	7913
Devizes	1552	1728	41	3624	4285	7909
Salisbury	1489	1833	45	3412	4256	7668
Bury	1360	1641	37	3399	4523	7655
Gloucester	1325	1732	43	3428	4151	7579
Wellington	1467	1576	13	3796	3735	7531
Durham	1024	1930	30	3319	4211	7530
Whitby	1596	1992	108	3271	4212	7483
Lincoln	1516	1619	58	3474	3924	7398
Brighthelmstone	1282	1380	142	3274	4065	7339
Bradford	1254	1551	34	3473	3829	7302
Shields, North	891	2024	3	2972	4308	7280
Huddersfield	1376	1456	22	3619	3649	7268
Berwick	930	1791	35	3009	4178	7187
Bury	1341	1400	43	3442	3630	7072
Northampton	1322	1652	49	3244	3776	7020
Grantham	1385	1456	72	3377	3637	7014
Bilston	1246	1268	55	3433	3481	6914
Kendall	1394	1671	30	2950	3942	6892
Hereford	1392	1715	68	3023	3805	6828
Rocheester	1136	1553	14	3071	3746	6817
Newark	1376	1487	14	3098	3632	6730
Scarborough	1615	1769	50	2730	3958	6688
Tiverton	1221	1397	101	3001	3504	6595
Sandwich	1287	1407	111	2966	3540	6506
Bradford (Yorkshire)	1317	1393	51	2987	3406	6393
Barton	1051	1150	22	3070	3127	6197
Bishop Wearmouth	844	1603	46	2706	3420	6126
Kidderminster	1251	1405	44	3020	3090	6110
Swansea	1182	1504	21	2529	3570	6099
Beverley	1300	1432	35	2734	3267	6001
Mansfield	1201	1258	44	2798	3190	5988



# APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 235

*Continuation of the List of all the CITIES and TOWNS in England and Wales, whose Population exceeds FIVE THOUSAND.*

<i>Cities and Towns.</i>	<i>Inhabited Houses.</i>	<i>By how many Families occupied.</i>	<i>Uninhabited Houses.</i>	<i>Males.</i>	<i>Females.</i>	<i>Total of Persons.</i>
Boston - -	1221	1334	31	2698	3228	5926
Winchester - -	791	902	19	2767	3059	5826
Trowbridge - -	1018	1073	67	2552	3247	5799
Hunflet - -	1205	1258	64	2828	2971	5799
Taunton - -	1146	1308	48	2450	3344	5794
Warwick - -	1055	1142	29	2709	3066	5775
Croydon - -	1020	1115	54	2761	2982	5743
Workington - -	1160	1375	21	2453	3263	5716
Doncaster - -	1186	1261	60	2477	3220	5697
Holywell - -	1093	1189	53	2566	3001	5567
Ellefmere - -	1009	1117	26	2733	2820	5553
Carmarthen - -	930	1737	15	2338	3210	5548
Stroud - -	1033	1355	15	2602	2820	5422
Deal - -	906	1107	11	2484	2036	5420
Shepton Mallet - -	1105	1191	49	2310	2794	5104
Hinckley - -	919	966	11	2597	2473	5070

*A List of the COUNTY TOWNS in England and Wales, whose Population is less than Five Thousand.*

<i>County Towns.</i>	<i>Inhabited Houses.</i>	<i>By how many Families occupied.</i>	<i>Uninhabited Houses.</i>	<i>Males.</i>	<i>Females.</i>	<i>Total of Persons.</i>
Chichester - -	821	1017	10	2091	2653	4744
Bedford - -	783	975	17	1712	2236	3948
Stafford - -	710	802	13	1921	1977	3898
Launceston - -	465	947	3	1466	2218	3684
Hertford - -	529	666	13	1762	1598	3360
Monmouth - -	638	743	39	1512	1833	3345
Dolgelly (Merioneth)	630	730	28	1326	1623	2949
Haverfordwest - -	593	722	20	1097	1783	2880
Pool (Montgom.) - -	530	661	13	1305	1567	2872
Cardiff - -	314	413	13	852	1018	1870
Guildford - -	464	579	19	1242	1312	2634
Buckingham - -	551	617	14	1180	1425	2605
Brecon - -	499	586	41	1123	1453	2576
Dorchester - -	344	515	9	1078	1324	2402
Deanbigh - -	534	590	18	1061	1330	2391
Huntingdon - -	350	350	6	993	1042	2035
New Radnor - -	359	390	20	951	970	1921
Cardigan - -	415	430	20	789	1122	1911
Carnarvon - -	304	336	0	828	942	1770
Beaumaris - -	267	288	2	659	917	1576



*General Abstract of the Population of SCOTLAND, according to the Enumeration made under the Authority of an Act of Parliament, in 1801.*

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Males.</i>	<i>Females.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Aberdeen - - - -	55,625	67,457	123,082
Argyle - - - -	33,767	38,092	71,819
Ayr - - - -	39,666	44,640	84,306
Banff - - - -	16,067	19,740	35,807
Berwick - - - -	14,294	16,327	30,621
Bute - - - -	5,552	6,239	11,791
Caithness - - - -	10,183	12,426	22,609
Clackmanan - - - -	5,064	5,794	10,858
Cromarty - - - -	1,351	1,701	3,052
Dumbarton - - - -	9,796	10,914	20,710
Dumfries - - - -	25,407	29,190	54,597
Edinburgh - - - -	54,224	68,730	112,954
Elgin - - - -	11,763	14,942	26,705
Fife - - - -	42,952	50,791	93,743
Forfar - - - -	45,461	53,666	99,127
Haddington - - - -	13,890	16,096	29,986
Inverness - - - -	33,801	40,491	74,292
Kincardine - - - -	12,104	14,245	26,349
Kinross - - - -	3,116	3,609	6,725
Kirkcudbright - - - -	13,619	15,592	29,211
Lanark - - - -	68,100	78,599	146,699
Linlithgow - - - -	8,129	9,715	17,844
Nairne - - - -	3,639	4,618	8,257
Orkney and Shetland -	20,793	26,031	46,824
Peebles - - - -	4,160	4,575	8,735
Perth - - - -	58,808	67,558	126,366
Renfrew - - - -	36,068	41,988	78,056
Ross - - - -	24,143	28,148	52,291
Roxburgh - - - -	15,813	17,869	33,682
Selkirk - - - -	2,356	2,714	5,070
Stirling - - - -	23,875	26,950	50,825
Sutherland - - - -	10,425	12,692	23,117
Wigtown - - - -	10,570	12,348	22,918
	734,487	864,487	1,599,068

*List of some of the PRINCIPAL TOWNS.*

<i>Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Inhabitants.</i>
Aberdeen - - - - 17,597	Dunbar - - - - 3,974
Campbeltown - - - - 7,093	Inverness - - - - 8,732
Rothefay - - - - 5,231	Lanark - - - - 4,692
Alloa - - - - 5,214	Glasgow - - - - 77,385
Dumbarton - - - - 2,541	Perth - - - - 14,878
Dumfries - - - - 7,288	Greenock - - - - 17,458
Edinburgh, with N. and S. Leith 82,560	Paisley Town and Abbey - 31,179
Dunfermline - - - - 9,980	Port-glasgow - - - - 3,865
Dundee - - - - 26,084	Falkirk - - - - 8,838
Montrose - - - - 7,974	Stirling - - - - 5,256



Some "Observations on the Results of the Population Act." From a Paper under that Title, drawn up and printed by Order of the House of Commons, and annexed to the Abstract of Returns.

The enumeration of 1801 amounts to 8,872,980 persons for England and Wales; and to this number an appropriate share of the foldiers and mariners is to be added. These appear to have been 469,188; and if (exclusive of them) the total population of the British isles is 14,630,812\*, about a thirtieth may

be added to the inhabitants, to ascertain the population of any distinct part.

Therefore the existing population of England and Wales is taken at 9,168,000 in the following table; and the population therein attributed to the other years is obtained by the rule of proportion.

Thus: If 255,426 baptisms (the average medium of the last five years) were produced from a population of 9,168,000, from what population were 152,540 (the baptisms of 1700) produced?

TABLE of POPULATION throughout the last Century.

ENGLAND AND WALES.	
In the Year	Population.
1700 - - -	5,475,000
1710 - - -	5,240,000
1720 - - -	5,565,000
1730 - - -	5,796,000
1740 - - -	6,064,000
1750 - - -	6,467,000
1760 - - -	6,736,000
1770 - - -	7,428,000
1780 - - -	7,953,000
1785 - - -	8,016,000
1790 - - -	8,675,000
1795 - - -	9,055,000
1801 - - -	9,168,000

1. It is evident, that if the existing population of 1801 is taken too low in the preceding table, the population of the other years deduced from it, must be in the same proportion below the truth: and the population, as stated for 1801, certainly is taken somewhat too low; because no addition has been made to it for returns wanting, and

for omissions in the returns made, the amount of which could not be positively ascertained.

2. The dearth which prevailed in the years 1709 and 1710 caused the average price of wheat in those years to rise to 62 shillings per quarter; whereas the average price of the ten preceding years was only 30 shillings per quarter. The

\*  $15,100,000 - 469,188 = 14,630,812.$



dearth of 1800 caused the average price of wheat to rise to 110 shillings per quarter ; whereas the average price of the ten preceding years was no more than 54 shillings per quarter.

Therefore the severity of the dearths of 1710 and 1800 may be reckoned as equal, and the effect of both in diminishing the births and baptisms may be assumed to have been also equal. In the year 1800 the baptisms were 247,000, though the five years average is above 255,000. By applying a proportional increase to the baptisms of 1710, the number from whence the population of 1710 was to be deduced, became 146,000 instead of 139,000. If the latter number had been used, the population of 1710 had appeared in the table at no more than 5,003,000.

3. For 1785 the average medium of the baptisms of that year and the four preceding years is taken. So

for 1790 and 1795. Before 1780 the baptisms of every year do not appear in the abstract.

4. Although the beginning of the century exhibits a decreasing population, the lost number had been regained in 1720 ; and since that time a continual, though irregular, increase is manifest.

5. The population of England and Wales in 1801, compared with that of the beginning of the last century, appears in this calculation as 1,000 to 597, or nearly as ten to six.

The following table for Scotland is formed in the same manner in every respect, but is of much less authority, as founded on a collection of no more than 99 parish registers from different parts of the country. These parishes contain less than a seventh of the whole population. In all there are about 900 parishes in Scotland.

TABLE of POPULATION throughout the last Century.

S C O T L A N D.	
In the Year	Population.
1700 - - -	1,048,000
1710 - - -	1,270,000
1720 - - -	1,390,000
1730 - - -	1,309,000
1740 - - -	1,222,000
1750 - - -	1,403,000
1760 - - -	1,363,000
1770 - - -	1,434,000
1780 - - -	1,458,000
1785 - - -	1,475,000
1790 - - -	1,567,000
1795 - - -	1,669,000
1801 - - -	1,652,370



The population of Scotland in 1801, compared with that of the beginning of the last century, appears to be as 1000 to 634; nearly as 10 to 6 $\frac{1}{3}$ : but it is proper to observe, that a large proportion of the aforesaid 99 parish registers were received from the manufacturing parts of Scotland; so that in the preceding table the increase of the population is perhaps stated higher than it would have appeared if a larger number of returns could have been obtained.

In the year 1695 a poll-tax was levied in Ireland; and on this occasion it was calculated that the number of inhabitants was 1,034,000. But the usual evasion of taxation may be supposed to have lessened the real number considerably. About the year 1795 Ireland contained at least four millions, and since that time the number has not increased. It may not be very erroneous to estimate the population of Ireland at 1,500,000 in the year 1700, and at 4,000,000 in the year 1801.

If this be granted, the population belonging to all the British isles has increased during the last century from 8,100,000 to 15,100,000.

From the collection of parish registers it is not difficult to compute the increase or diminution of the population of the several counties, in the same manner as of that of the whole kingdom; but it is sufficient for this subordinate examination to state the population in 1700, 1750, and 1801. To the resident population of each county for the year 1801, a thirtieth is added for soldiers and mariners: for though it must be admitted, that a higher proportion of these is drawn from the maritime and manufacturing

counties, and a less proportion from the midland agricultural counties, yet the difference is not sufficient to affect the approximation to the true numbers, in any important degree.

The circumstances which have variously affected the different counties throughout the century, may prevent the following table from being accurate. The mode of constructing it, supposes that the births throughout the last century have borne the same proportion to the existing population, as in the five years preceding 1801; and therefore the population of 1700 in this table, is perhaps somewhat too low in the counties which have most rapidly increased in the last half of the century; and, possibly, somewhat too high in the opposite case.

In the fourth column is shewn the proportion of the population of 1801, to the medium average of the marriages of the last five years. The supplement to the abstract of the parish registers is taken into the account, by presuming that the average of the marriages in the last five years is a third of the number of burials attributed to each county therein for the year 1800. This proportion appearing to be true of the whole supplement, cannot be very erroneous when applied to its component parts.

Besides this addition from the supplement, two marriages are added for each return supposed to be wanting.

In the fifth column is shewn the number of registers from which returns were received: and, in the last column, the number of returns supposed to be wanting from each county\*.

\* See *Parish Register Abstract*, p. 449.



COUNTIES OF	POPULATION.			4. Proportion of Population 1801, to annual Marriages in 5 preceding Years.	RETURNS.	
	1. 1700	2. 1750	3. 1801		5. Received.	6. Wanting.
Bedford -	48,500	53,900	65,500	115.7	128	0
Berks -	74,700	92,700	112,800	114.0	160	0
Buckingham -	80,500	90,700	111,000	122.6	178	4
Cambridge -	76,000	72,000	92,300	121.0	160	1
Chester -	107,000	131,600	198,100	125.6	124	4
Cornwall -	105,800	135,000	194,500	121.1	203	5
Cumberland -	62,300	86,900	121,100	147.8	135	1
Derby -	93,800	109,500	166,500	137.7	180	4
Devon -	248,200	272,200	354,400	* 110.2	466	7
Dorset -	90,000	96,400	119,100	143.1	263	5
Durham -	95,500	135,000	165,700	120.1	99	0
Essex -	159,200	167,800	234,000	124.5	409	8
Gloucester -	155,200	207,800	259,100	130.4	330	0
Hereford -	60,900	74,100	92,100	167.1	222	13
Hertford -	70,500	86,500	100,800	150.6	129	2
Huntingdon -	34,700	32,500	38,800	107.6	96	0
Kent -	153,800	190,000	317,800	116.6	387	18
Lancaster -	166,200	297,400	695,100	116.1	174	5
Leicester -	83,000	95,000	134,400	129.7	258	0
Lincoln -	180,000	160,200	215,500	116.6	647	13
Middlesex -	624,200	641,500	845,400	† 97.8	188	0
Monmouth -	39,700	40,600	47,100	142.1	118	4
Norfolk -	210,200	215,100	282,400	125.8	686	16
Northampton -	119,500	123,300	136,100	127.3	296	8
Northumberland -	118,000	141,700	162,300	141.4	97	1
Nottingham -	65,200	77,600	145,000	114.3	202	12
Oxford -	79,000	92,400	113,200	140.6	221	2
Rutland -	16,600	13,800	16,900	135.2	48	0
Salop, (Shropshire) -	101,600	130,300	172,200	139.7	212	24
Somerset -	195,900	224,500	282,800	138.9	461	16
Southampton, (Hampsh.) -	118,700	137,500	226,900	‡ 107.2	294	30
Stafford -	117,200	160,000	247,103	126.1	171	6
Suffolk -	152,700	156,800	217,400	126.0	498	3
Surrey -	154,900	207,100	278,300	133.6	137	5
Sussex -	91,400	107,400	164,600	129.8	297	2
Warwick -	96,600	140,000	215,100	115.3	200	9
Westmoreland -	28,600	36,300	43,000	141.0	64	2
Wilts -	153,900	168,400	191,200	146.6	279	6
Worcester -	88,200	108,000	143,900	137.4	196	10
York, East Riding -	96,200	85,500	144,000	123.0	744	14
Do. North Riding	98,600	117,200	160,500			
Do. West Riding	236,700	361,500	582,700			
England -	5,146,400	6,073,700	8,606,400	122.0	10,157	260
Wales -	366,500	449,500	559,000	144.3	835	19
Total -	5,512,900	6,523,000	9,165,400	123.2	10,992	279

TO ONE.

\* During a war, about 400 marriages are celebrated annually at Plymouth and in the vicinity, between the seamen of the royal navy and the women who receive them on shore. Omitting Plymouth in the calculation, the population of Devon is as 135.3 to one marriage.

† Many persons who intend a secret marriage; lodge a month in the metropolis, and are then married there; this helps to augment the marriages in Middlesex so largely above the average of England.

‡ During a war, the marriages at Portsmouth and in the vicinity are annually about 400 more than usual, for the same reason as at Plymouth. Omitting Portsmouth and Portsea in the calculation, the population of Hampshire is as 129.9 to one marriage.

§ It is proper to observe that the total population of England and Wales in 1700 and 1750, does not appear exactly the same in this place as at page 237: From the nature of the calculation it does not follow that the result in both places should be exactly the same.

The aggregate of the several county calculations on this page is probably more accurate for the Years 1700 and 1750, than is the general calculation (p. 237.) for those years.

The population of 1801 here given, is rather below that at page 237, because fractional parts are here rejected from each county.



The metropolis of England, at once the seat of government and the greatest emporium in the known world, seems to claim a distinct notice of the increase or diminution of its population. It is situated in two counties, divided by the River Thames, and its population is exhibited in five divisions. A thirtieth part was added to the existing population of England in general; but it

is undeniable that fourteen thousand arrivals of trading shipping annually, must make a constant, though fluctuating accession to the resident population of the metropolis, to a larger amount than elsewhere. On this consideration, adding a twenty-fifth instead of a thirtieth part, the metropolis contains 900,000 persons\*.

THE METROPOLIS.†	POPULATION.		
	1700	1750	1801
1. City of London within the Walls	139,300	87,000	78,000
2. City of London without the Walls (including the Inns of Court)	169,000	156,000	155,000
3. City and Liberties of Westminster	130,000	152,000	165,000
4. Out-Parishes within the Bills of Mortality - - -	226,900	258,900	379,000
5. Parishes, not within the Bills of Mortality - - -	9,150	22,350	123,000
6. Total of the Metropolis -	674,350	676,750	900,000

1. The walls of the ancient city of London included a space now in the middle of the metropolis, about one mile and a half in length, and rather more than half a mile in breadth.‡ The population has diminished almost one-half during the last century. Many streets have been widened, and many public buildings erected, whereby the number of houses has been much lessened; and the houses which re-

main are not crowded with inhabitants, as formerly they were. At present the population is nearly the same as that of Liverpool; § which town in extent also and situation is very similar to the ancient City of London.

2. The City of London without the walls, is an extension of the ancient city, which it surrounds. It is governed by the city magistrates.

\* The resident population of the metropolis, 864,845; add one twenty-fifth = 34,594.  
Total - - - 899,439.

† For the places included under this title, see *Enumeration Abstract*, p. 489 to p. 503.

‡ See a description of its limits, *Parish Register Abstract*, p. 442.

§ The resident population of Liverpool, 77,653: add one twenty-fifth for mariners, &c. = 3,100:

Total - - - 80,759.



3. Westminster, which is the seat of government, adjoins to the city, extending westward.

4. The London bills of mortality were originally instituted about the year 1562; and from 1603 a complete series is preserved. The putrid filth produced by a crowded population, and not carried off by sufficient sewers, made London very unhealthy in former times, and caused a plague about once in twenty years; and a timely notice of this danger was to be given by the weekly bills of mortality. The crowded part of London was purified by the memorable conflagration of 1666, which seems to have exterminated the plague. The district within the bills of mortality has been gradually extended, and, besides London and Westminster, now comprehends a large population under the title of the Out-Parishes.

5. A few parishes, now forming part of the metropolis, have not yet been taken into the bills of mortality. The rapid increase of the population of this division shews how rapidly London increases in extent, though its population does not increase so fast as that of the kingdom in general. In 1700 the metropolis contained almost an eighth part of the inhabitants of England and Wales, in 1750 above a tenth part, and at present rather less than that proportion.

6. Some objections may perhaps be made to the accuracy of the limits of the metropolis assumed in the Enumeration Abstract; it may therefore be proper to observe, that within a circle extending eight miles around St. Paul's Cathedral, the total population, including the aforesaid addition of one twenty-

fifth part, amounts to one million and thirty thousand persons.

The many inquiries and discussions which have taken place concerning the population of the metropolis, have determined the deaths unregistered at about 5,000 annually, and the registered burials of the last five years average at 24,000. Nine hundred thousand divided by twenty-nine thousand gives the annual mortality at one in thirty-one. In the year 1750 it appears to have been one in twenty-three; but it is not wonderful that the extension of the population over a larger space should have had this salutary effect.

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*Resolutions of the House of Commons respecting the financial State of the Kingdom, including certain Resolutions which were moved, but not carried.*

The house (according to order) resumed the adjourned debate upon the *motion*, that the amount of the public funded debt on the 1st of Feb. 1793, was 238,231,248l. exclusive of long and short annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550l. of which sums, stock to the amount of 10,242,000l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and the annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in; and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 1st Feb. 1793, to 227,989,148l. and the annuities, to 1,293,670l. and that on the 1st Feb. 1802, stock, to the amount of 39,885,308l. had been purchased by the commissioners, and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had



had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, and annuities, to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in reducing on the 1st of February 1802, the actual amount of debt existing before the war to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

A motion was made, that the total amount of stock created since the 1st of February 1793 (including the amount created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and after deducting 26,490,003l., purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt) on the 1st of February 1802, is 338,138,360l.; of which sum the interest on 7,502,633l. is payable by the emperor of Germany; and the interest on 22,348,000l. is payable by Ireland: and that annuities have been granted, since the 1st of February 1793, to the amount of 550,460l. of which 9,791l. is payable by Ireland, and 230,000l. by the emperor of Germany.

A motion was made, that the total amount of the public funded debt (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session, and after deducting 60,375,311l. purchased by the commissioners, and 18,801,148l. transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed) was, on the 1st of February 1802, 518,483,152l.; of which sum 29,064,226l. is on account of Ireland and the emperor of Germany; leaving a funded debt charged on Great-Britain of 489,418,926l.; and that the amount of annuities charged on Great-Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st of February 1802, in short annuities and for lives,

543,200l.; and in long annuities 1,015,410l.

A motion was made, that, under the heads of treasury, army, ordnance, barracks, and advances from civil list (after deducting the surplus of ways and means of 1801) outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for, on the 5th of January 1802, to the amount 3,264,235l.

That the unfunded debt in exchequer bills, unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 13,744,443l.

That the debt of the navy remaining to be provided for, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 9,073,070l.; and, that the total amount of demands outstanding, navy debt and exchequer bills unprovided for, or provided for out of insufficient funds, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 26,081,748l.; of which sum 11,771,836l. has since been made good out of the supplies of the present session, leaving an unfunded debt of 14,309,912l. to which 5,000,000l. of exchequer bills, voted in the present session, being added, makes a total of unfunded debt hereafter to be provided for, of 19,309,912l.

A motion was made, that the total debt may be stated as follows: *viz.*

Total amount of the	
public funded debt	£.
unredeemed -	518,483,152
1,015,410l. long annuities, valued at	
25 years purchase -	25,385,250
Unfunded debt -	19,309,912
	<hr/>
	563,178,314
	Of



Of this sum, Ireland  
and the emperor of  
Germany are charge-  
able with the inter-  
est on - - - 29,064,226

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Leaving a total debt  
charged on Great-  
Britain (exclusive of  
543,000*l.* short an-  
nuities, and any  
further sums neces-  
sary for winding up  
the expenses of the  
war) of - - - 534,114,088

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A motion was made, that the  
sum applicable to the reduction of  
the total funded debt was, on the  
1st February 1793, 1,427,143*l.*  
and, on the first February 1802,  
5,809,330*l.* to which must be ad-  
ded 26,390*l.* being 1 *per cent.* on  
part of the loan of the present  
year; making a total of 5,835,  
720*l.*, of which sum 5,587,399*l.*  
is applicable to the reduction of  
the debt charged on Great-Britain,  
and, being appropriated by act of  
parliament to accumulate at com-  
pound interest, will redeem a sum  
equal to the amount of debt crea-  
ted since the 1st of January 1800,  
in about 16 years, supposing all  
stocks to be purchased at par, and  
in about 12½ years, supposing the  
3 *per cents.* to be purchased at 75.

A motion was made, that the  
annual charge incurred by the per-  
manent debt, on the 5th of Janu-  
ary 1793, was 10,325,866*l.* in-  
cluding 1,000,000*l.* applicable to  
the reduction of the debt:

That the annual charge incurred  
by the permanent debt created since  
the 5th of January 1793 (exclusive  
of the interest payable by Ire-  
land, and including the charge in-

curred by the loan of the present  
session, but exclusive of 18,000*l.*  
interest on deferred stock) is  
13,557,600*l.* of which sum,  
2,462,100*l.* is the 1 *per cent.* sink-  
ing fund on the capital of the said  
debt, applicable to the reduction  
thereof; and that a further charge  
of 497,735*l.* *per annum* is guaran-  
teed by parliament, in default of  
payment of the interest of certain  
loans by his Majesty the emperor  
of Germany.

A motion was made, that the  
net produce of the permanent taxes  
existing previous to the war was,  
on the 5th of January 1793,  
14,284,000*l.*; and, on the 5th  
of January 1802, 13,221,682*l.*:

That the net produce of the  
permanent taxes imposed since the  
5th of January 1793 was, on the  
5th of January 1802, 9,187,288*l.*

And, that the total amount of  
the permanent taxes was, on the  
5th of January 1802, 22,408,970*l.*

A motion was made, that the  
total official value of all imports  
into Great-Britain, in the year  
ending the 5th of January 1793,  
was 19,659,358*l.*; and on an  
average of six years, ending the  
5th of January 1793, was  
18,685,390*l.*

That the total official value of  
all imports, in the year ending the  
5th of January 1802 (supposing the  
imports from the East-Indies, of  
which no account has been made  
up, to be the same as in the prece-  
ding year) was 32,317,032*l.*; and,  
on an average of six years, ending  
the 5th of January 1802, was  
26,964,036*l.*:

That the total official value of  
British produce and manufactures,  
exported in the year ending the  
5th of January 1793, was  
18,336,851*l.*



18,336,851l. and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049l.:

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979l. and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 21,631,050l.:

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported

from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,346l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 5,469,014l.

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523,480l.; and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700l.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows, viz.

Interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th January 1802 and the 5th January 1803, on stock created by loans of the present session to the amount of 30,351,375l.	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid in the year ending 5th January 1802	1,121,890
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,560,472l.	1,376,888
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia, and deserters warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. &c. estimated at	1,000,000
Charges of management of revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th January 1802	1,871,361
Supplies voted for 1802, on account of Great-Britain exclusively	8,409,743
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for Great-Britain and Ireland (amounting in the whole to 31,259,209l.)	27,261,063
Total amount of supplies for 1802, to be defrayed by Great Britain	35,670,536
Advance to Ireland	2,000,000
Interest payable for loans to Emperor of Germany	497,735
Making in the whole the sum of	£.66,648,896



A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, after deducting interest payable by Ireland is

£.  
23,520,003

That the interest on exchequer bills, exclusive of three millions not at present bearing interest, cannot be estimated at less than

450,000

That the interest on navy debt cannot be estimated at less than

150,000

That of the present charges on the consolidated funds of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, is

1,376,888

That of the miscellaneous charges of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than

397,060

That the charges of the militia of Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than

22,000

That of the charges of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals, and widows pensions in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than

262,948

That of the half pay of the army of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than

400,000

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26,776,899

That of the charge of the navy (supposing the number of seamen employed to be reduced from 70,000, their present amount to 30,000, for the year 1803) the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than

3,514,613

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£.30,291,512

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A motion was made, that supposing the produce of the old permanent taxes to be the same as in the year ending the 5th of January 1800, being their highest amount, and the new permanent taxes to produce the sum for which they were laid, the income applicable to the peace establishment of Great Britain, may be estimated as follows: viz.

Old permanent taxes	£.15,740,000
New permanent taxes, including 1801	10,395,246
Taxes imposed in present session	4,000,000
Land and malt	2,558,000
Estimated profit on lottery	360,000

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£.33,053,246

Which



Which sum, being so raised, after deducting certain estimated charges, to the amount of

30,291,512

would leave towards the charge of the army ordnance, and contingencies, a surplus of

£.2,761,734

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the actual charge of the army and ordnance for Great Britain and Ireland, for six months, ending the 5th of January 1803 (exclusive of army extraordinaries, militia, half-pay, Chelsea, &c.) to be defrayed by Great Britain, is 2,414,876l. being after the rate of 4,829,750l. per annum.

That, supposing a reduction to take place to the amount of 20,000 men, with a proportionate reduction in the barracks and ordnance departments, the total charge to be defrayed by Great Britain for the army and ordnance (exclusive of army extraordinaries, militia, half-pay, Chelsea, &c.) may be estimated for the year 1803, at

£.  
3,812,960

And that upon such an establishment, the charge of army extraordinaries to be defrayed by Great Britain, cannot be estimated at less than

600,000

Making (exclusive of contingent charges, and of 497,000l. interest due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament) a sum of

4,412,960

Which, after applying the estimated surplus of taxes

2,761,734

would leave a deficiency to be provided for, of

£.1,651,226

On all these motions, the previous question being put, that that question be now put; it passed in the negative.

The house (according to order) resumed the adjourned debate upon the motion, that the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248l. exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives to the amount of 1,373,550l. : that, on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 79,880l.

had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 5th of January 1793 to 227,989,148, and the annuities to 1,293,670l. and that, on the 1st of February 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308 had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in, and been carried to their account, and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on



the 1st of February 1802, to 180,344,792l., and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

Resolved,—That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of Jan. 1786, 238,231,248l.; exclusive of long and short annuities and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550l.: that on the 1st of February 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January 1793, to 227,949,148l. and the annuities to 1,293,670l.: and that on the 1st of February 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st February 1802, to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

Resolved,—That the capital of the public funded debt created since the 1st of February 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of February 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633l. 3 per cent. Stock created by advances to the emperor of Germany; is 351,125,730l.—That the amount of long annuities, created during the same period, is 320,461l. per annum, exclusive of

230,000l. annuity created by advances to the emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1820.—That of these sums, 22,348,000l. capital, and 9,791l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; leaving a permanent debt of 328,777,730l. charged on Great Britain.—And that, on the 1st of February 1802, 19,703,596l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt, created since the 5th January 1793, to 309,074,134l. exclusive of long annuities, to the amount of 310,670l. per annum.

Resolved,—That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904l. redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in, to the commissioners, and 18,001,148l. transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February 1802, 489,418,926l. together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103l. and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410l.

Resolved;—That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000l. being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143l. being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may, for the year 1802, be estimated at 5,800,000l. being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000l. is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until



until the whole of the existing debt is discharged; which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for redemption of land-tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

Resolved,—That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt on the 5th of January 1786, was 9,297,000*l.* before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,000*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable thereto; in which sum of 10,325,000*l.* was included, on the 5th of January 1793, the interest of 10,242,100*l.* capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143*l.* and that the said sum of 10,325,000*l.* was reduced on the 5th of January 1802, by reason of stock transferred for redemption of land-tax, and by diminution in the charges of management, on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,770,169*l.* in which sum is included the interest on 39,885,308*l.* capital stock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, and transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,334,186*l.*

Resolved,—That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain, created since the 5th of January 1793, including 924,199*l.* permanent interest and charge on loan of the present session, of which 48,761*l.* 17*s.* will not become payable till after the 5th of Janu-

ary 1806, amounts to 13,597,594*l.* per annum; of which 10,544,383*l.* is for interest, annuity, and charges of management, of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st of February 1802; and 3,053,211*l.* arises from 1 per cent. sinking fund on the capital of part of the said debt and interest of stock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735*l.* per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

Resolved,—That the annual charge on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain on the 1st of February 1802 (including 924,199*l.* for interest and charges of the loan of the present session, and 200,000*l.* now permanently added to the sinking fund) amounts to 23,568,763*l.* whereof 5,587,397*l.* is applicable to the reduction of the national debt. And that a further charge of 497,735*l.* per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

Resolved,—That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th of January 1802, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,514,531*l.* That the surplus of ways and means for the year 1801 was 114,000*l.* and 99,886*l.* remained unpaid and applicable to the public service on the grant to the queen of Portugal; reducing the amount of demands unprovided for to 4,300,465*l.* of which

4,018,420*l.*



4,018,420*l.* has been provided for in the present session.

Resolved,—That the unfunded debt, exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form of certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January 1793, to 8,925,422*l.* and on the 5th of January 1802, to 21,179,170*l.* exclusive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000*l.* advanced by the bank without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which sum of 21,179,170*l.* 10,113,493*l.* has been paid off or provided for in the course of the present session.

Resolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th of January 1784 then amounted to 10,194,259*l.* and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expences of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000*l.* making together 11,132,000*l.*

Resolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000*l.* imposed as above stated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000*l.* arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000*l.* on the 5th of January 1794, 13,941,000*l.* on the 5th of January 1795, 13,858,000*l.* on the 5th of January 1796, 13,557,000*l.* on the 5th of January 1797, 14,292,000*l.* on the 5th of January 1798, 13,332,000*l.* on the 5th of January 1799, 14,275,000*l.* on the 5th of January 1800, 15,743,100*l.* on the 5th of January 1801, 14,194,539*l.* and on the 5th

of January 1802, (including 1,275,544*l.* the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported) 14,497,226*l.* which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act and those imposed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th of January 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226*l.*

Resolved,—That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January 1793, amounted, in the year ended the 5th of January 1802, to 9,187,288*l.* and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes in the year ended the 5th of January 1802, amounted to 23,684,514*l.* (including 1,275,544*l.* paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.)

Resolved,—That the total gross receipt within the year (deducting repayments, discounts, and drawbacks, and also deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179*l.* in the year 1798, 30,176,303*l.* in the year 1799, 34,750,976*l.* in the year 1800, 33,535,016*l.* and in the year 1801, 35,368,376*l.* being an increase, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197*l.* compared with 1798, of 5,192,073*l.* compared with 1799, of 617,400*l.* and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360*l.*

Resolved,—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 13,122,235*l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1784, was 11,690,829*l.* —That the official value of all imports into Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358*l.* and on



an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,390l.—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1802 (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032l. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 26,964,038l. making an increase, as compared with the average of the 5th of January 1784, of 15,273,209l. and with the average to the 5th of January 1793, of 8,278,648l.—And that the real value of imports in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, supposing the imports from the East Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000l.

Resolved,—That the official value of British manufactures, exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 10,409,713l.; and on an average of six years, ending 5th of January 1784, was 8,616,660l.:—That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049l.:—That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979l., making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266l., and with 1792,

of 7,383,128l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 21,631,050l., making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th of January 1784, of 13,014,390l.; and, with the average to 5th of January 1793, of 6,860,001l.:—And that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000l.

Resolved,—That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,332,909l., and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,263,930l.:—That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,348l.; and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1793, was 5,468,014l.:—that the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523,480l., making an increase as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700l., making an increase as compared with the average to January 5th 1784, of 9,840,770l., and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 8,636,686l.:—and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000l.

Resolved,—That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in



in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172, and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962.---In the year 1792 the number of vessels was 16,079; their tonnage 1,540,145; and the number of seamen navigating the same 118,286; and, in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772; their tonnage 2,037,317, and the number of men 143,987;—being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1789; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

Resolved,—That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows:—viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	£. 22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between 5th January, 1802, and 5th January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills	750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739l.	1,356,828
Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before	1,000,000
Pensions on hereditary revenue, estimated as before	
Militia and deserters warrants, estimated as before	
Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. repaid by parliament	
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year	2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue	28,241,511
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1802 for Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344l., including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain	35,532,371
	£.63,773,882
	Advance



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Advance to Ireland £.2,000,000  
Interest payable for  
imperial loans - - 497,596

2,497,596  
£.66,271,478

Resolved,---That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting repayments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted in the year ending 5th January 1802, to - - - - -

£.  
29,220,536

Estimated produce, to the 5th April 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament - - - - -

2,400,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:

Repayments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery -

862,000

And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of - - - - -

23,000,000

And a loan for Ireland, of - - - - -

2,000,000

And by exchequer bills, to be charged on supplies 1803 - - - - -

5,000,000

And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - -

1,600,000

Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the Queen of Portugal - - -

213,886

Interest on land-tax contracted to be paid for by instalments - - - - -

25,000

Arrears of income tax - - - - -

2,500,000

Making in the whole the sum of - - -

£.66,821,422

Resolved,---That it appears by a report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace ending the 5th of January 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expences for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to £.16,816,985.

By the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee, at - - - - -

£.  
15,969,178

With which estimate the actual expence of the year 1792 nearly agreed.



In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000*l.*, from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land-tax on the 5th January 1802

540,000

£.15,429,178

That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is

13,597,592

That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding is about

140,000

Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at *£.5 per cent.* is about

270,000

That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund is

390,000

That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt is

200,000

And that the increased expence of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums to be paid on winding up the expences of the war, and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay and other expences, may be estimated at

700,000

And also exclusive of 497,000*l.* interest on loans due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament)—may be estimated at

£.30,726,772

Resolved,—That, adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, the sum of 1,275,544*l.* paid for corn bounties; and the sum of 1,600,000*l.*, being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year; the income applicable to the peace establishment may be estimated as follows, viz.

Old permanent taxes	£.14,497,226
New permanent taxes	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes 1801	864,319
Taxes imposed in 1802	4,000,000
Land and malt, after deducting land tax redeemed	2,060,000

£.32,208,833

And



And that a further sum of 454,340l., arising from annuities which will expire at the periods under-mentioned, viz.

In 1805	-	-	-	-	-	£.56,554
1806	-	-	-	-	-	8,152
1807	-	-	-	-	-	15,515
1808	-	-	-	-	-	374,119
						<hr/>
						£.454,340
						<hr/>

will then also be applicable, as well as such sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate; and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3 *per cent.* would amount to 1,491,890l.: which sums are exclusive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.

Resolved also,

1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248l. exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550l. That on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 127,980,148l. and the annuities to 1,293,670l. And that, on the 1st of February, 1802, stock to the amount of 36,885,308l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt

existing before the war, on the 1st of February, 1802, to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

2. That the capital of the public funded debt, created since the 1st of February, 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of February, 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633l. three per cent. stock, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, is 351,125,730l. That the amount of long annuities created during the same period, is 220,461l. per annum, exclusive of 230,000l. annuity, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1802. That of these sums 22,348,000l. capital, and 9,791l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; and leaving a permanent debt of 328,771,730l. charged on Great Britain: and that on the 1st of February, 1802, 19,703,596l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the



the national debt, reducing the said permanent debt created since 5th Jan. 1793, to 309,074,134*l.* per annum, exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 310,670*l.*

3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,558,904*l.* redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in to the commissioners, and 18,001,148*l.* transferred to them, on account of land tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February, 1802, 419,418,926*l.* together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103*l.* and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410*l.* after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000*l.* being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143*l.* being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may for the year 1802 be estimated at 5,800,000*l.* being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000*l.* is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until the whole of the existing debt is discharged, which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of January, 1786, was 9,297,000*l.* before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and of

the 5th January, 1793, was 10,325,000*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt; in which sum of 10,325,000*l.* was included, on the 5th of January, 1793, the interest of 10,242,100*l.* capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143*l.* and that the said sum of 10,325,000*l.* was reduced on the 5th of January, 1802, by reason of stock transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, and by the diminution in the charges of management on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,771,169*l.* in which sum is included the interest on 39,885,308*l.* capital stock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, and transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,334,186*l.*

6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great-Britain, created since the 5th of January, 1793, (including 924,199*l.* permanent interest, and charge on loan of the present session) of which 48,761*l.* 17*s.* will not become payable until after the 5th of January, 1806, amounts to 13,597,594*l.* per annum, of which 10,544,383*l.* is for interest, annuity, and charges of management of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st of February, 1802, and 3,053,211*l.* arises from 1*l.* per cent. sinking fund on the capital of part of the said debt and interest of stock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735*l.* per annum is guaranteed by parliament,



liament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by His Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

7. That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th January, 1802, exclusive of unfunded debt and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,416,220*l*. That the surplus of ways and means for the year 1802, was 114,000*l*. and 99,886*l*. remained unpaid, and applicable to the public service, on the grant to the Queen of Portugal, reducing the amount of demands unprovided for, to 4,202,334*l*. of which 3,920,289*l*. has been provided for in the present session.

8. That the unfunded debt (exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form on certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 8,925,422*l*. and on the 5th of January, 1802, to 21,179,170*l*. exclusive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000*l*. advanced by the bank, without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which sum of 21,179,170*l*. 10,113,493*l*. has been paid off, or provided for in the course of the present session.

9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th of January, 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259*l*.; and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expences of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000*l*. making together 11,132,000*l*.

10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000*l*. imposed as above stated in 1784 and 1785, and

137,000*l*. arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, 14,284,000*l*.; on the 5th of January, 1794, 13,941,000*l*.; on the 5th of January, 1795, 13,858,000*l*.; on the 5th of January, 1796, 13,557,000*l*.; on the 5th of January, 1797, 14,292,000*l*.; on the 5th of January, 1798, 13,332,000*l*.; on the 5th of January, 1799, 14,275,000*l*. on the 5th of January, 1800, 15,743,109*l*. on the 5th of January, 1801, 14,194,539*l*.; and on the 5th of January, 1802, including 1,275,544*l*. the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported, 14,497,226*l*. which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act, and those imposed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes, on the 5th of January, 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226*l*.

11. That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January, 1793, amounted, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, to 9,187,288*l*.; and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes, in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, amounted to 23,684,514*l*. including 1,275,544*l*. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.

12. That the total gross receipt within the year (deducting repayments, discounts, and drawbacks; and also deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179*l*.; in the year 1798, 30,176,303*l*.; in the year 1799, 34,750,976*l*.;



in the year 1800, 33,535,016l.; and in the year 1801, 35,368,376l.; being an increase, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197l.; and compared with 1798, of 5,192,073l.; compared with 1799, of 617,400l.; and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360l.

13. That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 13,122,235l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 11,690,829l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 19,659,358l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,685,390l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, (supposing the imports from the East-Indies, of which no account has been yet made up, to be the same as in the preceding year (was 32,317,032l. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 26,964,038l. making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th of January, 1784, of 15,273,209l. and with the average to 5th of January, 1793, of 8,278,648l.; and that the real value of imports in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, supposing the imports from the East-Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000l.

14. That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending

the 5th of January, 1784, was 10,409,713l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784; was 8,616,660l.: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,336,851l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 14,771,049l.: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 25,719,979l.; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266l. and with 1792, of 7,383,128l. and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 21,631,050l. making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th January, 1784, of 13,014,390l. and with the average to 5th January, 1793, of 6,860,001l. and that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000l.

15. That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ended the 5th January, 1784, was 4,332,909l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 4,263,930l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 6,568,348l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 5,468,014l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 16,523,480l.; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571l.



12,190,571l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 14,104,700l.; making an increase, as compared with the average to January the 5th, 1784, of 9,840,770l.; and with the average to January the 5th, 1793, of 8,636,686l.; and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000l.

16. That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being

the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172; and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962: in the year 1792, the number of vessels was 16,079, their tonnage 1,540,145, and the number of seamen navigating the same, 118,286; and in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772, their tonnage 2,037,317, and the number of men 143,987; being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1788; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

17. That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain, in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows: viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland,	£.22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of January, 1802, and the 5th of January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session.	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills	750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739l.	1,356,828
Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before—	
Pensions on hereditary revenue, ditto—	
Militia and deserters warrants, ditto—	
Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. repaid by parliament.	1,000,000
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year	2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue	28,241,514
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the supplies voted for 1802, for Great-Britain and Ireland,	
* S 2	amounting



amounting in the whole to 39,305,344l. including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain

£.35,532,371

63,773,882

Advance to Ireland — — 2,000,000

Interest payable for imperial loans — 497,596

2,497,596

66,271,478

18. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting re-payments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted, in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, to — —

29,220,536

Estimated produce to the 5th of April, 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament — — — —

2,400,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:

Re-payments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery

862,000

And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of — — — —

23,000,000

And a loan for Ireland, of — — — —

2,000,000

And by exchequer bills to be charged on supplies 1803 — — — —

5,000,000

And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 — —

1,600,000

Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the Queen of Portugal — —

213,886

Interest on land-tax contracted to be paid for by instalments — — — —

25,000

Arrears of income tax — — — —

2,500,000

Making in the whole, the sum of — —

66,821,422

19. That it appears, by a report of a committee of this house, in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace, ending the 5th of January, 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to — —

16,816,985

But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at — — — —

15,969,178

[With



[With which estimate the actual expense of the year 1792 nearly agreed.]

In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000*l.* from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land-tax, on the 5th of January, 1802 — — —

£.540,000

15,429,178

That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is — — —

13,597,594

That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding, is about — — —

140,000

Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at 5*l.* per cent. is about — — —

270,000

That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is — — —

390,000

That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt, is — — —

200,000

And that the increased expenses of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums, to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase or pay and other expences) may be estimated at

700,000

And also exclusive of 497,000*l.* interest on loans, due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament, may be estimated at —

30,726,772

20. That adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, the sum of 1,275,544*l.* paid for corn bounties, and the sum of 1,600,000*l.* being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year, the income applicable to the peace establishment may be estimated as follows :

Old permanent taxes — — —

14,497,226

New permanent taxes — — —

9,187,288

Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 — — —

1,600,000

Further produce of taxes, 1801 — — —

864,319

Taxes imposed in 1802 — — —

4,000,000

Land and malt, after deducting land-tax redeemed

2,060,000

32,208,833



And that a further sum of 454,340*l.* arising from annuities, which will expire at the periods under-mentioned, viz.

In 1805	—	—	—	£.56,554
1806	—	—	—	8,152
1807	—	—	—	15,515
1808	—	—	—	374,119
				<hr/>
				454,340
				<hr/>

will then also be applicable, as well as such sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate, and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3 per cent. would amount to 1,491,890*l.* which sums are exclusive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.



*An Account of the Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding on the 5th of January 1802; under the Heads of Exchequer, Treasury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, Navy, Civil List Advances, &c.*

## EXCHEQUER BILLS:

By what Acts raised.	On what Funds charged.	Amount outstanding.			
		£.	£.	s.	d.
Sefs. 2d. 39 Geo. III. } Cap. 2. }	Malt Duties - Anno 1800 -	433,000			
41 Geo. III. Cap. 7. - -	Do - - - 1801 -	750,000			
42 Geo. III. Cap. - - -	Do - - - 1802 -	750,000			
40 Geo. III. Cap. 8. }	Pensions, Offices, Personal Estates, and certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff, Anno 1800 (a)	90,000			
41 Geo. III. Cap. 2. - -	Do - - - 1802	2,000,000			
39 & 40 Geo. III. } Cap. 102. }	Supply - - - 1800 (a)	47,700			
41 Geo. III. Cap. 82. - -	Do - - - 1801 (a)	88,900			
39 & 40 Geo. III. } Cap. 33. }	Aids - - - 1800	1,650,200			
41 Geo. III. Cap. 4. - -	Do - - - 1801	6,849,400			
- - - - Cap. 83. }	Supply - - - 1801 (Bank)	3,000,000			
39 & 40 Geo. III. } Cap. 104. }	Further Sum - - - 1800 (a)	38,600			
41 Geo. III. Cap. 81. - -	Vote of Credit - 1801 (a)	3,300			
42 Geo. III. Cap. 9. - -	Loan - - - 1802	1,887,000			
39 & 40 Geo. III. } Cap. 28. }	Aids - - - 1806, for Ex- tension of Bank Charter	3,000,000			
			20,588,100	-	-

## TREASURY:

Miscellaneous Services - - -	£.245,387	11	— $\frac{3}{4}$		
Warrants for Army Services -	577,037	11	7		
Treasury Bills accepted previous to, and on the 5th of January 1802, due subsequent to that day	372,779	18	6		
				1,195,205	1 1 $\frac{1}{4}$

## ARMY:

Ordinary Services - - -	£.874,669	17	5		
Extraordinaries - - -	Nil.				
				874,669	17 5

BARRACKS - - - - -				98,131	-
ORDNANCE - - - - -				503,716	6 2
NAVY - - - - -				7,110,880	1 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
CIVIL LIST ADVANCES - - - - -				2,268	8 -
				£.30,372,970	14 4

(a) Paid off since the 5th January 1802.—The remaining sums to be discharged by the funds on which they are respectively charged.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,  
6th May 1802.

\* S 4.

N. VANSITTART.



*An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain, to the 1st Day of February 1802; distinguishing the Capitals of the several Funds existing prior to the 5th of January 1793, from the Permanent Debts created since that Period; specifying how much of each has been redeemed by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt since the 1st of August 1786, the total Sums paid, the average Price of Stocks, and the Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of each Debt respectively; likewise what further Annuities will fall in; shewing also the Capital of the Debt created before 1793, that has been transferred to the said Commissioners on account of Land Tax redeemed; and the Amount of the Capital created by Debts charged upon the Duties on Income, together with the Capitals that will be created, by the Loan raised Anno 1802.*

Debts created prior to 5th January 1793.									
Funds.		Capitals.		Redeemed by the Old Sinking Fund, between 1st August 1786 and 1st February 1802.		Total Sums paid.		Average Price of Stocks.	Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of the Public Debt, created before 5th January 1793.
		£.	s. d.	£.		£.	s. d.		£. s. d.
Consolidated 3l. per Cent. Annuities	-	107,399,696	5 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	18,513,365	}	20,903,161	17 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	63 $\frac{5}{8}$	Annual Charge - - - 1,000,000
Reduced - Do - - -	-	41,540,073	16 4	14,337,543					Ufual Grant - - - 200,000
Old South Sea Annuities	-	24,065,084	13 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,234,400		3,826,148	10 6	73 $\frac{1}{8}$	Annuities for 99 and 96 Years expired - - - 54,880 14 6
New - Do - - -	-	1,919,600	-	608,000		456,467	7 6	75 $\frac{1}{4}$	Life Annuities expired or unclaimed - - - 45,827 2 6
3l. per Cent. Annuities 1751	-								Short Annuities 1777 - - - 25,000
Consolidated 4l. per Cent. Annuities	-	32,750,000	-	38,693,308		25,185,777	15 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	84 $\frac{7}{8}$	Dividend on 38,693,308l. 3l. per Cent. Annuities - - - 1,160,799 4 9
Do - 5l. per Cent. - Do - - -	-	17,859,993	9 10	1,192,000		1,011,111	5 -		Dividend on 1,192,000l. 4l. per Cent. Annuities - - - 47,680 -
3l. per Cent. Annuities, A <sup>o</sup> 1726	-	1,000,000	-						
Do - Bank Annuities - - -	-	11,686,800	-						
Old Permanent Debt - £.	238,231,248	5 2 $\frac{3}{4}$		39,885,308		26,196,889	- 2 $\frac{3}{4}$		Old Sinking Fund - - - £. 2,534,187 1 9
Old Permanent Debt, as above	-	-	-	-		£. 238,231,248	5 2 $\frac{3}{4}$		
Transferred to the Commissioners, by reason of Land Tax redeemed at 1st February 1802	-	-	-	-		18,001,148	5 5		£. s. d.
Old Debt existing at 1st February 1802	-	-	-	-		-	-		220,230,099 19 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Permanent Debts created between 5th January 1793 and 5th January 1802	-	-	-	-		-	-		241,981,355 1 3
Total Debt at 1st February 1802	-	-	-	-		-	-		462,211,455 1 - $\frac{3}{4}$
Redeemed by the Commissioners at 1st February 1802	-	-	-	-		-	-		59,588,904 - - -
Total Permanent Debt unredeemed at 1st February 1802	-	-	-	-		-	-		402,622,551 1 - $\frac{3}{4}$
Debts created between 5th January 1798 and 5th January 1801, charged on the Duties upon Income	-	-	-	-		-	-		56,445,000 - - -
	-	-	-	-		£. 459,067,551	1 - $\frac{3}{4}$		459,067,551 1 - $\frac{3}{4}$
Since 1st February 1802 the following Capitals have been created by 23,000,000l. raised, viz.	-	-	-	-		-	-		30,351,375 - - -
In 3l. per Cent. Reduced Annuities	-	-	-	-		£. 13,800,000	-		
Do - Consolidated Do - - -	-	-	-	-		14,950,000	-		



Debts created since 5th January 1793.

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the New Sinking Fund.	Total Sums paid.	Average Price of Stocks.	Sums annually applicable to the Reduction of Public Debt, created since 5th January 1793.	Annuities that will hereafter fall in.
Consolidated 3l. per Cent. Annuities	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Reduced - Do -	155,445,486 19 4	9,589,180 }	11,437,473 5 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	58 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub>	62,500 -	Exchequer Annuities, 2, 3, 4
Consolidated 4l. per Cent. Annuities	37,252,737 10 -	10,114,416 }			166,445 5 -	Ann, expire A <sup>o</sup> 1805 -
Do - 5l. per Cent Do	16,675,084 17 2				268,933 19 6	Do 5 Ann, expire A <sup>o</sup> 1806 -
5l. per Cent. Annuities, created Annis 1797 and 1802	10,255,589 9 9				313,558 14 10	Do 6 Ann, expire A <sup>o</sup> 1807 -
	22,352,456 5 -				110,863 5 -	Bank Long Annuities, expire A <sup>o</sup> 1860 -
New Permanent Debt	241,981,355 1 3				417,376 13 7	Bank Short Annuities, Annis 1778, 1779, and 1789, expire A <sup>o</sup> 1808 -
					258,807 11 8	
					142,240 -	
					56,242 10 -	
					26,250 -	
					78,500 -	
					448,162 10 -	
					112,222 12 6	
					2,462,103 2 1	
					591,107 17 7	
Redeemed by the New Sinking Fund	- - -	19,703,596	New Sinking Fund	- - -	3,053,210 19 8	
Do - Old Sinking Fund	- - -	39,885,308	Old - Do -	- - -	2,534,187 1 9	
Total Redeemed	- £.	59,588,904				
			Total Sinking Fund	- £.	5,587,398 1 5	

Exchequer,  
the 5th day of May 1802.

JAMES FISHER.



*An Account of the total Produce of the Duties of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and Incidents, respectively, for one Year, ended the 5th Day of January 1802; distinguishing, as far as possible, in each Branch, the Produce on every Separate Article, the Duties on which have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the four Quarters of the Year: viz.*

	Duties applicable to the Consolidated Fund.		Temporary Duties.		Total.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
The total produce of the duties of customs for one year, ended the 5th day of January 1802, as per account	2,499,972	3 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,371,228	13 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	5,871,200	17 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. of the duties of excise for do. as per account	10,164,888	— —	1,095,222	— —	11,260,110	— —
Do. of the duties of stamps for do. as per account	2,852,726	8 11	—	—	2,852,726	8 11
Do. of incidents at the receipt of the Exchequer for do. as per account	4,705,176	10 8	—	—	4,705,176	10 8
£.	20,222,763	3 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	4,466,450	13 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	24,689,213	16 11 $\frac{1}{2}$

Memorandum.

The above sum of 4,705,176*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* stated in the account of incidents at the Exchequer, includes 935,870*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* being the amount of imprests and other monies paid within the above period, of which 802,188*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* was paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, on account of loans for the service of Ireland.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,  
14th June, 1802.

N. VANSITTART.



An Account of the gross Assessment and net Produce of the Income Duty in Great Britain, for the Year ending 5th April 1801; distinguishing the Charges of Collection and Deductions, and distinguishing the Returns made to Commercial Commissioners.

Amount of Gros Affessments.						
By Commissioners for General Purposes.	By Commercial Commissioners		Total.	Charges of Collection.	Amount of Deductions on Account of Children.	Net Produce.
	On Income from Trade.	On Income from other Sources.				
£. s. d. 4,658,491 15 9½	£. s. d. 1,175,836 16 1	£. s. d. 410,109 18 11	£. s. d. 6,244,438 10 9½	£. s. d. 162,825 — —	£. s. d. 371,040 17 3½	£. s. d. 5,710,572 13 6

The charges of Collection cannot be accurately ascertained until the duties be paid into the Exchequer, and the accounts of the Receivers General and the Commercial Commissioners passed there. The above is taken from the account of the expences actually incurred, and the best estimate that can be formed of what may reasonably be incurred for charges not yet settled; to which has been added, an estimate of the expences to be incurred in the collection of arrears subsequent to the 5th of April 1802, and which may be applicable to the duties of the year ending the 5th day of April 1801.

WILLIAM LOWNDES.  
BARNE BARNE.  
HORACE HAYES.  
G. T. GOODENOUGH.

Office for Taxes,  
30th March 1802.



*A more perfect Account than that of last year of the Net Revenue of the Post Office paid into the Exchequer, exclusive of Parliamentary Pensions, from the 5th April 1761 to 5th April 1802, distinguishing each Year; together with an Account of annual Remittances from Scotland for the same Period.*

Years (ending 5 April)	Exchequer Pay- ments. £. s. d.	Edinburgh Remittances £. s. d.	Years (ending 5 April)	Exchequer Pay- ments. £. s. d.	Edinburgh Remittances. £. s. d.
1761	36,400 — —	7,345 5 11	1782	103,100 — —	20,000 — —
1762	36,400 — —	8,602 12 11	1783	148,400 — —	20,000 — —
1763	36,400 — —	6,000 — —	1784	177,400 — —	20,000 — —
1764	46,400 — —	6,200 — —	1785	225,100 — —	26,500 — —
1765	88,100 — —	7,600 — —	1786	264,000 — —	29,000 — —
1766	101,400 — —	11,300 — —	1787	254,000 — —	28,000 — —
1767	105,400 — —	11,900 — —	1788	274,000 — —	28,018 7 6
1768	109,400 — —	12,100 — —	1789	300,000 — —	34,635 3 8
1769	110,400 — —	12,500 — —	1790	361,000 — —	32,000 — —
1770	105,400 — —	11,800 — —	1791	325,000 — —	33,000 — —
1771	100,100 — —	12,000 — —	1792	340,484 3 9½	33,130 11 3
1772	118,400 — —	12,000 — —	1793	384,000 — —	50,225 12 11
1773	149,400 — —	12,000 — —	1794	392,000 — —	44,332 — —
1774	147,400 — —	12,000 — —	1795	421,000 — —	34,664 19
1775	153,400 — —	12,000 — —	1796	442,000 — —	43,811 15 10
1776	165,100 — —	12,300 — —	1797	500,000 — —	57,204 15 9
1777	141,400 — —	12,600 — —	1798	632,000 — —	68,390 18 5
1778	118,400 — —	16,383 12 4	1799	683,000 — —	64,959 10 3
1779	121,400 — —	16,964 12 4	1800	699,000 — —	84,481 18 8
1780	121,400 — —	18,250 — —	1801	743,000 — —	78,336 9 9
1781	142,400 — —	20,000 — —	1802	858,000 — —	85,791 11 3

Examined, per

10th May 1802.

THOS. CHURCH, Deputy Accountant General.

*An Account of all Pensions granted since the 1st of January 1797; with the Names of the Persons to whom granted, and the Amount of each. Ordered to be printed May 14, 1801.*

Date of Grants.	Names.	Amount.
1797.		
29th March.	Edgcombe, Peggy — — —	£.196
11th July.	Erskine, Mary Henrietta — — —	400
19th.	Hyde, Rev. George Hooten, continuation of a grant from K. Will. and Q. Mary to his family, for services — — —	50
2d September.	Mordaunt, Lady Mary — — —	400
	Bulkeley, Lady Frances — — —	200
17th November.	Rofs, James Tyrrell — — —	250
1798.		
13th January.	Mudge, Thomas — — —	130
7th February.	M'Laine, Harriet Anne — — —	200
2d May.	Davis, Mary — — —	16
	Lewhellin, Ann — — —	16
20th March.	Brooks, Lydia, widow of the late Samuel Brooks, one of his Majesty's messengers in ordinary — — —	100
		22d



# APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 269

22d August.	Woodford, Sir Ralph	—	—	£.200
16th October.	Cathcart, Elizabeth, Baronefs	—	—	500
24th.	Lempriere, John, and Eliz. Badinell his wife, severally and successively	—	—	200
2d November.	Roberts, David	—	—	60
21st December.	Wilson, Dr. James	—	—	250
1799.				
6th March.	Cranston, Henry, in trust for James Lord Cranston	—	—	300
3d April.	Goddard, Ch. Esq. to be wholly or proportionably suspended agreeable to the amount of any office he may hold	—	—	850
17th.	Sutton, T. Manners, G. Downing, and M. Beachcroft, in trust for Mary Anne Herries	—	—	300
	Do. - do. - do. - in trust for Isabella Maria Herries	—	—	150
	Do. - do. - do. - in trust for Catharine Herries	—	—	150
	Do. - do. - do. - in trust for Julia Mary Herries	—	—	150
10th June.	Howell, Ann	—	—	16
24th July.	Lloyd, Joyce, widow	—	—	100
26th.	Jardine, Joanna	—	—	250
14th August.	Leslie, Lord	—	—	500
2d October.	Byron, Catharine Gordon	—	—	300
	Nott, Charlotte Georgiana Augusta	—	—	150
	Nott, Augusta	—	—	150
1800.				
9th May.	Bearcroft, Clare St. George	—	—	200
21st.	Gower, Earl, and Archibald M'Donald, in trust for Gertrude Phillipine Kutzleben	—	—	150
29th.	Hereford, Viscount and Viscountess, and the survivor of them; and after their decease, 150 <i>l.</i> per ann. to each of their six children	—	—	900
11th June.	M'Laine, Charles Anthony	—	—	130
7th October.	D'Ivernois, Sir Francis	—	—	200
	Jardine, Christine	—	—	125
	Livingston, Edmund	—	—	500
8th.	Montford, Thomas Lord	—	—	600
9th.	Mallet du Pan, Frances	—	—	200
14th.	Maurice, Thomas, clerk	—	—	300
16th.	Swinburne, Mary	—	—	60
20th.	Mundy, Rev. Robert	—	—	90
24th.	Mordaunt, Lady Mary, additional pension of	—	—	200
1801.				
19th January.	Mitchell, Rev. William	—	—	130
				1st



1st February.	Villiers, Rt. Hon. J. and Wm. Garthstone, in trust for Lady Louisa Paget	—	£.300
12th March.	Fitzgerald, Lord Robert	—	800
	Green, Elizabeth	—	200
	Miller, Ann	—	130
14th.	Hewgill, Elizabeth	—	300
	Pierfon, Rev. Robert	—	130
	Spiegel, Van de, Digna Johanna, and after her death to be equally divided among her four sons and five daughters, or such of them as shall survive her	—	500
1797.	<i>Contingent Pensions:</i>		
14th September.	Wilmot, Sarah Ann, wife of J. Wilmot, Esq. to commence from the death of the said J. Wilmot	— — —	400
7th November.	Hayter, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. J. Hayter, and to Sophia Hayter, their daughter, respectively and successively, to commence from the death of the said J. Hayter	— — —	131
1798.			
12th January.	Hammond, George, Esq. late minister ple- nipotentiary to America, to commence when he shall cease to hold his present office of under secretary of state, and not be in possession of any other office or place of equal value, or until determined by warrant under the royal sign manual		1,200
8th August.	Mayor, Mary, to commence from the day of the death of her husband John Mayor		400
1799.			
3d April.	Frazer, Charlotte Mary Ann, William John Theodore, Charles Henry, and Jane Wilhelmina Agnes, children of Charles Henry Frazer, in equal propor- tions, and to the survivors or survivor of them; to commence and take effect from the day of the decease of the said Charles Henry Frazer	— — —	400
	William Huskisson, Esq. 1,200l. per an- num, during pleasure; to commence and take effect when he shall cease to hold the office of one of his Majesty's under secre- taries of state, and not be in possession of any other office or place of equal value. —N. B. This pension was revoked, and another granted for life, to the like amount, on the 14th of March 1801. Vide *.		



1801.

3d April. Gilbert Baron Minto, during life; to commence from the time he shall cease to be his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Germany, but to be suspended when and so long as he shall be and continue in possession of any office, place, or employment, of the annual value of 2,000*l.* and to be continued, on the death of Lord Minto, to the Right Hon. Sylvester Douglas, and Sir George Cornwall, during the life, and in trust for such son of Lord Minto as shall succeed to the title of Baron Minto — — 1,200

1801.

14th March \*.

William Huskisson, Esq. for life, to commence when he ceases to hold the office of under secretary of state, but to be suspended when and so long as he shall be and continue in possession of any office, place, or employment, of the annual value of 1,200*l.* or upwards — 1,200

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,  
14th May 1801.

N. VANSITTART.

*An Account of all Pensions or annual Gratuities whatsoever (the ordinary Salaries of Public Offices excepted), charged on any other Fund than the Civil List and the 4½ per Cent. Duties, since the 5th January 1786.*

New Charges, since January 1786, upon the Consolidated Fund.

	Pensions per Annum.		
Heirs and descendants of William Penn, Esq.	—	£.4,000	— —
Earl St. Vincent	— —	2,000	— —
Lord Viscount Duncan	— —	2,000	— —
Baron Nelson	— —	2,000	— —
His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent	—	12,000	— —
His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland	—	12,000	— —
Sir James Marriott	— —	2,000	— —
Earl Rosslyn	— —	4,000	— —
Duke of Richmond (granted for 19,000 <i>l.</i> per annum, but reduced by act of Parliament to)	—	12,666	13 4
Sir William Henry Ashurst	—	2,000	— —
Sir Richard Perryn	— —	2,000	— —
Sir John Skynner	— —	500	— —
Sir Sydney Smith	— —	1,000	— —
Baroness Abercromby	— —	2,000	— —
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales	—	65,000	— —

Exchequer,

the 24th Day of May 1802. JAMES FISHER. £.125,166 13 4



# *The Pensions and Allowances to the Royal Family.*

	Estima- ted in 1786.	YEAR ENDED															5 Jan. 1802.	
		5 Jan. 1787.	5 Jan. 1788.	5 Jan. 1789.	5 Jan. 1790.	5 Jan. 1791.	£. s. d.	5 Jan. 1792.	5 Jan. 1793.	5 Jan. 1794.	5 Jan. 1795.	5 Jan. 1796.	5 Jan. 1797.	5 Jan. 1798.	5 Jan. 1799.	5 Jan. 1800.		5 Jan. 1801.
His Majesty's privy purse -	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	—	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000	£. 60,000
The Queen -	58,000	56,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	—	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000
The Prince of Wales	50,000	50,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	—	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000
Duke of York, Pr. William, and the other Princes -	14,500	11,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duke of Cumberland	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	6,239 13 9½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Princess Amelia -	12,000	9,000	—	—	—	—	3,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duke of Clarence	—	3,500	3,500	9,875	12,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	625	2,500	2,500	2,500
Pr. William, Edw. Ernest Augustus, and Adolphus -	—	—	6,000	6,000	12,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duke of York -	—	8,500	12,000	12,000	12,000	—	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
The Princes Edw. Ernest Augustus, and Adolphus -	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	2,250	4,000	4,000
Duchess Dowager of Cumberland -	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,226 16 0¾	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000
The Pr. of Wales, for support of the Princess Charlotte	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Duke of Cambridge	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
£.	203,500	198,500	202,500	208,500	214,875	217,966 9 10½	205,500	202,500	202,500	202,500	202,500	208,967	209,000	209,625	204,750	202,500	208,500	208,500



# APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 273

*An Account of all annual Payments charged on any other Fund than the Civil List and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. Duties, and paid to any Branch of the Royal Family since the 4th January, 1786.*

## To their Royal Highnesses

Payments in the Year.	William Henry Duke of Gloucester.	Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland.	William Henry Duke of Clarence.	Frederick Duke of York.	Frederique Charlotte. Duchefs of York.	George Prince of Wales.	Edward Duke of Kent.	Ernest Augustus Duke of Cumberland.
	£	£.	£.	£.	£	£.	£.	£.
1786	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1787	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1788	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1789	17,000	8,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1790	17,000	4,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1791	17,000	—	9,000	7,000	2,000	—	—	—
1792	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	—	—	—
1793	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	—	—	—
1794	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	—	—	—
1795	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	81,250	—	—
1796	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	—	—
1797	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	—	—
1798	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	—	—
1799	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	9,000	9,000
1800	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	12,000	12,000
1801	17,000	—	12,000	14,000	4,000	65,000	12,000	12,000
	272,000	36,000	129,000	147,000	42,000	471,250	33,000	33,000

*Exchequer, the 24th Day of April, 1802.*

JAMES FISHER.



*in Account, shewing the Amount of the Monies which have been applicable to the Expenses of his Majesty's Civil Government in England, if the Hereditary and Temporary Revenues of the Crown, enjoyed by his late Majesty, had been enjoyed by his present Majesty; from the 5th January 1777, to the 5th January 1802, so far as the same can be made up; distinguishing each Year, and the net Produce of each of the said Revenues, so far as the same can be ascertained: shewing, also, the Amount of the Annuity received by his Majesty during the same Period in lieu of those Revenues; and the Amount of the Monies granted by Parliament during the said Period, for the Discharge of the Civil List Debts; and the Difference to the Public upon the Balance of the said Account.*

Years.	Customs: Temporary Revenue.		Hereditary and Temporary Revenues, by the 23d and 24th Charles II.		Annual Sum to be raised to Hereditary Revenue, pursuant to 9 Geo. III. in lieu of Duty on Low Wine, &c.		Sum brought to Account from the Duty on Wine Licences, pursuant to Act 30th Geo. II.		Post Office: Hereditary Revenue		£. 120,000 per Annum pursuant to an Act of the 1st Geo. II.		Sum brought to Account annually, pursuant to Act 4 Geo. II. in lieu of the Flax Duty, repealed	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
1777	328,542	4 9	271,119	14 11	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	101,594	6 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1778	289,477	3 4	280,927	18 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	102,848	9 9	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1779	295,229	9 8	311,224	— 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	100,009	5 10	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1780	355,933	19 10	313,038	12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	115,658	8 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1781	326,451	15 3	301,143	9 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	80,925	4 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1782	300,743	10 4	344,826	2 8	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	119,303	14 1	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1783	304,761	3 4	270,701	11 5	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	143,896	4 5	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1784	334,300	18 2	321,819	7 4	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	134,004	14 4	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1785	456,843	2 7	308,488	14 3	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	123,804	4 —	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1786	422,609	4 9	296,900	6 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	118,886	16 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1787	563,639	5 4	345,496	4 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	136,306	18 5	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1788	516,945	17 8	308,670	7 11	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	153,726	14 2	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1789	590,238	15 3	316,040	8 —	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	159,106	9 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1790	646,493	19 11	353,529	13 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	175,652	14 8 $\frac{6}{12}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1791	575,329	12 7	374,478	9 10	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	182,959	16 10	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1792	583,715	5 4	420,604	18 6	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	199,325	14 — $\frac{1}{4}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1793	529,759	12 1	412,745	12 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	225,427	18 3 $\frac{3}{12}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1794	513,117	5 6	424,079	17 9	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	211,318	2 3 $\frac{9}{12}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1795	522,706	1 11	377,203	14 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	257,978	1 7 $\frac{9}{12}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1796	489,463	10 —	489,396	12 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	299,575	13 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1797	403,703	— 1	495,542	18 10	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	212,025	8 —	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1798	540,356	17 11	516,268	18 5	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	212,025	8 —	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1799	824,582	19 11	502,768	10 8	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	212,025	8 —	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1800	726,830	4 10	384,119	18 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	— —	7,002	14 3	212,025	8 —	120,000	— —	2,125	15 2
1801*	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
	21,441,775	— —	8,741,136	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,680,000	— —	168,065	2 —	3,987,411	4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,880,000	— —	51,018	4 —



sum brought to Account annually, pursuant to Act 12 G. II. in lieu of a Duty on certain Yarn imported from Ireland.

Smaller Branches  
of the  
Hereditary Revenue.

Total of his Majesty's  
Temporary and Hereditary Revenues.

Amount of the Annuity received by his Majesty, and the Monies granted by Parliament for the Discharge of the Civil List Debt, in the Years under mentioned :

in lieu of a Duty on certain Yarn imported from Ireland.		Hereditary Revenue.		of the Hereditary Revenue.		Temporary and Hereditary Revenues.		Annuity.		Fees from Suppressed Offices.		Grants to discharge Arrears of Civil List Debts.		Total.	
£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
2,388	4 11	134,801	12 6	1,037,574	12 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	900,000	1777	1,800	—	618,340	9 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,518,340	9 6 $\frac{1}{4}$		
2,388	4 11	158,512	15 1	1,033,283	— 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1778	3,622	8 10	—	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	116,387	13 2	1,024,367	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1779	4,694	5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	90,556	17 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,076,704	12 9	900,000	1780	600	—	—	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	99,060	17 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,009,098	1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1781	1,800	—	60,000	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	64,542	15 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,030,932	16 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	900,000	1782	3,622	8 10	—	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	57,785	3 9	978,660	17 3	900,000	1783	4,694	5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	210,000	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	55,161	3 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,046,802	17 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	900,000	1784	600	—	—	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	31,533	13 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,122,186	9 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1785	3,315	—	—	—	961,800	—		
2,388	4 11	33,817	12 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,073,730	15 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	900,000	1786	2,764	12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	503,622	8 10		
2,388	4 11	16,603	17 11	1,263,563	— 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	900,000	1787	3,460	2 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	—	1,114,694	5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
2,388	4 11	25,135	8 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,202,995	2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1788	1,400	—	—	—	900,600	—		
2,388	4 11	23,420	3 2	1,290,322	10 4	900,000	1789	7,881	16 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	903,315	—		
2,388	4 11	18,332	8 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,395,525	10 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	900,000	1790	936	2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	902,764	12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
2,388	4 11	37,273	— 6	1,371,557	14 1	900,000	1791	2,500	—	—	—	903,460	2 8 $\frac{1}{4}$		
2,388	4 11	26,509	6 10	1,431,671	19 —	900,000	1792	—	—	—	—	900,400	—		
2,388	4 11	16,719	15 5	1,386,169	12 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1793	30,109	17 2	—	—	907,881	16 9 $\frac{3}{4}$		
2,388	4 11	30,568	9 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,380,600	9 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1794	38,675	1 2	—	—	900,936	2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
2,388	4 11	24,883	7 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,384,287	19 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1795	16,990	11 —	—	—	902,500	—		
2,388	4 11	10,924	12 3	1,490,877	2 10	900,000	1796	28,025	7 5	—	—	900,000	—		
2,388	4 11	27,628	2 1	1,340,416	3 4	900,000	1797	29,560	6 8	—	—	930,109	17 2		
2,388	4 11	51,179	11 10	1,521,347	10 6	900,000	1798	—	—	—	—	938,675	1 2		
2,388	4 11	39,284	16 — $\frac{3}{4}$	1,780,178	2 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	900,000	1799	—	—	—	—	916,990	11 —		
2,388	4 11	56,539	6 7	1,581,031	12 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	900,000	1800	—	—	—	—	928,025	7 5		
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1801	—	—	—	—	919,560	6 8		
57 317 18	—	1 247,162 5 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	30,253,885 17 10	—	21,600,000	—	166,335 12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	888,340 9 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	22,654,676 1 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—

\* The file accounts of importations from the general account for that year cannot be completed.

N. B. Exclusive of the grants and payments flated in the above Account, in aid of the income of the civil list, sums have been transferred from the 4<sup>th</sup> per centage to the civil list account, within this period, to the amount of 172,000*l*.

W. Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 14th May, 1802.

IVALLISNAVA N



*The Salaries of the Chancellor, the Speaker, and the Judges of England and Wales.*

Years.	Estimate of 1786.	Charge.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
	32,955 — —			
1787	— — —	32,361 2 —	— — —	593 18 —
1788	— — —	32,433 15 $9\frac{1}{4}$	— — —	521 4 $2\frac{3}{4}$
1789	— — —	32,813 5 $7\frac{1}{2}$	— — —	141 14 $4\frac{1}{2}$
1790	— — —	32,748 14 6	— — —	206 5 6
1791	— — —	32,125 — —	— — —	830 — —
1792	— — —	32,955 — —		
1793	— — —	32,960 — —	5 — —	
1794	— — —	32,897 2 6	— — —	57 17 6
1795	— — —	32,948 3 $7\frac{1}{2}$	— — —	6 16 $4\frac{1}{2}$
1796	— — —	32,955 — —		
1797	— — —	32,320 — —	— — —	635 — —
1798	— — —	32,955 — —		
1799	— — —	32,955 — —		
1800	— — —	32,955 — —		
1801	— — —	32,955 — —		
1802	— — —	32,955 — —		
		524,292 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 — —	2,992 15 $11\frac{3}{4}$
				5 — —

Total decrease below the estimate £. 2,987  $11\frac{1}{4}$



*An Account of all Places for Life or Lives, whether held by Patent or otherwise: Specifying the Dates of such Patents or other Instruments by which such Places are held; the Names of the Persons who hold the same; and the Salaries and Fees belonging thereto:—and also, a like Account of such Places granted to any Person or Persons in Reversion.*  
Ordered to be printed February 8, 1802.

Description of Offices.		How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.		Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
CUSTOMS.—Collector Customs Inwards		Patent for life	21 April	Earl of Liverpool	-	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Surveyor General	- London	Ditto	31 July	Earl of Chichester	-	736 13 4	1,094 16 6	
Comptroller Inwards and Outwards	- London	Ditto	26 August	Earl of Guildford	-	500 — —	997 17 11	
Surveyor of Subsidies and Petty Customs	- London	Ditto	16 December	Lord Stawell	-	375 — —	927 13 4	
Comptroller of Cloth and Petty Customs	- London	Ditto	29 June	Lancelot Harrison	-	320 — —	905 7 —	
Inwards and Outwards	- London	Ditto	1750			200 — —		
Register General of all Trading Ships belonging to Great Britain	-	Ditto	30 August	Peter Shaw	-	500 — —	None.	
Register of Seizures	-	Ditto	14 October	Bryan Broughton	-	250 — —		
Collector Outwards	- London	Treasury Warrant	13 September	{ Ja. Meller, for his Grace } the Duke of Manchester		276 13 4	1,694 4 6	Lord F. Montague, as per feft. 5. 38 Geo. III. c. 86.
Comptroller General	-	Patent for life	10 March	Thomas Taylor	-	1,000 — —	None.	J. Robinson and H. Nevill (now Earl of Abergavenny) and the survivor.
Inspector of Prosecutions in the Court of Exchequer		—	—	—	—	2,000 — —	—	
Excise.—Register	-	Ditto	25 February	Thomas Ryder	-	296 5 —	None.	
Auditor	-	Ditto	2 November	Richard Stonehewer	-	561 5 —	None.	
SECRETARY OF STATE.—HOME DEPARTMENT.—								
Secretary and Clerk of the Inrolments	{ In the Island of Jamaica }	Ditto	4 May	Cha. Wm. Wyndham, Esq.				
Register in Chancery	-	Ditto	4 May	Percy Cha. Wyndham, Esq.				
	-			{ Ts. Walley Partington, Esq. and his heirs and assigns during the life of George Germaine, Esq. }				
Receiver General	-	Ditto	24 August					
Clerk of the Navy Office	-	Ditto	8 March	John King	-			To John James King, 27 January 1798.
Provost Marshal	-	Ditto	4 May	Lord Braybrooke	-			
Clerk of the Markets	-	Ditto	16 January	Geo. Sackville Sutherland, Esq.				
Secretary and Clerk of the Courts, Barbadoes	-	Ditto	4 May	Percy Cha. Wyndham, Esq.				
Provost Marshal	-	Ditto	5 July	Lord Ducie	-			
Secretary and Clerk of the Crown, Leeward Islands	-	Ditto	24 October	Ja. Townshend Oswald, Esq.				Thomas Carter, Esq. August 1801.
Provost Marshal	-	Ditto	4 May	{ J. Lillingston Pownall, Esq. and for the life of his brother }				

B. The salaries or fees belonging to the above offices, are payable in the colonies to which they belong, and there is no account of them in this office.



Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
Keeper of State Papers	Patent for life	29 July 1799	John Bruce, Esq.	£. 500	None.	W. H. B. Bentinck, Esq. on the decease of either of the four clerks.
Clerks of the Signet	Ditto	Dec. 1762	James Rivers, Esq.	—	273	
SECRETARY OF STATE, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT. Collector and Transmitter of State Papers	Ditto	Oct. 1767	John Tirrel Morin, Esq.	—	273	
		Feb. 1782	William Frazer, Esq.	—	273	
RIVY SEAL OFFICE.—1st Clerk	Ditto	Jan. 1801	Brook Taylor, Esq.	—	273	None.
2d ditto	Patent	31 Oct. 1795	Charles Goddard	500	—	
3d ditto	—	July 1758	Richard Grenville	200	—	
4th ditto	—	May 1776	Jacob Reynardson	200	—	
3RD STEWARD'S DEPARTMENT.—Knt. Marshal	Patents for life	Feb. 1787	James Macdonald	200	—	{ Charles Montolieu Burgefs.
INT.—Surveyor of Meltings and Clerk of the Irons	—	April 1794	John Henry Carles	200	—	
1ST FRUITS OFFICE.—Comptroller	Patent	Nov. 1795	Sir Ja Bland Burgefs, Bart.	500	—	
Receiver	Patent for life	18 March 1791	Hon. Spencer Perceval	119	—	
one of the AUDITORS of Land Revenue	Patent	28 July 1768	Lord Walsingham	150	—	To the survivor.
POST OFFICE.—Court Post	Ditto	16 March 1782	John Bacon	120	—	
AR OFFICE.—Paymaster of Widows' Pensions	Patent for lives	14 July 1777	{ Wm. Henry Cooper and Fred. Grey Cooper, jointly and severally	2,115 9 5	including fees.	
auditor of the Plantations	Patent for life	24 March 1761	Henry Penton	1 0 0 per Day	—	
treasurer's Remembrancer	Ditto	24 March 1761	Hon. Lieut. General Fox	—	1,067	{ To J. Pownall, his ex- cutors, administrators, and assigns, for the life of the Hon. C. J. Fox, by patent dated 10th February 1771.
register of his Majesty's Royal Courts of Delegates	Ditto	Nov. 1751	Hon. Robert Cholmondeley	500	—	
& Appeals in all Causes Ecclesiastical & Maritime	Ditto	17 July 1754	Sir Richard Heron	66 15 5	141 8 4	
register of the High Court of Admiralty of England	Ditto	2 July 1764	Lord Arden	—	1,043 6 1	
Receiver General of the Issues, &c. of all the Ho-	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	—	7,796 18 8	{ This office was granted to Lord Holland du- ring the lives of his 2d and 3d sons, C. J. Fox, and H. E.
nours, Castles, &c. in the Counties of Glamorgan,	Ditto	11 Sept. 1764	Hon. Charles James Fox	70	—	
Monmouth, &c. and in the Town and County of	Ditto					
the Town of Haverfordwest, &c.	Ditto					



Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries. £. s. d.	Fees. £. s. d.	To whom in Reversion.
Constable and Keeper of Gloucester Castle	Patent for life	18 March 1765	Nicholas Hyett, Esq.			
Clerk of the House of Commons	Ditto	3 June 1768	John Hatfield	10 — —	8,000 — —	John Ley, by patent dated July 1797.
Writer and Compiler of the London Gazette	Ditto	31 July 1770	Wm. Frazer, Esq.	300 — —		
Reader of Medicine at Oxford	Ditto	4 Nov. 1772	William Vivian	40 — —		
Recorder of the Borough of Leeds	Ditto	23 Aug. 1776	Samuel Buck, Esq.			
Clerk of the Parliaments	Ditto	Feb. 1783	George Rose, Esq.	40 — —	3,300 — —	Geo. Henry Rose, by patent, in October 1795.
Receiver General of all and singular the Issues, &c. of all the Honours, Castles, &c. within the Counties of Essex, Hertford, Middlesex, Norfolk, Huntingdon, and City of London						
Clerk of the Pells	Ditto	5 June 1783	Walter King, Clerk	— — —	570 — —	
Tellers of the Exchequer	Ditto	13 Jan. 1784	Isaac Barré	3,000 — —		
	Ditto	2 May 1763	Marquis of Buckingham	298 — —	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Ditto	18 Aug. 1766	Earl Camden	296 — —	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	Ditto	5 Jan. 1784	Lord Thurlow	2,700 — —		
	Ditto	22 Aug. 1786	Earl Bathurst	2,700 — —		
	Ditto	12 April 1789	Margaret Quarne	— — —	94 8 —	One to W. F. Eden, by patent, dated 31 July 1790.
Keeper of his Majesty's Palace at Westminster	Ditto	20 June 1789	Tho. Francis Wenman, D.L.	40 — —		
Professor of the Civil Law in the University of Oxford	Ditto	2 Nov. 1790	John Charles Villiers	2,450 — —		
Chief Justice in Eyre, North of Trent	Ditto	21 May 1791	Lord Belton	— 13 6 a day		
Governor of the Isle of Wight	Ditto	7 March 1792	David Dundas, Esq.	396 13 4		
Sergeant Surgeon in Ordinary	Ditto	13 Sept. 1779	Frederick North	— — —		
Chamberlains of the Exchequer	Ditto	17 July 1792	Montague Burgoyne	— — —	735 16 6	
Constable of Dover Castle, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports	Ditto	11 Oct. 1792	William Pitt	4,100 — —	735 16 6	
Professor of Botany at Cambridge	Ditto	13 Sept. 1793	Thomas Martyn	200 — —		
Keeper of the Little Park at Windsor	Ditto	27 Feb. 1794	Richard Grenville	600 — —		
Auditor of the Exchequer	Ditto	27 Feb. 1794	Lord Grenville	4,000 — —		
Reader of Physic at Cambridge	Ditto	9 Dec. 1794	Isaac Pennington	40 — —		
Steward of Lordship and Manors of Bromfield and Yale	Ditto	Feb. 1796	Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.	20 — —		
Reader of Civil Law at Cambridge	Ditto	2 July 1796	French Lawrence	40 — —		
Professor of Botany at Oxford	Ditto	28 Feb. 1797	George Williams	200 — —		
Knight Harbinger	Ditto	8 July 1797	Henry Rycroft, Esq.	195 16 8		



Description of Offices.	How appointed.	Dates of Patents or other Instruments.	Names of Possessors.	Salaries.	Fees.	To whom in Reversion.
Master Keeper of Bolderwood Walk, in the New Forest, in the County of Southampton	Patent for life	19 June 1798	{ His Highness Prince William Frederick, son of his R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.			
Principal or Head Keeper of Iron Hill Walk, in the New Forest, in the County of Southampton	Ditto	19 June 1798	{ Her Highness Princess Sophia Matilda, daughter of his R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.			
Ranger of the New Lodge Walk, in the Forest of Windsor, in the County of Berks	Ditto	19 June 1798	Do. Do.			
Warden and Keeper of the New Forest, in the County of Southampton	Ditto	20 June 1798	Duke of Gloucester.			
Keeper and Lieutenant of Windsor Forest, in the County of Berks	Ditto	20 June 1798	Do. Do.			
Keeper of Bagshot Park	Ditto	9 Aug. 1798	{ His Highness Prince William Frederick, son of his R. H. said Duke of Gloucester	£. s. d. 5 6 8	£. s. d. 870 13 1	
King's Remembrancer	Ditto	7 Nov. 1798	Thomas Steele	—		
Bailiff of the Franchise and Liberty of Richmond, in the County of York	Ditto	March 1799	Duke of Leeds	50 6 4		
Keeper of the original Seal for the Counties of Denbigh and Montgomery	Ditto	25 April 1800	Thomas Meredith	— 16 8		
Advocate General, Island of Jersey	Ditto	18 June 1800	Joshua Pyron, Esq.			
Chief Justice in Eyre, South of Trent	Ditto	13 Aug. 1800	Thomas Grenville			
Procurator General of the Island of Jersey	Ditto	20 Jan. 1801	John Dumaresq, Esq.	3,466 13 4		
Sealer to the Great Seal	Ditto	13 Feb. 1801	Robert Hand	83 6 8	293 6 4½	
Keeper of Salcey Forest	Ditto	Feb. 1801	Viscount Ipswich	40 — —		
Keeper of the Lions in the Tower	Ditto	23 May 1801	Joseph Bullock	— 12 6 per diem		
Professor of Physic in the University of Oxford	Ditto	24 Aug. 1801	Sir Christopher Pegge, Knight	40 — —		
Master of the Hawks	—	—	Duke of Saint Albans	1,342 — —		
Warden of Waltham Forest	—	—	Sir Ja. Tilney Long, Bart.	270 — —		
Chancellor of the Order of the Garter	Perpetuities	—	Bishop of Sarum	570 5 —		

*Mem.*—In addition to the offices mentioned in this Account, there are many others held for life or lives, by various tenures, under the courts of law at Westminster, and courts of great session for Wales, which are fully detailed in the twenty-seventh Report of the Finance Committee.



*An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from Great Britain, for eighteen Years, ending the 5th January 1802; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Value of Imports from the East Indies and China, from the Value of all other Imports: and distinguishing the Value of British Produce and Manufacture exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles exported; together with the Difference between the official Value, and the declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending the 5th January 1802.*

Years.	Official Value of Imports from				Official Value of			
	East Indies and China.		All other Parts.		British Produce and Manufactures exported.		Foreign Merchandise exported.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
1784	2,996,652	2 11	12,276,224	18 —	11,255,057	— 6	3,846,434	8 1
1785	2,703,940	14 1	13,575,478	7 5	11,081,810	16 5	5,035,357	17 10
1786	3,156,687	— 7	12,629,385	6 10	11,830,372	18 11	4,475,493	9 3
1787	3,430,868	— 6	14,373,146	15 7	12,053,900	3 5	4,815,889	3 1
1788	3,453,897	3 5	14,573,272	17 10	12,724,719	17 9	4,747,518	10 6
1789	3,362,545	4 10	14,458,557	5 9	13,779,506	2 6	5,561,042	15 1
1790	3,149,870	14 4	15,981,015	10 11	14,921,084	9 7	5,199,037	7 7
1791	3,698,713	13 —	15,971,069	— 7	16,810,018	16 4	5,921,976	10 11
1792	2,701,547	9 4	16,957,810	17 3	18,336,851	6 11	6,568,348	16 6
1793	3,499,023	12 10	15,757,693	16 10	13,892,268	17 7	6,497,911	9 3
1794	4,458,475	1 5	17,830,418	19 —	16,725,402	16 2	10,022,680	12 8
1795	5,760,810	8 3	16,976,079	1 8	16,338,213	2 2	10,785,125	15 2
1796	3,372,689	— 6	19,814,630	17 11	19,102,220	3 11	11,416,693	11 10
1797	3,942,384	5 1	17,071,572	12 4	16,903,103	6 1	12,013,907	2 —
1798	7,626,930	6 9	20,230,959	1 11	19,672,503	— 9	13,919,274	13 11
1799	4,284,805	9 10	22,552,626	16 5	24,084,213	— 10	11,907,116	3 11
1800	4,942,275	10 9	25,628,329	15 7	24,304,283	13 6	18,847,735	12 —
1801	—	—	27,374,757	6 4	25,719,979	18 6	16,523,480	5 1



*An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been annually built and registered in the several Ports of the British Empire, between the 5th January 1789 and the 5th January 1802.*

Years.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Years.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1789	827	71,090	1796	823	94,972
1790	725	68,695	1797	756	86,242
1791	766	68,940	1798	833	89,319
1792	821	78,120	1799	858	98,044
1793	800	75,085	1800	1,041	134,188
1794	714	66,021	1801	1,065	122,593
1795	719	72,181			

*An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from Ireland, for eighteen Years, ending the 5th January 1802; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles exported; together with the Difference between the official Value and the declared Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending the 5th January 1802.*

Years ending 25th March.	Official Value of Imports.			Official Value of					
				Irish Produce and Manufactures.			Foreign Merchandise exported.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1785	3,056,394	14	11	3,737,068	—	7½	42,502	—	8
1786	3,430,628	3	2	3,956,736	11	1½	54,174	16	8¼
1787	3,417,281	2	3¾	4,238,333	14	2½	62,314	—	4¾
1788	3,870,144	16	8¾	4,361,664	1	6	45,346	13	7
1789	3,790,602	3	—	4,103,339	12	6¾	41,663	9	9¼
1790	3,829,914	2	1¾	4,826,360	17	11¾	28,939	—	3¼
1791	4,071,794	4	2½	4,863,426	5	4	79,174	14	2¼
1792	4,338,012	4	7	5,321,290	2	7½	66,470	3	2¼
1793	4,085,149	17	9½	4,995,406	12	2	52,186	18	6¼
1794	3,216,405	8	2¾	4,639,301	1	2	25,861	17	6¼
1795	4,143,296	12	2	4,704,732	16	3¼	46,601	19	11
1796	4,656,608	5	3½	5,013,283	12	7¾	51,049	10	11
1797	4,436,943	—	7½	4,533,693	1	7¼	37,072	3	6½
1798	3,396,880	15	6¼	4,316,592	11	6¼	62,141	10	11
1799	4,393,015	1	3¼	4,455,339	11	7¾	138,575	16	9½
1800	6,183,457	—	5¼	3,903,841	9	—	175,430	1	9½
1801	5,584,596	10	5	3,570,338	2	8	248,724	5	4¼
1802									

*Inspector General's Office of Imports and Exports, Dublin, February 28th, 1802.*

ROBERT MARSHALL,  
Inspector General of Imports and Exports of Ireland.

There is no declared value for Ireland; as the merchants exporters here are not obliged to declare the real value, as has been the practice in England, in consequence of the convoy act. The Inspector General has, however, made an account of the real value, by computing the quantity of each article exported, according to the price current in Ireland, on which rates the value of Irish produce and manufactures exported from Ireland to all parts of the united kingdom in the year 1800, 105,634,365*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* and in the year 1801, 5,001,370*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*

The account of the value up to 5th January last, is preparing with as much dispatch as the nature of the statement will admit of.



*An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been annually built and registered in the several Ports of Ireland, between the 5th January 1789 and the 5th of January 1802.*

Years ending the 5th Jan.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1790	73	3,163
1791	50	2,334
1792	51	2,464
1793	42	1,629
1794	35	1,659
1795	32	1,441
1796	33	1,654

Years ending the 5th Jan.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1797	32	1,802
1798	19	797
1799	20	1,072
1800	18	1,105
1801	22	1,680
1802	21	1,383

28th Feb. 1802. FRA. MORGAN,  
Dep. Reg. Gen. of Shipping.

*An Account of the Number of Vessels, and the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of the British Empire, on the 30th of September in each Year respectively, during the Years 1799, 1800, and 1801: distinguishing Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Plantations in America, and the West Indies.*

	On the 30th Sept. 1799:			On the 30th Sept. 1800:			On the 30th Sept. 1801:		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
England	11,487	1,337,181	99,309	12,208	1,466,632	105,037	12,702	1,539,810	107,282
Jersey -	61	4,611	694	53	4,244	631	31	2,544	714
Guernsey	78	6,199	803	77	6,403	731	105	8,712	933
Man	227	5,146	1,210	238	5,463	1,285	253	5,094	1,338
Plantations	2,996	201,743	15,982	2,161	157,364	12,047	3,219	240,786	13,310
Scotland	2,031	148,110	12,413	2,155	161,807	13,883	2,458	186,130	15,535
Ireland	999	49,825	4,835	1,003	54,262	5,057	1,004	54,241	4,775
Total -	17,879	1,752,815	13,5237	17,895	1,856,175	138,721	19,772	2,037,317	143,887

The returns from many of the ports in the plantations being unreceived, and others which are received standing in need of correction, that part of this Account which relates to the year 1801, is from that cause unavoidably defective; but I conceive that the defect is not equal to the amount of shipping belonging to those ports, because it always happens, that when the returns from all the ports in the British empire are collected together and checked by each other, some alterations become necessary in most of them, owing to the circumstance of vessels being registered de novo at ports to which they did not formerly belong, without the knowledge of the officers at such former ports; I therefore do not presume to lay this Account before the House, as correct with respect to that year.

May 15th, 1802.

J. DALLEY,  
Assist. Reg. Gen. of Shipping.



*An Account of the Quantity of Malt on which Duty has been paid, from the 5th of July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year; with an Average of the Whole.*

	Bufhels.
Years ended the 23d of June	1784 - 26,601,058
	1785 - 27,086,821
	1786 - 22,747,634
	1787 - 27,272,841
	1788 - 26,868,996
	1789 - 24,250,514
	1790 - 22,669,579
	1791 - 27,919,010
	1792 - 28,661,374
	1793 - 24,452,837
	1794 - 25,588,151
	1795 - 24,693,567
	1796 - 28,142,008
	1797 - 30,923,419
	1798 - 26,963,454
	1799 - 31,751,645
	1800 - 14,480,714
	1801 - 18,566,946
Total	- 459,640,568
Average	- <u>25,535,587</u>

N. B. The duties on malt are made up to 23d of June, in conformity to the old malt acts of Parliament.

*Excise Office,* R. NICHOLAS.  
*London 9th* W. LOWNDES.  
*April* I. OLMIOUS.  
*1802.* T. CASWALL.  
 C. RIX, A. PHIPPS.  
*Accountant* W. JACKSON.  
*General.* R. SPILLER.  
 G. SEYMOUR.

*An Account of the Quantity of Hops on which Duty has been paid, from the 5th July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year; with a general Average of the Whole.*

	lbs. wt.
Years ending 5th July	1784 - 15,801,792
	1785 - 19,736,202
	1786 - 23,519,267
	1787 - 19,996,055
	1788 - 8,813,819
	1789 - 29,978,410
	1790 - 21,176,855
	1791 - 22,308,245
	1792 - 18,867,548
	1793 - 33,949,732
	1794 - 5,000,175
	1795 - 42,528,587
	1796 - 17,130,497
	1797 - 15,739,511
	1798 - 32,881,264
	1799 - 11,774,587
	1800 - 15,293,335
	1801 - 15,229,379
Total	- 369,775,260
Average lbs.	- <u>20,543,070</u>

*Excise Office,* R. NICHOLAS.  
*London, 9th* W. LOWNDES.  
*April* I. OLMIOUS.  
*1802.* T. CASWALL.  
 C. RIX, A. PHIPPS.  
*Accountant* W. JACKSON.  
*General.* R. SPILLER.  
 G. SEYMOUR.



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*An Account of the Number of Barrels of Strong Beer for which Duty has been paid, brewed from the 5th July 1783 to the 5th of July 1801; distinguishing each Year.*

			Number of Barrels.
From 5th July 1783 }	—	—	4,337,662 $\frac{1}{2}$
to 5th July 1784 }	—	—	
5	—	—	4,328,750 $\frac{3}{4}$
6	—	—	4,146,512
7	—	—	4,426,482 $\frac{3}{2}$
8	—	—	4,304,895 $\frac{3}{4}$
9	—	—	4,437,831 $\frac{3}{4}$
90	—	—	4,525,950 $\frac{1}{2}$
1	—	—	4,754,588 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	—	—	5,082,293 $\frac{1}{4}$
3	—	—	5,167,850 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	—	—	5,011,320 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	—	—	5,037,804 $\frac{1}{4}$
6	—	—	5,504,453
7	—	—	5,839,627
8	—	—	5,784,467
9	—	—	5,774,311 $\frac{1}{2}$
1800	—	—	4,824,306
1	—	—	4,734,978 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total	—	—	<u>88,024,085 <math>\frac{3}{4}</math></u>

*Excise Office, London,  
9th April 1802.*

NAT. PLANNER,  
Accountant General.

R. NICHOLAS.  
W. LOWNDES.  
I. OLMIOUS.  
T. CASWALL.  
A. PHIPPS.  
W. JACKSON.  
R. SPILLER.  
G. SEYMOUR.

*An Account of all Bounties on Corn and Rice imported, from the 1st January 1801, to the latest Period at which the same can be made up.*

The bounties paid on corn and  
rice imported into Great  
Britain, amounted between  
the 1st January 1801 and  
the 19th June 1802, to the  
sum of

£.      s.      d.  
1,912,486    7    7 $\frac{1}{2}$

SUPPLIES



# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1802.

## N A V Y, &c.

*November 9, 1801.*

**T**HAT 130,000 Seamen be employed for Three Lunar Months, commencing 1st January, 1802, including 30,000 Marines.

For Wages ditto	-	-	£. 721,500	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	-	-	741,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	1,170,000	0	0	0	0
For Ordnance for Sea Service	-	-	97,500	0	0

*November 12.*

For the Ordinary of the Navy	-	-	210,604	0	0
For the Extraordinaries of ditto	-	-	233,633	0	0
For the Transport Service, and for Maintenance of Prisoners of War in Health	-	-	360,000	0	0
For the Maintenance of Sick Prisoners of War	-	-	28,000	0	0

*March 11, 1802.*

THAT 130,000 Seamen be employed for Two Lunar Months, commencing 26th March, instant, including 30,000 Marines.

For Wages for ditto	-	-	481,000	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	-	-	490,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	-	-	780,000	0	0
For Ordnance for Sea Service	-	-	65,000	0	0

*March 13.*

For the Ordinary of the Navy	-	-	140,403	0	0
For the Extraordinary ditto	-	-	155,756	0	0
For the Transport Service, and the Maintenance of Prisoners of War in Health	-	-	240,000	0	0
For the Maintenance of Sick Prisoners of War	-	-	15,000	0	0

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£. 5,933,393 0 0

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*May 11, 1802.*

That 88,000 Seamen be employed for One Lunar Month, commencing 22 May instant, including 18,000 Marines.

For Wages for ditto	-	-	162,800	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	-	-	167,200	0	0

For



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For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	£.264,000	0	0
For Ordnance for Sea Service	-	22,000	0 0

May 20.

For the Ordinary of the Navy	-	70,201	0 0
For Extraordinary of ditto	-	77,878	0 0
For the Transport Service, and for Maintenance of Prisoners of War in Health	-	109,000	0 0
For the Maintenance of Sick Prisoners of War	-	3,000	0 0

June 10.

That 70,000 Seamen be employed for Seven Lunar Months, commencing the 18th instant, including 14,000 Marines.

For Wages for ditto	-	906,500	0 0
Victuals for ditto	-	931,000	0 0
Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	-	1470,000	0 0
Ordnance for Sea Service	-	122,500	0 0

June 15.

For the Ordinary Establishment of the Navy for Seven Months, commencing 18th instant	-	637,316	17 5
For the Extra ditto	-	306,233	0 0
For the Transport Service and the Maintenance of Prisoners of War	-	608,518	15 1
For the Maintenance of Sick Prisoners of War	-	12,000	0 0
For an Increase of Half-Pay to Commissioned Officers, and an additional Pay to warrant Officers of the Navy, for Six Months, commencing 1st July	-	30,000	0 0

£. 11,838,570 0 0

## A R M Y.

November 14, 1801.

THAT 58,718 Men be employed for Land Service, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, including 7,175 Invalids, from 25th December 1801, to 24th March 1802, both inclusive, being 90 Days.

That 13,660 Men be employed for Land Service in Ireland, including 661 Invalids, from 25th December 1801, to 24th of March 1802.

For 58,718 Men for Guards, Garrisons, and other Land Forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney	-	557,439	16 3
For 13,660 effective Men for Land Forces in Ireland	-	147,727	10 0
For Forces in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	-	634,231	2 7

For Four Troops of Dragoons, and Seventeen Companies of Foot, stationed in Great Britain, for recruiting Regiments serving in the East Indies	-	9,370	14 3
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For



For Contingencies for Land Forces, for Watch Coats for Infantry, and for extra Forage for Cavalry in Great Britain	-	-	£.95,000	0	0
For Contingencies for Land Forces in Ireland	-	-	3,964	6	4
For general and Staff Officers, and Officers of Hospitals in Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney	-	-	21,000	6	8
For embodied Militia, and Fencible Infantry in Great Britain	-	-	379,178	19	8
For ditto, ditto, in Ireland	-	-	346,205	7	5
For Contingencies for ditto in Great Britain	-	-	12,500	0	0
For ditto, for ditto in Ireland	-	-	8,769	4	8
For full Pay to Supernumerary Officers	-	-	6,253	17	4
For Allowances to the Paymaster General, Commissary General of the Musters, Judge Advocate General, &c. in Great Britain	-	-	27,256	0	0
For Subsistence to Innkeepers, &c. on Quartering Soldiers, and Allowance to the Land Forces in Great Britain, for Small Beer	-	-	105,000	0	0
For Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines in Great Britain, to One Private Gentleman of Reduced Horse Guards, and to One Superannuated Gentleman of the Horse Guards	-	-	34,273	19	5
For Half Pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers of British American Forces	-	-	14,794	10	4
For Reduced Officers of Scotch Brigade	-	-	246	11	6
For In and Out Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, and Expences of Hospital	-	-	36,651	12	0
For Pensions to Widows of Officers of Land Forces in Great Britain	-	-	5,292	7	3
For Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry in Great Britain	-	-	180,000	0	0
For ditto in Ireland	-	-	108,366	9	3
For the Barrack Department in Great Britain	-	-	146,166	0	0
For Foreign Corps in the Service of Great Britain	-	-	117,969	19	6
<i>December 1.</i>					
To defray the extraordinary Services of the Army in Great Britain	-	-	600,000	0	0
Ditto.....ditto.....in Ireland	-	-	300,000	0	0
For extra Forage for Cavalry in Ireland	-	-	46,606	3	1
For Allowances to the Muster Master General and other principal Officers in Ireland	-	-	1,722	15	6
For Half Pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers and Retired Chaplains of the land Forces in Ireland	-	-	6,157	18	2
For Pensions to the Widows of Officers of the Land Forces in Ireland	-	-	1,267	11	11
For General and Staff Officers, including the permanent Allowances of the Medical Board in Ireland	-	-	13,868	9	1
					For



For Medicines, Bedding, and Hospital Contingencies for the Forces in Ireland, and for the Royal Military Infirmary in Dublin	-	£.5,555	19	2
For the In and Out-Pensioners and internal Expences of Kilmainham Hospital	-	14,148	0	2
For the Barrack Department in Ireland	-	88,892	6	2
For Allowance to Forces in Ireland for Small Beer	-	25,133	17	9
For ditto to ditto while on a March	-	2,307	13	11
<i>February 8, 1802.</i>				
For defraying the extraordinary Expences of the Army, not so provided for in 1801	-	1,847,174	0	0
<i>March 4.</i>				
That 61,176 Men be employed for Land Service in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, including 7,175 Invalids, from 25th March to 24th May 1802, both inclusive				
That 23,269 Men be employed for Land Service in Ireland, including 661 Invalids, from 25th March to 24th May 1802.				
For Guards and Garrisons, and other Land Forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney	-	398,577	9	4
For Land Forces in Ireland	-	120,423	10	2
For Forces in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	-	386,657	11	11
For Four Troops of Dragoons and Seventeen Companies of Foot, stationed in Great Britain, for recruiting Regiments serving in East India	-	6,351	5	3
For Fencible Infantry in Great Britain	-	40,189	7	10
Ditto.....ditto.....Ireland	-	84,013	7	7
For the Barrack Department in Great Britain	-	99,064	0	0
Ditto in Ireland	-	59,307	13	11
For Foreign Corps in the Service of Great Britain	-	75,511	0	0
<i>May 11.</i>				
That 61,176 Men be employed for Land Service in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, including 7,175 Invalids from 25th May instant to 24th June following, both Days inclusive.				
That 23,269 Men be employed for Land Service in Ireland, including 661 Invalids for the same Time.				
For Guards, Garrisons, and other Land Forces in Great Britain, &c.	-	202,555	15	2
For Land Forces in Ireland	-	61,198	16	8
Ditto in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	-	190,498	2	5
For Fencible Infantry in Great Britain	-	24,424	2	4
Ditto in Ireland	-	42,695	6	5
Vol. XLIV, or Vol. II, New Series. * U				<i>June</i>



*June 10.*

That 70,299 Men be employed for Land Service in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th instant to December 24th following, both inclusive.

For Guards, Garrisons, and other Land Forces in Great Britain - - -

£.764,391 3 0

For Land Forces in Ireland - - -

439,035 16 1

For Ditto in Plantations, including Gibraltar, Ceylon, and New South Wales - - -

352,844 1 1

For Four Troops of Dragoons and Seventeen Companies of Foot, in Great Britain, recruiting for Regiments serving in East India, from 25th March to 24th June - - -

3,227 13 9

Ditto, from 25th June to 24th December - - -

17,299 9 0

For Recruiting and Contingencies for Land Forces in Great Britain - - -

77,500 0 0

Ditto.....and for Extra Forage for Cavalry in Ireland - - -

174,000 0 0

For General and Staff Officers, and Officers of Hospitals in Great Britain, from 25th March to 24th June - - -

13,847 0 0

Ditto.....from 25th June to 24th December - - -

17,232 16 10

Ditto.....in Ireland, from 25th March to 24th June - - -

13,868 9 1

Ditto.....ditto.....from 24th June to 24th December - - -

7,981 12 4

For Full Pay to Supernumerary Officers in Great Britain, from 25th March to 24th December - - -

27,754 4 11

Ditto.....in Ireland, from 25th June to 24th December - - -

1,200 0 0

For Allowances to the Paymaster General, Secretary at War, &c. &c. in Great Britain, from the 25th March to 24th December - - -

100,855 3 10

Ditto.....to Muster Master, &c. &c. in Ireland - - -

5,191 18 4

For Subsistence to Innkeepers and Others, on Quarters Soldiers in Great Britain - - -

140,000 0 0

For Allowances to Forces in Ireland for Small Beer - - -

60,313 16 11

To Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines in Great Britain, from 25th March to 24th June - - -

35,035 12 3

For Half Pay to Reduced Officers of Land Forces in Ireland, from ditto to ditto - - -

6,212 3 8

To Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines in Great Britain, from 25th June to 24th December - - -

144,500 0 0

For Half Pay of Reduced Officers of Land Forces in Ireland, from 25th June to 24th December - - -

26,196 4 8

For Half Pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers of British American Forces, from 25th March to 24th December - - -

45,205 9 7

On



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On Account of several Officers late in the Services of the States General, ditto to ditto	-	£.753	8	5
For In and Out Pensioners, and internal Expences of Chelsea Hospital, ditto to ditto	-	156,511	11	2
Ditto.....of Royal Hospital near Kilmainham, ditto to ditto	-	26,193	4	0
For Pensions to Widows of Officers of Land Forces in Great Britain, ditto to ditto	-	16,171	2	2
Ditto.....in Ireland, ditto to ditto	-	3,873	4	0
For defraying the Charge of Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry in Great Britain, from 25th March to 30th April	-	72,000	0	0
Ditto.....in Ireland, from ditto to 24th May	-	68,926	19	9
For Barrack Department in Great Britain from 25th May to 24th December	-	297,184	0	0
Ditto....in Ireland, from ditto to ditto	-	136,990	1	10
For Foreign Corps in Service of Great Britain from ditto to ditto	-	321,800	14	0
For Hospital Contingencies in Ireland, from ditto to ditto	-	16,191	14	10

*June 15.*

For defraying the Extraordinary Services of the Army in Great Britain for 1802	-	1,000,000	0	0
		<u>£.12,238,282</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>

## M I L I T I A.

*March 25th, 1802.*

For the Embodied Militia of Great Britain, from 25th March 1802, to 24th May, both inclusive	-	238,000	0	0
Ditto.....in Ireland	-	135,692	6	2
The defraying the Expences of the re-embodied Militia, from August 3, 1801, to December 24, 1801, inclusive	-	114,000	0	0
		<u>£.487,692</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>

## O R D N A N C E.

*November 14, 1801.*

For Ordnance for Land Service in Great Britain	-	400,000	0	0
For ditto in Ireland	-	75,000	0	0

*March 18, 1802.*

For Ordnance for Land Service for April and May 1802, in Great Britain	-	266,666	13	4
Ditto.....in Ireland	-	50,000	0	0

*May 11.*

For Ordnance for Land Service in Great Britain	-	133,336	6	8
Ditto.....in Ireland	-	25,000	0	0

U 2

*June*



*June 10.*

For Ordnance for Land Service for Six Months, from July 1 to December 31	-	£.272,266	9	7
Ditto.....not provided for in 1800	-	17,088	3	4
Ditto.....ditto.....1801	-	102,197	5	9
For ditto in Ireland for Six Months, from July 1 to December 31	-	53,076	18	5
		<hr/> £.1,395,351 17 1 <hr/>		

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

*November 20, 1801.*

For the Relief of the suffering Clergy and Laity of France, and American Loyalists	-	69,000	0	0
For Foreign and other Secret Services	-	35,000	0	0
For defraying Expences of Convicts	-	8,000	0	0
For Foreign and other Secret Services	-	12,500	0	0

*November 24.*

To make good Money, issued for the Purchase of Buildings, for the Accommodation of Parliament		300	0	0
Ditto....for publishing the Price of Sugar and Rice		460	10	0
Ditto....for preparing Abstracts of Population		100	0	0
Ditto....for additional Allowances to Clerks in the Office for auditing the public Accounts		2,707	18	0
Ditto....to defray Expences of extending the Establishment of Thames Police Office		1,500	0	0
Ditto....for taking an Account of the Population		135	14	0
Ditto....towards carrying into Effect a Plan for enquiring into the Mendicity of the Metropolis		500	0	0
Ditto....for Expences at the Parliament Office		354	11	9
Ditto....to the Chairman of Committees of the House of Peers	-	2,701	9	0
Ditto....to Mr. Thornton, for Attendance on Commissioners respecting Cold Bath Prison		99	11	6
Ditto....for Repairs of the Harbour of Port Patrick		471	14	0
Ditto....to pay Artificers at both Houses of Par- liament	-	5,000	0	0
Ditto....to pay the Expence of the Passage of Mr. Rudd and Family to Quebec	-	130	11	0
Ditto....pursuant to Addresses	-	14,049	14	0

*December 1.*

For defraying the Expence of Pratique, in the Port of Dublin	-	(Sterling)....240	18	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....of Civil Buildings in Ireland	-	7,384	12	0
Ditto....of apprehending public Offenders in Ire- land	-	576	18	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....likely to be incurred by the Solicitor of criminal Causes in Ireland	-	5,769	4	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Ditto		



# APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 293.

Ditto....the Expence of Proclamations and Ad- vertisements in the Dublin Gazette	-	£.1,620	18	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of Printing certain Statutes in Ireland	-	869	12	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....the Expence of Printing, Stationary, and other Disbursements, for the Public Offices in Ire- land	-	4,541	10	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....the incidental Expences of the Board of Treasury in Ireland	-	461	10	9
Ditto....the Expence of Building further Offices for the Records of Ireland, and to discharge Sums due for building Courts of Justice	-	1,384	12	2
To be paid to the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures in Ireland	-	4,984	12	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....to the Board of First Fruits in Ireland, for building and re-building Churches	-	1,153	16	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....to the Dublin Society, for promoting Husbandry and other useful Arts	-	1,269	4	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
To be applied towards completing additional Build- ings at the Repository of the Dublin Society in Hawkins's-street, and Botanic Garden at Glas Nevin, with the Approbation of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant	-	1,038	9	2
Ditto....in promoting the Purposes of the Farm- ing Societies in Ireland	-	461	10	9
To be paid to the Corporation for paving, cleansing, and lighting the City of Dublin	-	2,307	13	9
Ditto....to the Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin	-	1,038	9	2
For defraying the Charge of the incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland	-	4,552	12	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Foundling Hospital in Ireland	-	3,461	10	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Hibernian Marine Nursery for Sailor's Children	-	461	10	9
Ditto....of supporting the Westmoreland Lock Hospital in Dublin	-	1,545	4	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Hibernian School for Soldier's Children in Dublin	-	913	16	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....of the Roman Catholic Seminary in ditto	-	1,846	3	0
Ditto....of supporting the House of Industry for Relief of the Poor in ditto	-	3,898	2	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....of the Society for promoting the Know- ledge and Practice of the Christian Religion in ditto	-	69	4	7
Ditto of the Female Orphan House, near Dublin, for deserted Female Children	-	115	7	8
February 8, 1802.				
For discharging the Navy Debt	-	2,000,000	0	0
U 3				March



*March 25.*

To make good Money paid for Salaries of Officers, and incidental Expences of the Commission for the Reduction of the national Debt	£.2,860	15	0
Ditto....for the one third Part of the Annuity of 19,000 <i>l.</i> payable to the Duke of Richmond, pursuant to an Act of 39th and 40th Geo. III.	144,611	2	0
Ditto....to the Officers of the Exchequer, for extra Trouble in making out Exchequer Bills	500	0	0
Ditto....to the Bank of England for Discounts on Prompt Payments to the Loan and Lottery for 1801	458,514	8	7
Ditto to Ditto for receiving the Contributions to the Loan, and Subscriptions to the Lottery for 1801	23,562	3	4
Ditto....for the incidental Expences of the Lottery for 1801	1,500	0	0
To indemnify Lord St. Vincent, and Lord Grey, late Commanders in Chief in the West Indies, on Account of Decrees against them in the High Court of Admiralty, for the Detention of American Ships at the Capture of Martinique, and other Places in the West Indies	45,332	17	6
To make good the Deficiency of the Sum of 1,200,000 <i>l.</i> granted out of the Duties on Goods imported and exported, and on Tonnage on Ships and Vessels for 1801	410,000	0	0

*March 29.*

For defraying the Expences of Pratique, in the Port of Dublin, for nine Months	(Sterling) . . 726	0	2
Ditto....for apprehending public Offenders	1,730	15	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto....for criminal Prosecutions	17,307	14	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto....of Proclamations and Advertisements in the Dublin Gazette	4,865	1	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....of Printing and other Disbursements in the Public Offices	13,625	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto....of the Treasury	1,384	12	4
Ditto....of Building further Offices for the Records of Ireland, and for discharging Sums due for building Courts of Justice	4,153	17	0
Ditto....of Working the Gold Mine in Wicklow	1,846	3	1
Ditto....of cloathing the Battle-axe Guards	683	1	6
To be paid to the Dublin Society, for promoting Husbandry and other useful Arts	3,807	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
To be applied towards completing additional Buildings at the Repository of the Dublin Society in Hawkins's Street, and Botanic Garden at Glas Nevis, &c.	3,115	7	9
For defraying the Charge to be incurred by the Farming Society	1,384	12	4
Ditto....of the Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland	13,505	7	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
			Ditto



For defraying the Charge of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin	£.12,692	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Hibernian Marine Nursery for Sailor's Children	6,532	18	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Hibernian School for Soldier's Children	3,240	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....of supporting the Westmoreland Lock Hospital in Dublin	4,164	18	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Roman Catholic Seminary in ditto	5,538	9	4
Ditto....of supporting the House of Industry, for the Relief of the Poor in ditto	13,167	3	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto....of the Society for promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion in Ireland	553	16	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto....of the Female Orphan House near Dublin, for deserted Female Children	346	3	1
Ditto....of fitting up and supporting a Penitentiary or House of Reform in Dublin, for young Criminals	1,896	4	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>March 30.</i>			
To discharge the Debts due and owing upon the Civil List on the fifth Day of January, 1802	990,053	0	0
<i>April 5.</i>			
To make good the Sum paid for Repairs at Port Patrick	471	14	0
Ditto....for preparing Abstracts of Population	500	0	0
Ditto....for continuing the Index to the Journal of the House of Lords	655	5	0
Ditto....to Commissioners for superintending the Arrangement for the Restitution of the Danish Colonies	278	7	0
Ditto....for Copies of the Abstracts of the Population of England and Wales	125	13	6
Ditto....for additional Allowance to the Clerks in Office for auditing the Public Accounts	2,040	10	6
Ditto....to Edward Colman, esq. Serjeant at Arms, attending the House of Commons, in reimbursement of the Expences attending his Removal from his late House in Exchequer-court, for the Accommodation of the Public	324	10	0
Ditto....to pay Bills drawn on Account of New South Wales, due in 1801, being the Excess of the Sum granted for that Purpose	10,539	4	3
Ditto....to pay a Bill drawn by the Consul at Algiers, for Expences incurred on Account of 223 Persons, including a Corsican Crew, taken under English Colours, previous to the English taking Corsica	1,121	0	0
Ditto....for publishing in the London Gazette,			



weekly, Returns of the Average of Muscovado Sugar		£.439,14	0	0
Ditto.....to the late Governor of New South Wales, for Expences providing necessary Supplies for the Consumption on his Voyage home from that Colony		324	9	6
Ditto.....To new Settlers on their Departure for the Colony of New South Wales		78	0	0
For defraying the Charge incurred for Prosecutions, &c. relating to the Coin		2,824	4	0
Ditto.....of the Expences likely to be incurred for confining and maintaining the Convicts at Home		31,024	0	0
Ditto.....of the Superintendance of Aliens		7,620	0	0
To make good to the consolidated Fund the like Sum paid for Bounties on Corn and Grain imported to the 20th of March, 1802.		1,620,218	19	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
PLANTATIONS.	{ For the Civil Establishment of Upper Canada	7,950	0	0
	{ Ditto.....of Nova Scotia	7,515	8	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	{ Ditto.....of New Brunswick	4,650	0	0
	{ Ditto.....of Prince Edward Island	2,194	4	11
	{ Ditto.....of Cape Breton	3,598	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	{ Ditto.....of Newfoundland	1,375	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
	{ Ditto.....of the Bahama Islands	4,100	0	0
	{ Ditto.....of the Bermuda or Somers Islands	580	0	0
	{ Ditto.....of the Island of Dominica	600	0	0
	{ Ditto.....of New South Wales	5,908	0	0
April 10.				
For defraying the Charge of Civil Buildings in Ireland		15,692	6	6
Ditto.....of the Office of Secretary to the Commissioners of charitable Donations in Ireland		276	18	6
To be paid to the Board of First Fruits in Ireland for building and re-building Churches		3,461	10	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto.....to the Trustees of the Linen and Hemp Manufacture		14,953	17	2
For defraying the Expence of the Fever Hospital in Dublin		1,384	12	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
To be paid to the Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin		3,115	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto.....to the Corporation for paving, cleansing, and lighting the City of Dublin		6,923	1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
April 29.				
To the Duke of Sussex		12,000	0	0
Ditto,....Cambridge		12,000	0	0
May 27.				
For the Relief of the suffering Clergy and Laity of France, Toulonese, and Corsican Emigrants, St. Domingo Sufferers, and American Loyalists		173,535	0	0
June				



# APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 297

June 3.

To be paid to Dr. Jenner, as a Reward for promulgating his Discoveries of the Vaccine Inoculation	£.10,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . to Mr. Greathead, for his Invention of the Life Boat	1,200	0	0

June 10.

For defraying the Charge of the Royal Military College	6,369	0	0
For completing the Buildings of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea for the Reception of the Children of Soldiers	13,000	0	0
For paying off and discharging Treasury Bills within the Year (Sterling) . . .	372,138	9	3
For defraying the Expence of compiling, printing, and binding the eight Volumes of the Journals of the House of Lords, of Ireland, and Index thereto	2,324	4	7½
For discharging the Sums remaining unpaid on Account of printing and binding 1500 Copies of the new Edition of the Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland	6,951	18	6½
Ditto . . . . to the Persons employed in preparing a new Edition of the Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland, for making Indexes to the several Volumes, and a general Index to the whole Work	2,584	12	4
To be paid to the Accountant General for his Trouble in preparing and stating the public Accounts of Ireland	313	16	11
Ditto to the Deputy Accountant General for ditto, for one Year, ending January 5, 1802	221	10	9
Ditto . . . . to the Paymaster of Corn Bounties in Ireland	738	9	3
Ditto . . . . to Examiner of ditto	184	12	4
Ditto . . . . to the Inspector General of Imports and Exports, for preparing Accounts of same in Ireland	230	15	5
Ditto . . . . to the first Clerk in Office of ditto for ditto	184	12	4
Ditto . . . . to Examiner of Excise, for preparing Accounts for Parliament	184	12	4
Ditto . . . . to Clerk in the Office of Auditor of Exchequer for ditto	184	12	0

June 12.

To complete the sum of 3,100,000 <i>l.</i> granted out of the Monies that should arise from the Surplus of the consolidated Fund, for the Year 1801	2,776,080	17	10½
For defraying the probable Amount of Bills drawn and to be drawn from the Settlement of New			

South



South Wales, and which may become due in the Course of the Year	-	£.30,000	0	0
To make good the Sum paid for Bounties on Corn, &c. in Scotland, to the 5th of April	-	22,082	9	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
For defraying the Charge of the Works and Repairs of Military Roads and Bridges in Scotland	-	6,012	14	1
For the Board of Agriculture	-	3,000	0	0
For the Support of the Veterinary College	-	1,500	0	0
To enable the Trustees of the British Museum to carry on the Trusts	-	3,000	0	0
To be advanced to the Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading into the Levant Seas, to assist the said Company in carrying on their Trade	-	5,000	0	0
To be paid to Mr. Edwards, for the like Sum advanced by him towards the Loan for the Year 1795, and which became forfeited to the Public by accidentally omitting to make the future Payments	-	1,108	16	0
For the Civil Establishment of Sierra Leone	-	10,000	0	0
For defraying the Expence of completing the Repairs of St. Margaret, Westminster	-	4,500	0	0
Ditto . . . of Yeomanry in Ireland	-	30,000	0	0
<i>June 14.</i>				
To Lord Hutchinson	-	2,000	0	0
<i>June 15.</i>				
The Amount of the Valuation of the Dutch Ships which surrendered to his Majesty's Fleet under the Command of Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, at the Newdeep, on the 30th of August, 1799	-	199,812	14	7
For repairing, &c. British Forts and Settlements on the Coasts of Africa	-	20,000	0	0
For Foreign and other secret Services for nine Months from 1st April, 1802, to 1st January, 1803	-	90,000	0	0
Being the Excess in the Year ending 5th January, 1802, beyond the Sum limited by an Act of 32d Geo. III. as the annual Charge for the Expences of the Seven Police Offices	-	1,290	4	0
For defraying the Expences of the Prosecution of Geo. Stratton, Esq. and others, for deposing Lord Pigot, and usurping the Government of Fort St. George, in the East Indies	-	1,184	10	7
Ditto . . . incurred by the Sierra Leone Company, for Maroons, which were sent there from Halifax	-	5,903	19	8
For defraying the Expences of the Commission under the 6th and 7th Articles of the American Treaty	-	11,948	7	0
For ditto . . . incurred in printing the 54th and	-			



# APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. \* 299

55th Volumes of the Journals of the House of Commons, with the Indexes thereto	-	£.4,605	9	5
For ditto....likely to be incurred for printing the Journals, Votes, Bills, and other Papers of the House of Commons, including Two Volumes of Population Returns	-	12,000	0	0
For ditto....incurred under the Directions of the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty for publishing the Records of the Kingdom	-	4,727	18	4
For ditto....of taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain	-	612	19	8
Ditto....incurred in the Alterations and Repairs of both Houses of Parliament, and of the House of the Speaker of the House of Commons	-	19,991	1	11
Ditto....incurred in the Alterations that were necessary on the Change of the Apartments allotted to the Office of the Duchy of Cornwall in Somerset Place	-	698	12	5
Ditto....incurred in the Repairs of the Fleet Prison	-	302	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
For defraying the Civil contingent Charges for the Service of Ireland for 1802, of which no Estimate can now be made	-	50,000	0	0
<hr/>				
£.11,177,917 10 9 $\frac{3}{4}$				
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## NATIONAL DEBT.

*April 5, 1802.*

To the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the Account of the Commissioners for Reduction of the National Debt	-	£.200,000	0	0
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## EXCHEQUER BILLS.

*November 14, 1801.*

For paying of Exchequer Bills made out by Virtue of Act 39th and 40th Geo. III. for raising 3,500,000 <i>l.</i> thereby	-	3,500,000	0	0
Ditto....by Virtue of an Act of same Session for raising 3,000,000 <i>l.</i>	-	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto....by ditto for raising the Sum of 2,000,000 <i>l.</i>	-	2,000,000	0	0
Ditto....by ditto....of ditto, for raising the Sum of 6,500,000	-	6,500,000	0	0
<hr/>				
<i>March</i>				





300 \*

## ANNUAL REGISTER, 1802.

*March 25, 1802.*

For paying Interest on sundry Exchequer Bills  
made out by Virtue of Seven Acts of the 39th and  
40th, and the 41st Geo. III. - £.505,520 9 1

*March 25.*

For paying off Exchequer Bills, made out by Virtue  
of the Act of the last Session for 3,000,000*l.* 3,000,000 0 0

*June 12.*

For paying off Exchequer Bills, made out by Virtue  
of an Act of 39th and 40th Geo. III. for the  
Year 1800, outstanding and unprovided for 1,066,493 7 1½

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£.19,572,013 16 2¼

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## R E C A P I T U L A T I O N.

Navy	-	-	-	11,833,570	12	6
Army	-	-	-	12,238,282	13	9
Militia	-	-	-	487,692	6	2
Ordnance	-	-	-	1,395,351	17	1
Miscellaneous Services	-	-	-	11,177,917	10	9¾
National Debt	-	-	-	200,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills	-	-	-	19,572,013	16	2¼
Total of Supply				£.56,904,828	16	6¾

## WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

## GRANTS.

*December 1, 1801.*

For raising the Sum of 5,000,000*l.* by Exchequer  
Bills - - - 5,000,000 0 0

*February 11, 1804*

For raising 2,100,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills 2,100,000 0 0

*March 4.*

For raising 1,000,000*l.* by ditto - 1,000,000 0 0

*April 6.*

For raising 25,000,000*l.* by Annuities, whereof the  
Charges of 23,000,000*l.* are to be defrayed on the  
Part of Great Britain, and 2,000,000*l.* on the  
Part of Ireland - - - 25,000,000 0 0

*April 26.*

That the Charge of the Militia in England, for the  
Year, be defrayed out of the Monies arising by  
the Land Tax.

That



That the Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Time of Peace, for the Year, be defrayed out of the same.

For raising 555,000*l.* by Lottery - - £.555,000 0 0

That the Allowances to Adjutants, &c. of the Militia, disembodied in Pursuance of an Act 39 and 40 Geo. III. be defrayed out of the Monies arising by the Land Tax.

*May 21.*

That the Allowance to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia of Ireland during Peace, for the Year, be defrayed out of the consolidated Fund of Ireland.

*June 12.*

That there be issued out of the Monies that shall arise of the Surplus of the consolidated Fund 4,500,000 0 0

To be raised by Loans or Exchequer Bills, to be charged on the first Aids to be granted in the next Session - - - 1,500,000 0 0

To be issued out of the Exchequer, remaining there of the Sum granted for the Assistance of the Queen of Portugal - - - 99,886 4 8

*June 15.*

For raising the further Sum of 5,000,000*l.* by Exchequer Bills - - - 5,000,000 0 0

To be issued the Surplus of Grants for 1801 114,000 16 11

*June 15.*

To be issued out of the Monies that shall arise of the Surplus of the consolidated Fund of Ireland 650,000 0 0

To be issued, remaining in the Treasury of Ireland of the Grants for 1795 (Irish currency) 39,329 18 8

Surplus Subscription on Exchequer Bills funded 180,874 0 0

Estimated, Duties, &c. - - - 9,665,737 16 3

Total Ways and Means £.56,904,828 16 6



## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses, on opening the Second Session of the Imperial Parliament, on the 29th of October 1801.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
 “ I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the important negotiations, in which I was engaged at the close of the last Session of Parliament, are brought to a favourable conclusion. The differences with the Northern Powers have been adjusted by a Convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and Sweden have expressed their readiness to accede. The essential rights for which we contended are thereby secured; and provision is made that the exercise of them shall be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties. Preliminaries of peace have also been ratified between me and the French Republick; and I trust that this important arrangement, whilst it manifests the justice and moderation of my views, will also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. Copies of these papers shall forth-

with be laid before you; and I earnestly hope, that the transactions to which they refer will meet with the approbation of my Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed such estimates to be prepared of the various demands for the public service as appear to me to be best adapted to the situation in which we are now placed. It is painful to me to reflect, that provision cannot be made for defraying the expences which must unavoidably be continued, for a time, in different parts of the world, and for maintaining an adequate Peace establishment, without large additional supplies. You may, however, be assured, that all possible attention shall be paid to such æconomical arrangements as may not be inconsistent with the great object of effectually providing for the security of all my dominions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot sufficiently describe the gratification and comfort I derive from the relief, which the bounty of Divine Providence has afforded to my people, by the abundant produce



produce of the late harvest. In contemplating the situation of the country at this important conjuncture, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing the deep sense I entertain of the temper and fortitude, which have been manifested by all descriptions of my faithful subjects, under the various and complicated difficulties with which they have had to contend. The distinguished valour and eminent services of my forces by sea and land, which, at no period, have been surpassed; the unprecedented exertions of the Militia and Fencibles, and the zeal and perseverance of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry, are entitled to my warmest acknowledgements; and I am persuaded, that you will join with me in reflecting, with peculiar satisfaction, on the naval and military operations of the last campaign; and on the successful and glorious issue of the expedition to Egypt, which has been marked throughout by achievements, tending, in their consequences and by their example, to produce lasting advantage and honour to this country. It is my first wish, and most fervent prayer, that my people may experience the reward they have so well merited, in a full enjoyment of the blessings of Peace, in a progressive increase of the national commerce, credit, and resources; and, above all, in the undisturbed possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, under the safeguard and protection of that Constitution, which it has been the great object of all our efforts to preserve, and which it is our most sacred duty to transmit, unimpaired, to our descendants.

*On Monday the 15th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented a Message from his Majesty, which was as follows:*

G. R.

**H**IS Majesty feels great concern in acquainting the House of Commons, that the provision made by Parliament for defraying the expenses of his household and civil establishment, has been found inadequate for their support, and that a considerable debt has been unavoidably incurred, an account of which his Majesty has given directions to be laid before Parliament. His Majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, to take the same into their early consideration, and to adopt such measures as the same may appear to them to require.

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*On Tuesday the 27th of April in the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought down the following Message from his Majesty.*

G. R.

**H**IS Majesty being desirous of making a competent provision for his beloved children the Duke of Suffex and the Duke of Cambridge, and the sums of money applicable to the support of his Civil Government being insufficient for that purpose, his Majesty requests the assistance of Parliament on the present occasion, and trusts that his faithful Commons will not fail to make such provision as the circumstances of the case may seem to require.

*Message*



*Message from his Majesty to the  
House of Commons, June 11.*

G. R.

**H**IS Majesty having taken into his royal consideration the eminent services performed by lieutenant general lord Hutchinson, during the late glorious and successful campaign in Egypt, and being desirous of bestowing upon the said lord Hutchinson a signal mark of his royal favour and approbation, and for this purpose to give and grant unto the said lieutenant general lord Hutchinson, and the two next succeeding heirs male of his body, to whom the title of baron Hutchinson, of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, shall descend, a net annuity of 2,000*l.* recommends it to his faithful Commons to consider of a proper method of enabling his Majesty to grant the same, and of extending, securing, and settling such annuity upon the said lieutenant general lord Hutchinson, and the two next succeeding heirs on whom the title of baron Hutchinson, of Alexandria and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, shall descend, in such manner as shall be thought more effectual for the benefit of the said lord Hutchinson and his family.

*Lords Protest against the Passing of  
the Malt Bill.*

Dissentient,

BECAUSE the constitutional argument which was urged for suspending the grant of any supply, until the accustomed communication had been made from the crown to parliament, and from

the very essence of the British constitution. First, that no grant of supply can in any case be made to the crown, except in consequence of a previous demand for aid; and, secondly, that such demand must not only describe the general services for which the aid is asked, but must also specify whether those services are calculated on an expectation of peace, or of war, or of preparation for war. These two propositions have been invariably adopted in the practice of our constitution. No instance has yet been alleged in which they have ever been violated, except in the present case, and their state maintenance is essential to the discharge of all our most important duties. If parliament alone can decide upon the amount of the supply to be granted, it is obvious that parliament must be informed of the extent and nature of the services which that supply is to defray; a question which must always essentially depend on the probability or certainty of peace or war. For the solution of this question we are now referred to public notoriety alone. We answer, that the constitution of our country intitles us to more authentic information; that such is the course which the law and usage of parliament have established, and that, unless the uniform practice of our ancestors be adhered to in this respect, we can neither satisfactorily regulate our own conduct, nor judge as we ought of the measures of government. But we deny that any notoriety as to the point in question does in fact exist. The dangers of the country are indeed sufficiently notorious, but parliament is yet to learn by what system of conduct

the



the king's government proposes to avert or encounter those dangers. The determinations of the ministers, as far as we know them, have been uncertain and fluctuating, their councils undecided, their measures inconsistent, and their language contradictory. We are called upon to provide for an establishment large beyond all former example; but we have not yet been distinctly told, not even in debate, much less in the constitutional way of communication from the throne, for what is the purpose for which it is intended to provide; whether this be a peace establishment calculated to last until the power of France be reduced, or her ambition satiated, or whether it be a measure of temporary preparation which is to apply to some actual pressure, or to support some depending negotiation; or, lastly, whether it be intended to meet the imminent danger of immediate war, and to resist the continued growth of that power which hourly threatens our own destruction. In this situation, yielding to no men in duty, loyalty, and attachment to the crown, and feeling more anxious for the immediate adoption of all practicable means of defence, in proportion as our sense of the impending danger is greater, we are still desirous that some short interval and pause should take place before the final grant of any supply; though we desire that such interval should be no more than will be sufficient to enable his Majesty to show to us the same gracious confidence which his Majesty and his royal ancestors have reposed in all preceding parliaments, and to place us in a situation in which we may,

without violating the constitution of our country, cheerfully concur in granting to his Majesty all such aids as the present exigency of affairs does, in our opinion peculiarly demand.

SPENCER.

GRENVILLE.

MINTO.

CARYSFORT.

CARLISLE.

*Address of the Speaker of the House of Commons to his Majesty, on presenting for his Royal Sanction, certain Bills for completing the Supplies. 28th June, 1802.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

IT is my duty to present to your Majesty the Bills for completing the Supplies, which your Majesty's faithful Commons have granted for the service of the year.

With heartfelt gratitude they acknowledge your Majesty's paternal goodness and wisdom, which have already enabled them to make a large reduction of the public burthens, by the termination of a long and eventful war; a war just and necessary in its origin, conducted with energy, sustained with fortitude, signalized by triumphs surpassing the fame of our ancestors, and obtained in countries unvisited by their arms; and concluded at length by a peace, which has added new conquests to your Crown, and given repose and safety to these its ancient dominions, whose Peers and Commons have now for the second year the happiness of being assembled in one United Parliament at the foot of your Throne.

Thus circumstanced, your Ma-



jeſty's faithful Commons not only look forward with a sanguine hope that they may not ſoon be called to the hard neceſſity of augmenting the public debt by future burthens, but they have deemed it their duty to look back to the debt already incurred, and with the ſame characteriſtic ſpirit which firſt laid the foundation of an effectual ſyſtem for the extinction of the national debt, they have proceeded to arrange and ſettle a plan for accelerating that extinction, by pledging the future application of their growing means to the accompliſhment of the ſame great object.

At a time when their attention had been directed to theſe conſiderations, and when they have alſo found that taxes of unprecedented weight, though wiſely impoſed to meet the exigencies of ſuch a war, might nevertheless be now prudently repealed, it has given the higheſt ſatisfaction to your Maſteſty's faithful Commons to relieve thoſe preſſing demands which the general difficulties of the times had caſt upon the proviſion aſſigned by Parliament, for the ſupport of your Maſteſty's Houſehold and the honour and dignity of your Crown: for this country has not now to learn, that its Monarchy is the beſt and ſtrongeſt ſecurity for its liberties, and that the ſplendour of the throne reflects luſtre and dignity upon the whole nation.

Theſe, Sire, are amongſt the memorable events of a ſeſſion thus far protracted; upon which we reflect with a conſcious ſatisfaction, that to the diſcharge of great duties we have brought proportionate exertions.

And we now indulge the flattering hope, that we may ſafely apply ourſelves to cultivate the arts of peace; arts long dear to your Maſteſty, and congenial to the temper of your people, whoſe ſpirit of enterprize in foreign commerce, and internal improvement, unexampled in its exertions throughout the war, may now expand itſelf with redoubled activity; and by providing new ſources of ſtrength and wealth for this country, fix the ſtability of our own power, and at the ſame time promote the common intereſts of Europe, and of all the civilized nations of the world.

*The King's Moſt Gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament at the Cloſe of the Seſſion. 28th June, 1802.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
THE public buſineſs being concluded, I think it proper to cloſe this Seſſion of Parliament.

During a long and laborious attendance, you have invariably manifeſted the juſt ſenſe you entertain of the great truſt committed to your charge. The objects of your deliberations have been unuſually numerous and important; and I derive the utmoſt ſatisfaction from the conviction that the wiſdom of your proceeding will be fully proved by their effects in promoting the beſt intereſts of my people throughout every part of my dominions.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The ample proviſion you have made for the various branches of the public ſervice demands my warmeſt



warmest acknowledgements; and my particular thanks are due for the liberality which you have shewn in exonerating my Civil Government and Household from the debts with which they were unavoidably burthened.

Whilst I regret the amount of the supplies which circumstances have rendered necessary, it is a relief to me to contemplate the state of our manufactures, commerce, and revenue, which affords the most decisive and gratifying proofs of the abundance of our internal resources, and of the growing prosperity of the country.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

As I think it expedient that the election of a new Parliament should take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for dissolving the present, and for calling a new Parliament.

In communicating to you this intention, I cannot suppress those sentiments of entire approbation with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct since I first met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our situation required the utmost efforts of that wisdom and fortitude which you so eminently displayed in contending with them, and by which they have been so happily surmounted. From your judicious and salutary measures during the last year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the severest dispensations of Providence; and it was by the spirit and determination which uniformly animated your Councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operations of my

people, that I was enabled to prosecute with success, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous contest in which we have been engaged.

The same sense of public duty; the same solicitude for the welfare of your country, will now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage, by all the means in your power, the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace.

My endeavours will never be wanting to preserve the blessings by which we are so eminently distinguished; and to prove that the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my faithful subjects are the objects which are always the nearest to my heart.

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*Definitive Treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majesty, and the French Republic, His Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian Republic. Signed at Amiens, the 27th Day of March, 1802.*

HIS Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of Peace in the Preliminary Articles signed at London, the 1st of October, 1801 (9th Vendemiaire, Year 10.)

And as by the fifteenth Article of the said Preliminaries, it has been stipulated that Plenipotentiaries should be named on each side, who should proceed to Amiens for the purpose of concluding



cluding a Definitive Treaty, in concert with the Allies of the Contracting Powers;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named for his Plenipotentiary the Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of the Garter, Privy Counsellor to his Majesty, General of his Armies, &c.; the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French People, the Citizen Joseph Bonaparte, Counsellor of State; His Majesty the King of Spain and of the Indies, and the Government of the Batavian Republic, have named for their Plenipotentiaries, *videlicet*, His Catholic Majesty Don Joseph Nicholas de Azara, his Counsellor of State, Knight, Great Cross of the Order of Charles III. his said Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic, &c. and the Government of the Batavian Republic Roger John Schimmelpenninck, their Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, which are transcribed at the end of the present Treaty, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part. The Contracting Parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain be-

tween themselves and their States a perfect harmony, and without allowing, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might hereafter affect the union happily re-established, and they shall not afford any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

Art. II. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, and on paying the debts which they have contracted during their captivity. Each Contracting Party shall respectively discharge the advances which have been made by any of the Contracting Parties for the subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners in the country where they have been detained. For this purpose, a Commission shall be appointed by agreement, which shall be specially charged to ascertain and regulate the compensation which may be due to either of the Contracting Powers. The time and place where the Commissioners, who shall be charged with the execution of this Article, shall assemble, shall also be fixed upon by agreement; and the said Commissioners shall take into account the expences occasioned not only by the prisoners of the respective nations, but also by the foreign troops, who, before they were made prisoners, were in the



the pay, or at the disposal of any of the Contracting Parties.

Art. III. His Britannic Majesty restores to the French Republic, and her Allies namely, his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by the British forces in the course of the war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

Art. IV. His Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty the island of Trinidad.

Art. V. The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which belonged, before the war, to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to their East India Company.

Art. VI. The Cape of Good Hope remains in full sovereignty to the Batavian Republic, as it was before the war.

The ships of every description belonging to the other Contracting Parties shall have the right to put in there, and to purchase such supplies as they may stand in need of as heretofore, without paying any other duties than those to which the ships of the Batavian Republic are subjected.

Art. VII. The territories and possessions of her Most Faithful Majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the commencement of the war.

Nevertheless, the limits of

French and Portuguese Guiana shall be determined by the River Arawari, which falls into the ocean below the North Cape, near the Isle Neuve, and the Island of Penitence, about a degree and one third of North latitude. These limits shall follow the course of the River Arawari, from that of its mouths, which is at the greatest distance from the North Cape, to its source, and thence in a direct line from its source to the River Branco, towards the West. The Northern Bank of the River Arawari, from its mouth to its source, and the lands which are situated to the North of the line of the limits above fixed, shall consequently belong in full sovereignty to the French Republic. The Southern Bank of the said river from its source, and all the lands to the southward of the said line of demarkation, shall belong to her Most Faithful Majesty. The navigation of the River Arawari shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have taken place between the Courts of Madrid and of Lisbon, for the settlement of their frontiers in Europe, shall, however, be executed conformably to the Treaty of Badajoz.

Art. VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Ottoman Porte, are hereby maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the war.

Art. IX. The Republic of the Seven Islands is hereby acknowledged.

Art. X. The Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, and shall be held by it upon the same conditions on which



the Order held them previous to the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The Knights of the Order, whose Langues shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as that exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general Chapter, and shall proceed to the election of a Grand Master, to be chosen from amongst the natives of those nations which preserve Langues, if no such election shall have been already made since the exchange of the Ratifications of the Preliminary Articles of Peace. It is understood, that an election which shall have been made subsequent to that period, shall alone be considered as valid, to the exclusion of every other which shall have taken place at any time previous to the said period.

2. The Governments of Great Britain and of the French Republic, being desirous of placing the Order of Saint John and the Island of Malta, in a state of entire independence on each of those Powers, do agree, that there shall be henceforth no English nor French Langues; and that no individual belonging to either of the said Powers shall be admissible into the Order.

3. A Maltese Langue shall be established, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the Island. There shall be dignities, with appointments, and an Auberge appropriated to this Langue; no proofs of Nobility shall be necessary for the admission of Knights into the said Langue; they shall be competent

to hold every office, and to enjoy every privilege in the like manner as the Knights of the other Langues. The municipal, revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under the government of the Island, shall be filled, at least in the proportion of one-half, by native inhabitants of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the Island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the Ratifications, or sooner if it can be done: at that period the Island shall be delivered up to the Order in the state in which it now is—provided that the Grand Master, or Commissioners, fully empowered according to the statutes of the Order, be upon the Island to receive possession; and that the force to be furnished by his Sicilian Majesty, as hereafter stipulated, be arrived there.

5. The garrison of the Island shall, at all times, consist at least one half of native Maltese; and the Order shall have the liberty of recruiting for the remainder of the garrison from the natives of those countries only that shall continue to possess Langues. The native Maltese troops shall be officered by Maltese, and the supreme command of the garrison, as well as the appointment of the Officers, shall be vested in the Grand Master of the Order; and he shall not be at liberty to divest himself of it, even for a time, except in favour of a Knight of the Order, and in consequence of the opinion of the Council of the Order.

6. The Independence of the Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement,



rangement, shall be under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

7. The perpetual neutrality of the Order and of the Island of Malta, and its dependencies, is hereby declared.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall pay equal and moderate duties. These duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese Langue, in the manner specified in paragraph three, to that of the civil and military establishments of the Island, and to that of a lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The Barbary States are excepted from the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be made by the Contracting Parties, the system of hostility which subsists between the said Barbary States, the Order of St. John, and the Powers possessing Langues, or taking part in the formation of them, shall be terminated.

10. The Order shall be governed, both in spiritual and temporal matters, by the same statutes that were in force at the time when the Knights quitted the Island, so far as the same shall not be derogated from by the present Treaty.

11. The stipulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner. And the Grand Master (or, if he should not be in the Island at the time of its restitution to the Order, his representative), as well as his successors, shall be bound to make oath to observe them punctually.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the Island. This force shall remain there for one year from the period of the restitution of the Island to the Knights; after the expiration of which term, if the Order of St. John shall not, in the opinion of the guarantying Powers, have raised a sufficient force to garrison the Island and its dependencies, in the manner proposed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops shall remain, until they shall be relieved by another force, judged to be sufficient by the said Powers.

13. The several Powers specified in paragraph 6, *videlicet*, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.

Art. XI. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory; the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

Art. XII. The evacuations, cessations, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present Treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for, shall take place in Europe within one month; in the Continent and Seas of America and of Africa within three months; and in the Continent and Seas of Asia within six months after the Ratification of the present Definitive Treaty.

Art. XIII. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present



Treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the Preliminary Treaty; and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation, shall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of this present Treaty, for the purpose of disposing of their property acquired and possessed either before or during the war, in which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege is granted in the countries restored to all those, whether inhabitants or others, who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested in their persons or properties under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to any of the Contracting Powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the present Treaty.

Art. XIV. All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of whatever description, belonging to any of the Contracting Powers, or to their subjects or

citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this Definitive Treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals, the subjects or citizens of any of the Contracting Powers respectively, against individuals, subjects or citizens of any of the others, for rights, debts, property, or effects, whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made.

Art. XV. The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent Islands, and of the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, are replaced on the same footing on which they were previous to the war; the French fishermen and the inhabitants of St. Pierre and Miquelon shall have the privilege of cutting such wood as they may stand in need of in the Bays of Fortune and Despair, for the space of one year from the date of the notification of the present Treaty.

Art. XVI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may have been made at sea, after the signature of the Preliminary Articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may have been taken in the British Channel, and in the North Sea, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and



and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the Equator; and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

Art. XVII. The Ambassadors, Ministers, and other Agents of the Contracting Powers, shall enjoy respectively, in the States of the said Powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which public Agents of the same class enjoyed previous to the war.

Art. XVIII. The Branch of the House of Nassau, which was established in the republic formerly called the Republic of the United Provinces, and now the Batavian Republic, having suffered losses there, as well in private property as in consequence of the change of Constitution adopted in that country, an adequate compensation shall be procured for the said Branch of the House of Nassau for the said losses.

Art. XIX. The present Definitive Treaty of Peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of his Britannic Majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession thereto in the shortest delay possible.

Art. XX. It is agreed that the Contracting Parties shall, on requisitions made by them respectively, or by their Ministers or Officers duly authorized to make the same, deliver up to justice, persons accused of crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party; provided

that this shall be done only when the evidence of the criminality shall be so authenticated as that the laws of the country where the person so accused shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The expences of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition. It is understood that this Article does not regard in any manner crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the conclusion of this Definitive Treaty.

Art. XXI. The Contracting Parties promise to observe sincerely and *bona fide* all the Articles contained in the present Treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects or citizens; and the said Contracting Parties generally and reciprocally guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present Treaty.

Art. XXII. The present Treaty shall be ratified by the Contracting Parties in thirty days, or sooner, if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten Plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present Definitive Treaty, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of March, 1802; the 6th Germinal, year Ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS.

(L. S.) JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

(L. S.) J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.

(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

SEPARATE



## SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is agreed, that the omission of some titles which may have taken place in the present Treaty shall not be prejudicial to the Powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the English and French languages made use of in all the copies of the present Treaty shall not form an example, which may be alledged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the Contracting Powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, Powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like Treaties in any other language, shall be conformed with; the present Treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majesty, and of the Batavian Republic, have signed the present separate Article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of March, 1802; the 6th Germinal, year Ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS.

(L. S.) JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

(L. S.) J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.

(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

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*Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, touching the Difficulties arising in the Execution of the 6th Article of the Treaty of 1794.*

**D**IFFICULTIES having arisen in the execution of the 6th article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London, on the 4th day of Nov. 1794, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, and in consequence thereof the proceedings of the commissioners under the 7th article of the same treaty having been suspended, the parties to the said treaty being equally desirous, as far as may be, to obviate such difficulties, have respectively named Plenipotentiaries to treat and agree, respecting the same: that is to say, his Britannic Majesty has named for his Plenipotentiary the Right Honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, has named, for their Plenipotentiary, Rufus King, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary of the said United States to his Britannic Majesty, who have agreed to and concluded the following articles:

Art. I. In satisfaction and discharge of the money which the United States might have been liable to pay in pursuance of the provisions of the said sixth article, which is hereby declared to be cancelled and annulled, except so far as the same may relate to the execution of the said seventh article, the United States of America hereby engage to pay, and his Britannic Majesty consents to accept for the use of the persons described in the said sixth article, the sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable at the time and place, and in the manner following, that is to say,



say, the said sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling shall be paid at the city of Washington, in three annual instalments of two hundred thousand pounds sterling each, and to such person or persons as shall be authorized by his Britannic Majesty to receive the same; the first of the said instalments to be paid at the expiration of one year; the second instalment at the expiration of two years; and the third and last instalment at the expiration of three years, next following the exchange of the ratifications of this convention: and to prevent any disagreement concerning the rate of exchange, the said payments shall be made in the money of the said United States, reckoning four dollars and forty-four cents, to be equal to one pound sterling.

Art. II. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of the definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Paris on the third day of September, 1783, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, that creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediments to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts theretofore contracted, it is hereby declared, that the said fourth article, so far as it respects its future operations, is hereby recognized, confirmed, and declared to be binding and obligatory upon his Britannic Majesty and the said United States, and the same shall be accordingly observed with punctuality and good faith.—And so as the said creditors shall hereafter meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of their *bona fide* debts.

Art. III. It is furthermore agreed and concluded that the com-

missioners appointed in pursuance of the seventh article of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and whose proceedings have been suspended as aforesaid, shall, immediately after the signature of this convention, reassemble and proceed in the execution of their duties according to the provisions of the said seventh article, except only that instead of the sums awarded by the said commissioners, being made payable at the time or times by them appointed, all sums of money by them awarded to be paid to American or British claimants, according to the provisions of the said seventh article, shall be made payable in three equal instalments, the first whereof to be paid at the expiration of one year; the second at the expiration of two years; and the third and last at the expiration of three years next after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention.

Art. IV. This convention, when the same shall have been ratified by his Majesty and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the respective ratifications duly exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory upon his Majesty and the said United States. In faith whereof, we the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States of America, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed this present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at London, Jan. 8, 1802.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.  
RUFUS KING.

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COLLEGE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

*His Majesty's Royal Charter for  
founding and incorporating King's  
College*



*College at Windsor, in the Province of Nova Scotia, dated 12th May, 42d George III. 1802.*

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all whom these presents shall come greeting:

**WHEREAS** we have declared our royal intention to establish, within our province of Nova Scotia, in North America, a College for the education of youth in the principles of true religion, and for their instruction in the different branches of science and literature, which are taught at our Universities in this Kingdom.

And whereas the sum of four thousand pounds granted by our Parliament in that part of our united kingdom, called Great-Britain, hath been applied in erecting a suitable building within the town of Windsor, in our said Province, on a piece of land which had been purchased by means of a grant of the General Assembly of our said Province for that purpose.

And whereas the said building hath been fitted for the residence of professors and students, and an endowment of four hundred pounds currency of that Province (equal to three hundred and sixty pounds British sterling) per annum, hath been granted for the support thereof, by the said General Assembly.

And whereas humble application hath been made to us by many of our loving subjects in our said Province, that we would be pleased to grant our Royal Charter for the more perfect establishment of the said College, and for incorporating the members thereof for the purposes aforesaid, and for such further

endowment thereof as to us should seem meet.

We having taken the premises into our Royal Consideration, and duly weighing the great utility and importance of such an institution, are willing and desirous to condescend to their request: know ye, therefore, that we, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have willed, ordained and granted, and do by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, will, ordain and grant, that upon the said land, and in the building, or buildings so erected, or to be erected thereon at our town of Windsor, in our said Province of Nova Scotia, there shall be established from this time one College, the mother of an University, for the education and instruction of youth and students, in arts and faculties, to continue for ever; and to be called King's College: and that our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province, or the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province for the time being; the Right Reverend Father in God, Charles Inglis, Bishop of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, or the Bishop of the said Diocese for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Salter Blowers, Chief Justice of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Chief Justice of our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved Alexander Croke, Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty in Nova Scotia, or the Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty in our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of our House of Assembly,

and



and Attorney-General of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Speaker of our Assembly, and the Attorney-General for our said Province severally for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved James Stewart, Solicitor-General for our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Solicitor-General of our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved Benning Wentworth, Secretary of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Secretary of our said Province for the time being, together with such other person or persons as shall be elected in manner hereinafter mentioned, shall be Governors of the said College, and that the said College shall consist of one President, three or more Fellows and Professors, and twelve or more Scholars, at such salaries, and subject to such provisions, regulations, limitations, rules, qualifications and restrictions as shall hereafter be appointed by the statutes, rules and ordinances of the said College, and until such statutes, rules and ordinances shall have been framed, subject, in all respects, to the orders and directions, and eligible and removable at the pleasure of the said Governors, or of the major part of them, and that the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall have the power of electing the president of the said College for the time being, to be a governor of the said College, and also of electing any other person or persons, not exceeding three in number (subject to such regulations as shall be appointed by the statutes, rules and ordinances of the said College) to be a governor or governors of the said College.

And we do by these presents,

for us, our heirs and successors, will, ordain and grant, that the said governors, president, and fellows, and their successors for ever, shall be one distinct and separate body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name and style of the Governors, President, and Fellows of King's College at Windsor, in the Province of Nova Scotia; and that by the same name, they shall have perpetual succession, and a common seal, and that they and their successors shall from time to time, have full power to break, alter, make new, or change, such common seal, at their will and pleasure, and as shall be found expedient; and that by the same name, the said governors, president and fellows, and their successors, from time to time, and at all times hereafter shall be a body politic and corporate, in deed and in law, and be able and capable to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, enjoy, and retain; and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full authority, and free licence to them and their successors by the name aforesaid, to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, enjoy and retain, to and for the use of the said College notwithstanding any statutes or statute of mortmain, any manors, rectories, advowsons, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments of what kind, nature or quality soever, so as that the same do not exceed in yearly value the sum of six thousand pounds above all charges: and moreover, to take, purchase, acquire, have, hold, enjoy, receive, possess, and retain, notwithstanding any such statute, or statutes to the contrary, all or any goods, chattels, charitable



ble and other contributions, gifts and benefactions whatsoever: and that the said governors, president and fellows, and their successors, by the same name, shall and may be able and capable in law, to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, in all or any court, or courts of record or places of judicature within our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and our said Province of Nova Scotia, and other our dominions, and in all and singular actions, causes, pleas, suits, matters and demands whatsoever, of what kind and nature or sort soever, in as large, ample and beneficial manner and form, as any other body politic and corporate, or any other our liege subjects, being persons able and capable in law, may or can have, take, purchase, receive, hold, possess, enjoy, retain, sue, implead or answer, or be sued, impleaded, or answered in any manner whatsoever.

And we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, will, ordain and grant that the Governors of the said College, or the major part of them, shall have power and authority to frame and make Statutes, Rules, and Ordinances, touching and concerning the good government of the said College, the performance of divine service therein, the studies, lectures, exercises, degrees in arts and faculties, and all matters regarding the same; the election, qualification and residence of the president, fellows, and scholars, the management of the revenues and property of the said College, the salaries, stipends and provision for the president, fellows, scholars and officers of the said College, and also touching and con-

cerning any other matter or thing which to them shall seem good, fit, useful, and agreeable to this our Charter: and also from time to time, to revoke, augment, or alter all, every or any of the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, as to them or the major part of them, shall seem meet and expedient. Provided, that the said statutes, rules and ordinances, or any of them, shall not be repugnant to the laws and statutes of this our realm, and of our said Province of Nova Scotia; provided also, that the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, or any revocation, augmentation, or alteration thereof, be subject to the approbation of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and shall be forthwith transmitted to the said Lord Archbishop for that purpose; and that in case the said Lord Archbishop shall signify, in writing, his disapprobation thereof, within three years of the time of their being so made and framed, or of their being so revoked, augmented, or altered, the same or such part thereof, as shall be so disapproved by the said Lord Archbishop, shall, from the time of such disapprobation being made known, be utterly void and of no effect, but otherwise shall be and remain in full force and virtue.

And we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command that the statutes, rules and ordinances aforesaid, subject to the said provisions, shall be strictly and inviolably observed, kept and performed, from time to time, so long as they shall respectively remain, in full vigour and effect, under the penalties to be thereby or therein inflicted or contained.

And we do by these presents for



us, our heirs and successors, will, order, direct, and appoint that the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being shall be Patron of the said College, and the Bishop of Nova Scotia for the time being, shall be Visitor of the said College.

And we do further will, ordain and grant that the said College shall be deemed and taken to be an University, and shall have and enjoy all such and the like Privileges as are enjoyed by our Universities in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as far as the same are capable of being had and enjoyed, by virtue of these our Letters Patent. And that the students in the said College shall have liberty and faculty of taking the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor in the several arts and faculties at the appointed times: and shall have liberty within themselves of performing all scholastic exercises for the conferring such degrees in such manner as shall be directed by the statutes, rules, and ordinances of the said College.

And We will, and by these presents for Us, our heirs and successors, do grant and declare, that these our Letters Patent, or the enrolment or exemplifications thereof, shall and may be, good, firm, valid, sufficient and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged, in the most favourable and beneficial sense for the best advantage of the said governors, president and fellows of the said College at Windsor aforesaid, as well in all our Courts of record as elsewhere, and by all and singular judges, justices, officers, ministers, and

other subjects whatsoever, of us, our heirs and successors, any misrecital, non-recital, omission, imperfection, defect, matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; without fine or fee, great or small, to be for the same in any manner rendered, done or paid to us in our Hanaper, or elsewhere to our use.

And lastly, we do hereby promise and declare for us, our heirs and successors, that we and they shall and will, at all times hereafter, give and grant to the aforesaid governors, president and fellows, and their successors, such other reasonable powers and authorities, as may be necessary for the government of the said College and the more effectual execution of the premises.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.—Witness ourself at Westminster, the twelfth day of May in the forty-second year of our reign.

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*Formation of the Constitution of the Italian Republic.*

LYONS, Jan. 27.—The Commission of Thirty appointed by the Cisalpine Consulta presented, on the 25th inst. to the First Consul, a copy of the following report:—

*Report of the Committee of Thirty.*

“CITIZENS DEPUTIES,

“The Committee of Thirty, after the most mature consideration of the duty prescribed to it, of preparing a selection of materials proper to form a part of the Government of the Republic, have now



to submit to you the result of their reflections on the choice of a First Magistrate.

“ Having occupied six sittings in considering this subject, which is the most important of all, and having in different discussions developed all the circumstances associated with this election, they still arrived by different processes at the same conclusion.

“ If in general there are not many persons in any State capable of occupying the first place in the Government, it must be admitted that our internal situation should render them still fewer among us.

“ In fact, it may be easily conceived, that in the short space of time which has elapsed since the Cisalpine Republic was composed by the union of different nations, these nations cannot have acquired a sufficient knowledge of each other to ensure to the most distinguished personages they may contain an equal degree of confidence from all. An election from among them would not be free from danger, if it be considered, that divided as we are in point of laws, customs, and manners, habituated to different opinions upon every subject, there can be but little hope of finding amongst ourselves the man who shall detach himself from particular systems, so as to conduct the entire mass beyond the limits of ancient habits, and to generate that national spirit which is the most solid foundation of Republics.

“ The history of the vicissitudes experienced by the Cisalpine Republic increased the difficulties attending the inquiry of the Committee. If the men of that period were not connected with office, it was not to be presumed that they

were sufficiently conversant with the science, at all times difficult, but particularly so with respect to us, of governing the Republic. If at that period they actually held the reins of Government, agitated as they were by opposite opinions, distracted by a thousand considerations, and overawed by foreign influence, they could not raise themselves to that consideration which in times less unfortunate would have procured for them the confidence of the public.

“ But on the supposition that, after surmounting these numerous obstacles, it had been impossible to appoint a man capable of supporting so great a weight, many other difficulties of a still more serious kind would soon prevent us from reposing entire confidence in this choice.—The French troops cannot yet completely evacuate the Cisalpine territory. A great number of political reasons, and our own interest, do not permit it at the present moment, whilst we are yet destitute of a national army.

“ Besides, the Cisalpine Republic, though guaranteed by the Treaties of Tolentino and Lunéville, cannot at once expect to obtain, of herself, from the old Governments of Europe, the consideration necessary to her external and internal consolidation. It is necessary to procure her recognition by several Powers which have not yet entered into any relations with her. She requires a man, who, by the importance of his name and power, may place her in a rank suitable to her greatness; but in vain would we seek amongst ourselves for this name or this power.

“ In order, therefore, to secure the dignity of the Government



from the influence of foreign troops, &c. and to give additional lustre and grandeur to the foundations of the Cisalpine Republic, the Committee conceived it of importance to the happiness of this Republic, that in the first instance, it should possess a sanction superior to every other in point of dignity and strength.

“ From considerations of such importance the Committee is induced to conclude, that if, on the one hand, the Extraordinary Consulta should be desirous of having the Constitution proclaimed, and of nominating the Members of the Colleges, Legislature and other authorities, from among such as shall appear most entitled to its esteem, in order to put an end to the Provisional System: on the other hand, it ought earnestly to desire that General Bonaparte would please to honour the Cisalpine Republic by retaining the supreme Magistracy, and not disdaining, amidst the direction of the affairs of France, to be the main spring of our Government, during the time which he may deem necessary for bringing all the parts of our country to a complete uniformity, and procuring the recognition of the Cisalpine Republic by all the Powers of Europe.”

The proposal of the Committee was unanimously adopted by the Consulta in its general meeting of the 25th; and it decreed, by acclamation, amidst the loudest applause, that the preceding Report should be presented to the First Consul as the sincere expression of the sentiments and opinions of the Extraordinary Consulta.

The First Consul having gone to the meeting again on the 26th, he was met by a numerous deputation

of the Cisalpine Deputies, who conducted him into the hall, amidst the general applause. Having then taken his seat, under a canopy, he delivered the following speech in the Italian language:—

“ The Cisalpine Republic, recognized ever since the Treaty of Campo Formio, has already experienced a number of vicissitudes.

“ The first efforts to give it a constitution had but little success.

“ Subsequently invaded by hostile armies, its existence appeared no longer probable, when the French people, a second time, by the power of their arms, expelled your enemies from your territory.

“ Since this period every attempt has been made to dismember it.—The protection of France has triumphed.—You have been recognized at Luneville.

“ Enlarged by a fifth part, you are more powerful; more consolidated, and possessed of greater hopes!!!

“ Composed of six different nations, you are about to be united under the rule of a constitution, better adapted than any other to your manners and your circumstances.

“ I have invited you to meet me at Lyons in the character of the principal Citizens of the Cisalpine State. You have given me the necessary information for performing the august task which my duty imposes upon me as the First Magistrate of the French People, and the man who has most contributed to your creation.

“ The appointments which I have made to the first offices of State are totally unconnected with any local or party spirit.



“ As to that of President, I did not discover among you any individual who had yet sufficient claims on public opinion, who was yet sufficiently independent of local attachment, or, in short, who had performed services of sufficient magnitude to his country, to induce me to entrust it to him.

“ The *proces verbal* which you have transmitted to me by your Committee of Thirty, and in which you have analyzed, with equal truth and precision, the external and internal situation of your country, have deeply impressed me—I comply with your request—I will still retain, as long as circumstances shall require it, the chief direction of your affairs.

“ Amidst the constant meditations required by the situation which I hold, nothing connected with you, or which may consolidate your existence and prosperity, shall be foreign to the dearest affections of my soul.

“ You have hitherto laws for particular districts.— You must henceforth have a general code.

“ Your people have only local habits; it is necessary that they should assume national habits.

“ In a word, you have no army; the powers which may become your enemies have strong armies; but you have what may produce one, a numerous population, fertile plains, and the example given you in every essential circumstance by the first nation in Europe.”

This Speech of the First Consul, every passage of which called forth repeated shouts of applause, was followed by the reading of the Constitution. Whilst the title was reading, a general movement of the Assembly indicated a wish to

substitute for the term Cisalpine Republic that of Italian Republic, and the First Consul seemed to comply with this general wish.

*Constitution of the Italian Republic.*

Title I. *Of the Italian Republic.*

Art. 1. The Catholic Religion, Apostolic and Roman, is the Religion of the State.

2. The Sovereignty resides in the whole of the Citizens.

3. The territory of the Republic is divided into Departments, Districts, and Communes.

Title II. *Of the Rights of Citizenship.*

4. Every person born of a Cisalpine father, and remaining on the territory of the Republic, acquires the rights of a Citizen as soon as he becomes of age.

The next three Articles regard Naturalization. — Strangers who have acquired property in the State, or who possess commercial or manufacturing establishments, and who have resided seven years in it, may be naturalized. Also persons who possess great talents or expertness in any of the arts or sciences, even in the mechanical ones, or who have rendered great services to the State, may acquire the rights of Citizenship.

8. The law determines the ratio of minority, the quantum of property necessary to constitute a qualification, and the causes for which the exercise of the rights of Citizenship may be lost or suspended.

9. Also regulates the formation of a civic register. Those Citizens only whose names are inserted in this list shall be eligible to offices under the State.

Title



Title III. *Of the Colleges.*

10. The three Electoral Colleges, namely, the College of the Possidenti, that of the Dottì, and that of the Commercanti, are the primitive organ of the national sovereignty. Next three Articles regulate the forms of their meetings. They are to meet once in two years, at least, on the invitation of the Government, to complete their number, to appoint the Members of the Consulta, of the Legislative Body, and of the Tribunals of Revision and Appeal, and the Commissaries of Finance. Their sittings are to continue a fortnight. They are to deliberate, but not discuss, and that by secret ballot, and a third of the Members must be present to make a House.

14. At every ordinary sitting of the Colleges, the Government is to present to each of them a list of the places vacant, and the instructions necessary for the nomination to them, and the Colleges may receive the claims of the candidates.

15, 16, 17. They are to approve or reject denunciations, give their decision on the alterations in the Constitution that may be proposed to them. No person under thirty years of years is eligible to any of the Colleges, and the election is for life.

18. A Member of any of the Colleges forfeits it—1st, by fraudulent bankruptcy; 2d, by absence without good cause during three following Sessions; 3d, by accepting an employment under a Foreign Power, without consent of the Government; 4th, by remaining without the State for six months after being recalled, or for any of those causes which induce forfeiture of Citizenship.

19. Every College on adjourning shall send to the next Censorial Assembly the minutes of its sitting.

Title IV. *Of the College of the Possidenti.*

20. The College of the Possidenti is composed of three hundred Citizens, chosen from such landed proprietors as possess a revenue of 6000 livres at least. The place of its meeting, for the first ten years, shall be at Milan.

21. Every department may send a member to this College, in the proportion of one for every 30,000 inhabitants.

22. If there be not a sufficient number of inhabitants in a department possessed of the qualification required by the 20th Article, the number shall be completed from a quadruple list of the most considerable proprietors of the same department.

23. At every Session, the College is to complete its numbers according to the lists of landed property which it is authorised to require of the Government.

24. It is to elect nine members from its own body, who are to constitute the censorial power.

25. It is to make out a triple list according to the relative majority of votes, for the election of the Public Functionaries, indicated in the 11th Article, and present it to the Censors.

Title V. *Of the College of the Dottì.*

26. The College of the Dottì is composed of two hundred Citizens, chosen from among persons who are celebrated for their knowledge in the sciences, or the liberal or mechanical arts, or from among those



who are distinguished for their acquaintance with ecclesiastical learning, or their researches in morality, legislation, political or administrative information. It shall reside for the first ten years at Bologna.

27. At every meeting the Session transmits to the Censurate a triple list of those Citizens duly qualified, according to which it is to fill up the vacancies in office.

28. It is to select from its body six Members, who are to constitute part of the Censurate.

29. It is to form a double list, according to the majority of suffrages, for the election of Public Functionaries, mentioned in the 11th Article, and present it to the Censurate.

#### Title VI. *Of the College of the Commercianti.*

30. The College of the Commercianti is composed of two hundred Citizens, chosen from among the most considerable merchants and manufacturers. It is to reside at Brescia for the first ten years. It is to complete itself at every Session, according to the information that it has a right to demand of the Government.

The Articles 28 and 29 are common to all the Colleges.

#### Title VII. *Of the Censurate.*

33. The Censurate is a Committee of 21 Members, nominated by the Colleges in the form and proportion expressed in the 24th and 28th Articles. It shall reside for the first ten years at Cremona.

34. It shall assemble always on the fifth day after the sittings of the three Colleges.

35. The sitting shall continue for only ten days, and seventeen

Members are necessary to constitute a meeting.

36. It is to nominate to all vacant offices from the lists transmitted by the three Colleges, and by the greatest number of votes.

37. It is to declare the election of the Functionaries nominated by the majority of the three Colleges.

38. It is to nominate to the vacancies in the College of the Dottori, agreeable to the 27th Article.

39. It is to terminate its nominations within the time fixed for its meetings.

40. It is to exercise its functions according to the Articles 109, 111, 114.

41. The Censurate is to renew itself at every meeting, ordinary or extraordinary, of the Electoral Colleges.

42. The Acts of the Censurate are to be presented to the Colleges at their first meeting.

#### Title VIII. *Of the Government.*

43. The Government is entrusted to a President, a Vice President, a Consulta of State, to Ministers, and to a Legislative Body, in conformity to their respective privileges.

44. The President is to exercise his functions for ten years, and to be indefinitely re-eligible.

45. The President has the originating of all the laws, conformably to Article the 79th.

46. He has also the originating of all the diplomatic negotiations.

47. He is exclusively invested with the executive power, which he is to exercise by the medium of the Ministers.

48. He appoints the Ministers, the Civil and Diplomatic Agents, the Chiefs of the Army, and the Generals.



Generals. The law provides for the nomination of Officers of inferior rank.

49. He names the Vice President, who, in his absence, takes his place in the Consulta of State, and represents him in all the capacities which he may chuse to confide to him. Once appointed, he cannot be dismissed during the Presidency of him by whom he was elected.

50. In every case where the office of President may be vacant, he shall possess all the privileges of the President, until the election of his successor.

Next follow several regulations respecting the transaction of the public business between the President and the Secretary of State.

53. The salary of the President is fixed at 500,000 livres of Milan, and that of the Vice-President at 100,000.

#### Title IX. *Of the Consulta of State.*

54. The Consulta of State consists of eight Citizens, of forty years of age at least, elected for life by the Colleges, and distinguished for eminent services done to the Republic.

55. The President presides in the Consulta of State, and one of its Members is to be appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs.

56. The Consulta of State is specially charged with the consideration of diplomatic treaties, and every object which relates to the foreign affairs of the State.

57. The instructions relative to negotiations are discussed in the Consulta, and treaties shall be definitive only when sanctioned by the absolute majority of its members.

[The 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st,

and 62d sections, are not of much importance.]

63. The President exclusively possesses the initiative in all affairs proposed in the Consulta, and in all decisions his vote is to preponderate.

64. In case of the cessation, resignation, or death of the President, the Consulta of State elects his successor by an absolute majority of votes within the space of forty-eight hours; and it cannot separate until the accomplishment of that object.

65. The salary of the Members of the Consulta of State is fixed at 30,000 livres.

#### Title X. *Of the Ministers.*

Under this head are comprehended a Grand National Judge, or Minister of Justice, a Minister for the Administration of the Public Treasury, and a Secretary to the National Judge, who is occasionally to be his substitute.

74. No act of the Government can be voted, unless signed by a Minister.

#### Title XI. *Of the Legislative Council.*

75. The Legislative Council cannot be composed of less than ten Citizens of the age of thirty years at least, appointed by the President, but who may be dismissed by him at the end of three years.

76, 77, 78, 79. The Members of the Legislative Council have deliberative voices on the projects proposed by the President, which cannot be passed but by an absolute majority of votes. They are specially charged with the drawing up of projects of law, and explaining the motives for sanctioning them.



The salary of each Councillor is fixed at 20,000 livres.

Title XII. *Of the Legislative Body.*

81. The Legislative Body is composed of seventy-five members, of thirty years of age at least, chosen by each department according to its population. One half of them are to be taken from the College.

82. It is to be renewed by thirds every two years.—The going out of the first and second third is to be determined by lot.

83. The Government convokes the Legislative Body, and prorogues its sitting. They cannot, however, be shorter than two months annually.

84. In order to entitle it to deliberate, more than one half of the Members must be present, not including the orators.

The regulations which follow merely relate to the forms of appointing the orators, and promulgating or denouncing laws as unconstitutional.

The salary of the Members of the Legislative Body is fixed at 6000 livres of Milan, and that of the Orators at 9200.

Title XIII. *Of the Tribunals.*

This head embraces the appointment of the different Tribunals, Civil and Military, which are formed after the model of the French Republic.

The Judges are all appointed for life, and cannot be deprived of their situations but in consequence of improper conduct.

Title XIV. *Of the Responsibility of the Public Functionaries.*

105. The functions of the Members of the Colleges, and of the Censurate, of the President and Vice President of the Government, of the Members of the Consulta of State, of the Legislative Council, of the Legislative Body, of the Chamber of Orators, and of the Tribunals of Revision and Cassation, are not subject to any responsibility.

107. The Ministers are responsible;—1. for the Acts of the Government signed by them; 2. for neglect in executing the laws and the rules of public administration; 3. for particular orders given by them contrary to the Constitution, and to the regulations by which it is supported; 4. for peculation.

The other sections of this head relate to the powers of the Tribunal of Cassation, for trying the Ministers accused, and to the share taken by the Colleges and the Censurate in that transaction.

Title XV. *General Dispositions.*

116. The Constitution acknowledges no other civil distinction than that which is derived from the exercise of public functions.

117, 118, 119. Every inhabitant of the Cisalpine territory is free with respect to the particular exercise of his religion. The Republic recognises no privileges for, or impediments to, industry and commerce, both externally and internally, but those founded in law.

120. There is throughout the Republic an uniformity of weights, measures, coin, of civil and criminal laws, and the elementary system of instruction.

121. A National Institute is charged with collecting discoveries, and



and bringing to perfection the sciences and the arts.

122. A National Exchequer is to regulate and ascertain the accounts of the revenues and expences of the Republic. It is to consist of five Members appointed by the Colleges, one of whom is to resign in every two years, but is to be re-eligible.

123. The troops who receive pay to obey the orders of the Administration. The National Guards are subject only to the laws.

124. The Public Force, by its very nature, must obey. No armed body can deliberate.

125. All the debts and credits of the ancient provinces now the Cisalpine, are recognized by the Republic.

126. Every purchaser of national property, at a legal sale, cannot be disturbed in the possession of it; but any lawful claimant is to be indemnified by the treasury of the State.

127. The law assigns, on the national property not sold, a sufficient revenue to all Bishops, Chapters, Seminaries, Curates, and for Church repairs. This revenue cannot be otherwise applied.

128. The Consulta may at the end of three years propose any alterations in the Constitution it deems necessary.

After the Constitution was read, Mariani developed the spirit and the advantages of it, and read the first organic law of the Constitution relative to the Clergy.

The Bishops are to be elected by the Government, and instituted by the Holy See. The Cures are chosen by the Bishop; the limits of the dioceses are not to suffer any innovations; each diocese has its chapter. The Bishop may order

any Ecclesiastical delinquent to a retreat of penitence in the seminaries, or in some convent. If the offence be heinous, he interdicts him from his functions. The Clergy are relieved from all military service.

After this law was read, the Archbishop of Ravenna expressed the assent of all the Cisalpine Clergy, and invited all the Ministers of Worship to inculcate obedience to the Constitution.

The First Consul confirmed the wish expressed by the Archbishop.

The lists of all the Members of the Colleges, Government, &c. were then read.

The Members of the Government are,

BONAPARTE, President.

MELZI, Vice President.

GUICCIARDI, Secretary of State.

SPANOCCHI, Grand Judge.

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*The following Extract of a Dispatch from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Chargé-d'Affaires Bacher, has been communicated to the Diet of Ratisbon:*

“ Paris, Feb. 14, 1802.

“ CITIZEN, I think it incumbent upon me to inform you officially, of the results of an extraordinary Consulta of the principal citizens of the Cisalpine republic, held at Lyons.

“ The treaty of Luneville had consecrated the existence of that republic; but it was there spoke of rather as about to exist, than as actually established.

“ The Cisalpine Republic, successively occupied by French and Imperial troops, had not the power of governing herself. It was the duty



duty of the French government, after having ensured the freedom of that country by arms; after having caused her independence to be acknowledged by all the powers of the Continent, to call upon her to fulfil the first duties necessary to the enjoyment of these advantages.

“ The public voice of Italy, and the formal request of the provisory authorities, had on various occasions expressed the general confidence which that nation placed in him, and their wish to receive from him both a definitive constitution, and the first choice of her magistrates. The First Consul was anxious that this general wish of that nation should be accomplished agreeably to the principles of her independence. He convoked the principal citizens; he collected their opinions and suffrages. It is by these opinions, and these suffrages that her constitution and magistrates have been chosen.

“ The government of the republic feels that the tranquillity of Europe depends upon the tranquillity of each state which forms a part of it.—After having made the greatest efforts to terminate a war which for so long a time desolated Europe, it hopes that the influence of cool wisdom in all those nations within the sphere of its alliance, will destroy all uncertainty and agitation. The wisest citizens of the Italian Republic, reflecting on the diversity of elements of which they were composed, became convinced, that to prevent the injurious effects which might arise from the rivalry, the pretensions, and the enmities of their fellow-citizens, it was neces-

sary to call in the aid of the ascendancy of a foreigner, who should be superior to those passions, and who would not by his conduct give rise to disorders which might not only disturb the tranquillity of the Italian Republic, but trouble the repose of Europe.

“ It was from a deep impression of these circumstances, that they felt themselves bound to represent to the First Consul, that their country ought, in the first moments of its political existence, to be secured in its independence, guarded against the dangers with which it might be threatened, and wisely directed in the choice of means for its future preservation.

“ Such, citizen, are the result of the convocation of the Italian Consulta at Lyons. I beg you will communicate to the government where you reside, the notification which I have the honour of making to you. I have no doubt but that it will see in this event, a new proof of the desire which animates the government of the republic to consolidate, by every means in its power, the general tranquillity of Europe, and to guarantee permanently the relations which unite the different states.

(Signed)

“ C. M. TALLEYRAND.”

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*Decree respecting Emigrants, published at Paris, April 27.*

**TITLE I.** *Dispositions relative to the Persons of Emigrants.*

**ART. I.** **A**N amnesty is granted for emigration, to every individual who is not definitively erased.

**II.** Those



II. Those individuals who are not in France, shall be bound to return before the 23d of September next.

III. Immediately on their return, they shall declare before the Commissaries appointed for that purpose, in the cities of Calais, Brussels, Mayence, Strasburg, Geneva, Nice, Bayonne, Perpignan, and Bourdeaux, that they return to the Territory of the Republic by virtue of the Amnesty.

IV. This declaration shall be followed by an oath of fidelity to the government established by the constitution; and that they will not entertain, either directly or indirectly, any connexion or correspondence with the enemies of the state.

V. Those who have received from foreign powers, places, titles, decorations, gratuities, or pensions, shall be bound to declare it before the same commissaries, and formally to renounce the same.

VI. Those who shall not return to France before the 23d of September, and have fulfilled the conditions prescribed by the preceding articles shall remain excluded out of the present Amnesty, and definitively placed upon the list of Emigrants, unless they prove, in due form, that it was impossible for them to return to the territory of the Republic within the time fixed, and that they have before the expiration of that time fulfilled before the Agents of the Republic, in the countries where they reside, the other conditions above expressed.

VII. Those who are at present on the French territory, shall be bound under the same penalty and definitive establishment on the list

of Emigrants, to make within one month from the date of the present Act, before the prefect of the department where they reside, sitting in the council of prefecture, the same declaration, oath, and renunciation.

VIII. The Commissaries and Prefects charged with receiving such declarations, oaths, and renunciations, shall without delay transmit to the minister of the interior, in the form of a dispatch, the proces-verbal of their proceedings, on sight of which the minister shall make out a certificate of Amnesty, which shall be sent to the minister of justice, by whom it shall be signed, and delivered to the individual concerned.

IX. Such individual shall, until the delivery of such certificate of Amnesty, reside in the commune in which he made the declaration of his return to the territory of the Republic.

X. The following persons are exempted out of the present Amnesty. 1st, Those individuals who have commanded armies assembled in hostility to the Republic. 2d, Those who have had rank in the Enemies' Armies. 3d, Those who since the foundation of the Republic have held places in the households of the ci-devant French Princes. 4th, Those who are known to have been, or were actually movers or agents of the civil or foreign war. 5th, Those who commanded by land or sea, as well as the representatives of the people, who have been found guilty of Treason against the Republic, and the archbishops and bishops who, despising legitimate authority, have refused to give in their resignation.

XI. The individuals denominated



nated in the preceding article, are definitively placed on the list of Emigrants; but the number so definitively placed on the list of Emigrants, shall not exceed 1000, of whom 500 shall be named previous to the 23d of September next.

XII. The Emigrants to whom the Amnesty is extended, as well as those who have been definitively erased from the list of Emigrants, according to the decree of the consuls of the 28th Vendemiaire (October 20,) 1801, shall for the space of ten years from the date of the Erasure, or certificate of Amnesty, be under the special inspection of government.

XIII. The government, if it judges expedient, shall have the power to oblige the individuals placed under the said inspection, to remove to the distance of 20 leagues from the ordinary place of residence. They may also be removed to a greater distance, if circumstances should require it; but in that case, the order of removal must first have been committed to the council of state.

XIV. After the expiration of the ten years of inspection, all the individuals against whom the government shall not have been obliged to put the above-mentioned measures in execution, shall cease to be subject to the said inspection; it may be extended to the whole duration of the lives of those against whom these measures have been put in execution.

XV. The individuals subjected to the inspection of government shall enjoy, in other respects, all their rights as citizens.

Title II. *Arrangement relative to Goods.*

XVI. The individuals included in the Amnesty, shall not be entitled, under any pretext, or in any case, to interfere with the arrangements respecting property, which have been entered into between the Republic and individuals before the present Amnesty.

XVII. Those of their goods which are still in the hands of the nation (with the exception of woods and forests, which have been declared unalienable by law, immovables applied to public service, the rights of property real or pretended to impositions on the grand canals, claims which they may have on the Public Treasury, and the extinction of which took place in the moment of confusion, when the Republic seized on their goods and debts), shall be restored to them without any of the fruits, which in conformity to a law passed, pertain to the Republic, down to the day on which they obtain their Certificate of Amnesty.

The present *Senatus-Consulta* shall be transmitted by a message to the Consuls of the Republic.

(Signed)

TRONCHET, President;

Chapel and Serrurier, Secretaries.

By the Conservative Senate,

Cauchy, Secretary-General.

Let the present *Senatus-Consulte* be confirmed by the Seal of State, inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws, inscribed in the Registers of the Judiciary and Administrative Authorities, and let the Minister of Justice be charged with superintending its publication.

Paris, April 26, 1802.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE, First Consul.

H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

*Address*



*Address to the Legislative Body of France, on the 6th of May, 1802, when the Treaty of Amiens was communicated to them.*

“ Citizens Legislators,

“ THE government addresses to you the treaty which has put a final period to the dissensions of Europe, and completed the great work of peace.

“ The Republic combated for its independence—its independence is recognized: the acknowledgment of every power consecrates those rights which she had held from nature, and those limits which she derived from her victories.

“ Another Republic has been established in her bosom, founded on the same principles, and drawing from the same source the ancient spirit of the Gauls. Attached to France by the remembrance of a common origin, by common institutions, and above all, by the tie of benefits conferred, the *Italian Republic* takes rank amongst the powers of Europe, and amongst our allies, supported by courage and distinguished by virtue.

“ The *Batavian Republic* is restored to a unity of interest: freed from that double influence which perplexed its councils, and distracted its politics, it has regained its independence, and finds in the nation which had conquered it, the most faithful guarantee of its existence and its rights. The wisdom of its administration will preserve its splendour, and the active economy of its citizens will restore prosperity.

“ The *Helvetic Republic*, recognized without, is continually agitated within by factions, who dispute for power. Government,

faithful to its principles, will not exercise over an independent nation any other influence than that of its councils: its councils have, however, hitherto been unheeded, but it still hopes that the voice of wisdom and moderation will be listened to, and that the neighbouring powers of Helvetia will not be compelled to interfere to put a stop to troubles which menace their own tranquillity.

“ It was due from the Republic to her engagements, and the fidelity of Spain, to make every effort to preserve the integrity of the territory of that kingdom. This duty she fulfilled throughout the negotiation, with all the energy which circumstances would allow. The King of Spain acknowledges the fidelity of his allies, and his generosity has made that sacrifice to peace which they endeavoured to spare him. He has acquired by this, new claims to the attachment of France, and a sacred title to the gratitude of Europe. Already the return of commerce consoles his states for the calamities of war, and soon a vivifying spirit will infuse into his vast possessions a new activity and a new industry.

“ Rome, Naples, and Etruria, are restored to tranquillity, and the arts of peace.—Lucca has found rest and independence under a constitution which has destroyed all animosities, and united all hearts. Liguria has founded, on the consent of all parties, the principles of its organization; and Genoa again sees riches and commerce enter her ports. The Republic of the Seven Islands is still, as well as Helvetia, the prey of anarchy; but the Emperor of Russia, in concert with France, has ordered some troops which



which he had in Naples, to be transported thither, which will restore to those happy countries the only blessing which they want, viz. tranquillity, the destruction of faction, and the enforcement of the laws. Thus, from one extremity to the other, Europe sees peace restored upon the continent and upon the ocean, and its happiness founded upon the union of the great powers, and upon the faith of treaties.

"In America, the known principles of government have afforded to Martinico, Tobago, and St. Lucia the most perfect security: they no longer dread those imprudent laws, which would spread devastation and death throughout the colonies. Their only wish is to be united to the mother-country, and they will bring back to it, with their attachment and confidence, a degree of prosperity at least equal to that which they have before enjoyed. At St. Domingo great calamities have happened; great evils are to be repaired; but the insurrection grows less formidable every day: Toussaint, without fortresses, without treasure, without army, is no more than a chief of banditti, wandering from mountain to mountain, whom our light troops are constantly pursuing, and will soon destroy.

"The peace is known in the Isle of France and in India; the first cares of government have already brought back their love of the Republic, their confidence in its laws, and afforded every hope of prosperity.

"Many years will pass over us without victories, without triumphs, without those splendid negotiations which fix the destiny of states; but another species of

success ought to mark the existence of nations, and, above all, that of the Republic. Industry is every where re-animated, and commerce and the arts every where unite to efface the calamities of war. Labour of every kind calls for the attention of government. It will perform this new task with success, as it shall possess the confidence of the French people. The years which are to come, will be, it is true, less celebrated; but the happiness of France will increase, instead of her obtaining that glory which she would now despise.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE,  
"First Consul.  
"H. B. MARET,  
"Sec. of State."

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*Deliberation, containing the Re-election of the First Consul of the French Republic. Extracted from the Registers of the Deliberations of the Conservative Senate, the 18th Floréal (May 8.)*

THE Senate, assembled to the number prescribed by the 60th article of the Constitutional Act;

Having seen the message of the Consuls of the Republic, transmitted by three Orators of the Government, relative to the peace between France and England;

After having heard its special commission, charged by its decree of the 16th of this month, to present its views respecting that expression of national gratitude, which the Senate is of opinion it ought to testify to the First Consul of the Republic;

Considering, that in the present situation of the Republic, it is the duty of the Conservative Senate to employ



employ all the means that the constitution has placed in its power, to give to the government that stability which alone increases its resources, inspires confidence abroad, and establishes credit at home; encourages allies, and discourages secret enemies; banishes the evils of war, permits the fruits of peace to be enjoyed, and leaves wisdom time to execute all she can conceive for the happiness of a free people;

Considering, besides, that the Supreme Magistrate, who, after having so often conducted the Republican legions to victory, having delivered Italy, triumphed in Europe, Africa, and Asia, and filled the world with his renown, has preserved France from the horrors of anarchy which threatened her, has broken the revolutionary scythe, dispersed factions, extinguished civil discords and religious troubles, added order and security to the blessings of liberty, hastened the progress of the human mind, consoled mankind, and given peace both to the land and seas, has the greatest right to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, as well as to the admiration of posterity;

That the wish of the Tribunal, which the Senate has received in this day's sitting, may, in this case, be considered as that of the French nation;

That the Senate cannot express, in a more solemn way, to the First Consul, the gratitude of the nation, than by giving a marked proof of the confidence which the French people repose in him;

Considering also, that the Second and Third Consuls have worthily seconded the glorious labours of the First Consul of the Republic;

From these considerations, and

after the suffrages had been collected by ballot,

The Senate decrees as follows:

Art. I. The Conservative Senate, in the name of the French people, expresses its gratitude to the Consuls of the Republic.

II. The Conservative Senate re-elects Citizen Napoleon Buonaparté, First Consul of the French Republic, for the ten years which shall immediately follow the expiration of the ten years for which he has been named by the 39th article of the constitution.

III. The present *Senatus Consulte* shall be transmitted by a message to the Legislative Body, to the Tribune, and to the Consuls of the Republic.

(Signed)

TRONCHET, President.

CHASSET and } Secretaries.  
SERRURIER, }

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Paris, 19th Floréal (May 9.)

Buonaparté, First Consul of the Republic, to the Conservative Senate.

Senators,

THE honourable proof of esteem marked in your deliberation of the 18th (May 8th), will be always engraved on my heart.

It was the suffrage of the people which invested me with the Chief Magistracy. I should not consider myself sure of possessing their confidence, if the act which was to retain me in that situation was not also sanctioned by the suffrages of the people.

In the three years which have last passed, fortune has smiled on the Republic; but fortune is inconstant,



constant, and how many men has she loaded with her favours, who have afterwards lived too long!

The interest of my glory and that of my happiness would appear to mark as the termination of my public life the moment that the peace of the world was proclaimed. But the glory and happiness of an individual citizen must be silent, when the interest of the state and the opinion of the public call upon him.

In your judgment, I ought to make a fresh sacrifice for the good of the people; I shall do, if the wish of the people commands, what your suffrage authorizes me to do.

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ.

By order of the First Consul,

H. B. MARET.

*Decree of the 20th Floréal (May 10th) for submitting to the People the Question, whether Bonaparte shall be Consul for Life.*

THE Consuls of the Republic, upon the reports of the ministers; having heard the Council of State; having seen the act of the Conservative Senate, of the 18th (8th May); and the message of the First Consul to the Conservative Senate, dated the 19th (May 9th); considering that the resolution of the First Consul is a distinguished homage paid to the sovereignty of the people; that the people, when consulted on their dearest interests, should know no other limits but those interests, decree what follows:

Art. I. The French people shall be consulted on this question; "Shall Napoleon Buonaparté be Consul for life?"

II. There shall be open in each commune, registers, in which the citizens shall be invited to mark their wish upon this question.

III. Those registers shall be open at the Secretary's Office in all the administrations, at the Clerks of all the Tribunals, and with all the Mayors and Notaries.

IV. The delay for voting in each department shall be three weeks, counting from the day that this decree shall arrive at the prefecture, and seven days from the day it shall be delivered to each commune.

V. The ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which is to be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed)

CAMBACERES, 2d Consul.

By order of the 2d Consul,

H. B. MARET.

*Proceedings with respect to the Appointment of Bonaparte to be First Consul for Life.*

*Message, July 29, 1802, of the Consuls of the Republic to the Conservative Senate.*

"Senators,

ON the 6th of May last, the Tribunate expressed a wish that a striking pledge of national gratitude might be given to the First Consul. That wish was applauded by the Legislative Body, and repeated by a spontaneous movement of the citizens.

"The Senate raised its thoughts still higher; and in the accomplishment of that wish, it hoped to find the sure means of giving to the government that stability which



which alone can multiply the resources of the nation, establish confidence without and credit within, inspire allies, discourage enemies, extinguish the flames of war, permit the enjoyment of the fruits of peace, and leave to future wisdom the task of executing every thing that can be conceived as contributing to the happiness of a free people.

“ The First Consul was of opinion that the circumstances of his first nomination prevented him from accepting the proposed re-election, unless it should be specifically conferred by the French people, thereby giving a proof of their attachment to, and permanent confidence in, the magistrate who had been the object of their first choice.

“ In this manner we have thought it our duty to carry into execution the ideas of the Senate.

“ The French people have given their answer; the government has received from almost all the Departments, the acts which contain the expression of the will of the people. It is to the Senate we have thought in this new case, that it belongs to collect and to promulgate the wishes of the people. We have therefore ordered the Minister of the Interior to place at the disposal of the Senate, the Registers in which those votes are contained.

“ We invite the Senate to take those measures which shall seem to its wisdom the most proper, for the purpose of stating the result.

“ The Second Consul, *Cambacerès*.

“ By the Second Consul,

“ The Secretary  
of State, H. B. MARET.”

*The Audience of the Corps Diplomatique was interrupted on the 3d of August by the Introduction of the Conservative Senate.—Citizen Barthélemy, the President, spoke as follows:*

“ **CITIZEN First Consul.**—

The French, grateful for the immense services you have rendered to them, wish that the First Magistracy of the State should be irrevocably placed in your hands. In thus conferring it upon you for life, they only express the opinion of the Senate, as stated in its *Senatus Consultum* of the 8th of May. The nation, by this solemn act of gratitude, confides to you the task of consolidating our institutions.

“ A new career commences for the First Consul: after prodigies of valour and military talents, he has terminated the war, and obtained every where the most honourable conditions of peace. The French people under his auspices have assumed the attitude and character of true greatness.—He is the Pacificator of Nations, and the Restorer of France. His name alone is a tower of strength.

“ Already an administration of less than three years has almost made us forget that epoch of anarchy and calamities which seemed to have dried up the sources of public prosperity.

“ But evils yet remain to be healed, and inquietudes to be dissipated. The French people, after having astonished the world by warlike exploits, expect of you, Citizen First Consul, all the benefits of that peace which you have procured for them.

“ If



“ If seeds of discord still exist, the Proclamation of the Perpetual Consulate of Bonaparté will dissipate them. Every one will now rally round him. His powerful genius will support and preserve all. He exists only for the prosperity and the happiness of the French people. His constant efforts will be directed to increase the national glory and national greatness. What nation, in fact, better deserves happiness, and of what people more enlightened, or more sensible, can he desire the esteem and attachment ?

“ The Conservative Senate will associate itself with all the generous maxims of Government. It will second, by all the means in its power, every amelioration which shall have for its end the prevention of the return of those evils by which we have been so long afflicted, and the extension and consolidation of those benefits which you have conferred upon us. It is its duty also to contribute to the accomplishment of the wishes of the people, which have been manifested in a manner so honourable to their zeal and their discernment.

“ The *Senatus Consultum* which the Senate in a body now present to you, Citizen First Consul, contains the expression of its own gratitude. The organ of the sovereign will, it was of opinion, could not better fulfil the intentions of the French people, than by calling in the aid of the arts to perpetuate the remembrance of this memorable event.”

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*After this Address, Citizen Barthélemy, the President, read the Act, of which the following is the tenor.*

*Senatus Consultum. Extract from the Registers of the Conservative Senate of the 2d of August, 1802.*

THE Conservative Senate, consisting of the number of members prescribed by the 90th article of the Constitution; deliberating upon the message of the Consuls of the Republic, of the 29th ult.; after having heard the report of the special Committee, charged with the verification of the Registers of the Votes given by the French people; seeing the *Procès-Verbal* prepared by the special Committee, and which states, that 3,577,259 citizens have given their suffrages, and that 3,568,885 citizens have voted, that Napoleon Bonaparté should be appointed Consul for Life; considering that the Senate, established by the Constitution as the organ of the people, in every thing in which the social compact is interested, ought to manifest in a splendid manner the national gratitude towards the conquering and pacificating hero, and to proclaim solemnly that it is the will of the French people to give to the government every necessary stability and independence, in order to ensure the prosperity and glory of the Republic, decrees as follows :

Art. I. The French people do appoint, and the Senate do proclaim, Napoleon Bonaparté First Consul for life.

II. A statue of peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the Senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation.

III. The Senate shall convey to the First Consul the expression of the confidence, the love, and the admiration of the French people.

(Signed) *Barthelemy*, President.  
*Vaubois*



*Vaubois* and *Fargues*, Secretaries.  
By the Conservative Senate, the  
Secretary General,  
(Signed) *Cauchy*.

gratifying to me, to be assured of this by the speech of so distinguished a president."

The Members of the Senate then retired.

*The First Consul replied as follows:*

" Senators,

THE life of a citizen belongs to his country. The people of France wish that the whole of mine should be consecrated to their service, and I obey.—In giving me this new, this permanent pledge of their confidence, they have imposed upon me the duty of maintaining the system of the laws and institutions of the Republic. By my efforts, by your co-operation, Citizen Senators, and that of the Constituted Authorities, and by the confidence and will of this immense people, the liberty, equality, and prosperity of the people of France will be secured from all the accidents which arise from the uncertainty of futurity. The best people shall, as they deserve, be the most happy, and their happiness shall contribute to that of all Europe.

" Content with having been called by the order of him from whom every thing emanates, to bring back upon the earth justice, order, and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without any uneasiness about the opinion of future generations.

" Senators, receive my thanks for this solemn proceeding. The desire of the Senate has expressed the wish of the people of France, and is thereby more strongly connected with whatever remains to be done for the happiness of the people of France. It is very

*Circular Letter of the Minister of the Interior to the Prefects of the different Departments, dated Paris, 4th August.*

" I SEND you, Citizen Prefect, the *Senatus Consultum*, which proclaims the will of the French people. You will cause it to be proclaimed throughout the whole of your Department on the 15th of August. That day shall hereafter be consecrated by the recollection of great events. It will recall to our posterity the recollection of the memorable epocha of public happiness, when the consciences of the people were set at peace, and when the people of France exercised the greatest act of sovereignty ever exercised by any nation.

" The 15th of August is at once the anniversary of the birth-day of the Chief Consul, of the signature of the Concordat, and the day on which the people of France, wishing to secure and perpetuate their happiness, have connected its duration with that of the glorious career of Napoleon Bonaparte.

" What pleasing recollections to excite the enthusiasm of the French people! What a concurrence of great events to awaken in every heart those generous sentiments which characterize the French nation!

" Let this great day be celebrated by acts of benevolence. I invite you, Citizen Prefect, to consecrate the whole of it to happiness,



by uniting in marriage those individuals who are most eminent for their virtue.

(Signed) "CHAPTAL."

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*Paris, August 5.—Extract of the Registers of the Deliberations of the Council of State, of the Sitting of August 4.—Project of a Senatus Consultum for organizing the Constitution.*

#### TITLE I.

Art. I. Each jurisdiction of a Justice of the Peace has a Cantonal Assembly.

1. Each communal circuit or district of Sub-prefecture, has an Electoral College for the circuit.

3. Each department has an Electoral College for the department.

#### Title II. *Of the Cantonal Assemblies.*

4. The Assembly of the Canton is composed of all the citizens domiciliated in the Canton, and inscribed on the commune list of the circuit.

From the epoch when the communal lists ought to be renewed in the terms of the Constitution, the Assembly of the Canton shall be composed of all the citizens domiciliated in the Canton, and enjoying the rights of citizenship.

5. The First Consul nominates the President of the Canton Assembly.

His functions continue for five years, and he may be re-appointed indefinitely.

He is assisted by four Inspectors; two of them being the oldest, and the other two the persons paying most taxes among the citizens having a

right to vote in the Cantonal Assembly.

The President and four Inspectors appoint the Secretary.

6. The Assembly of the Canton, divides itself into Sections for performing the operations belonging to it.

At the first convocation of each Assembly, its organization and forms of proceeding shall be determined by a regulation issued by the Government.

7. The President of the Cantonal Assembly appoints the Presidents of the Sections.

Their functions terminate with each Sectionary Assembly.

They are, each of them, assisted by two Inspectors, the one being the eldest, and the other the most heavily taxed, of the citizens having a right to vote in the section.

8. The Cantonal Assembly returns two citizens out of whom the First Consul chooses the Justice of the Peace for the Canton.

It, in like manner returns two citizens for each vacant place of *suppleant* to the Justices of Peace.

9. The Justices of the Peace and their *suppleants* are appointed for ten years.

10. In cities containing 5000 persons, the Cantonal Assembly presents two citizens for each seat in the Municipal Council. In cities where there may be several Justices of the Peace, or several Cantonal Assemblies, each assembly will, in like manner, present two citizens for each seat in the Municipal Council.

11. The Members of the Municipal Council are taken by each Cantonal Assembly, from a list of a hundred of the persons paying most taxes in the Canton. This list



list shall be executed and printed by order of the Prefect.

12. The Municipal Councils are renewed in the proportion of one half every ten years.

13. The First Consul chooses the Mayors and Assistants in the Municipal Councils. They are to be five years in office, and may be re-appointed.

14. The Cantonal Assembly nominates to the Electoral College of the Circuit the number of members assigned to it, in proportion to the number of citizens of which it is composed.

15. It nominates to the Electoral College of the Department, from a list hereinafter referred to, the number of members assigned to it.

16. The members of the Electoral Colleges must be domiciliated in the respective circuits and departments.

17. The Government convokes the Cantonal Assemblies, fixes the time of their sitting, and the object of their meeting.

### 'Title III. *Electoral Colleges.*

18. The Electoral Colleges of the circuits have one member for every 500 domiciliated inhabitants of the circuit.—The number of members cannot, however, exceed 200, nor fall below 120.

19. The Department Electoral Colleges have one member for every 1000 domiciliated inhabitants in the department; but notwithstanding, these members cannot be more than 300, nor fewer than 200.

20. The members of the Electoral Colleges are appointed for life.

21. If a member of an Electoral

College is denounced to the Government as having permitted any act contrary to the dictates of honour or the interests of the country, the Government invites the College to manifest its opinion thereon. Three-fourths of the votes are necessary to make a denounced member lose his place in the College.

22. A Member loses his seat in the Electoral Colleges for the same cause which would deprive him of the rights of citizenship.

He also loses when, without any legitimate obstruction, he absents himself from three successive meetings.

23. The First Consul appoints the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges on each session.—The Police of the Electoral College when assembled is exclusively under the direction of the President.

24. The Electoral Colleges appoint, at the commencement of each session, two Inspectors and a Secretary.

25. In order to the formation of the Electoral Colleges of department, there shall be drawn up in each department, under the orders of the Minister of Finance, a list of 600 citizens, who are most heavily assessed to the land tax, the tax on moveables, the tax on luxury, and the tax on licences.

To the amount of the contribution must be added in the departmental domicile, such sum as may be proved to be paid in other parts of the territory of France or the colonies. This list shall be printed.

26. The Cantonal Assembly will select from this list the Members to be appointed to the Electoral College of the department.

27. The First Consul may add to the Electoral Colleges of Circuit,



ten Members chosen from among the citizens belonging to the Legion of Honour, or who have performed public services.

He may add to each Electoral College of department twenty citizens, ten of whom to be taken from the thirty most heavily taxed in the department; and ten others, either from the Members of the Legion of Honour, or citizens who have performed public services.

He is not limited to precise periods in making these nominations.

28. The Electoral Colleges of circuit present to the First Consul two citizens domiciliated in the circuit for each vacant seat in the Council of the circuit.—Of those citizens, one at least must, of necessity, be chosen from among the members of the Electoral College which appoints him.

The Councils of circuit are removed by thirds, once in five years.

29. The Electoral Colleges of circuit present at each meeting two citizens to form part of the list, from which are to be chosen the Members of the Tribunal.

Of these citizens, one, at least, must necessarily belong to the College which presents him.

Both of them may be chosen from persons not residing in the department.

30. The Electorate Colleges of the Departments present to the First Consul two citizens domiciliated in each Department for every place vacant in the Council-General of the Department.

One of these citizens, at least, must necessarily be taken from the Electoral College which presents him.

The renovation of the Councils

General of the Departments taken place by thirds every five years.

31. The Electoral Colleges of the Departments present at each meeting two citizens to form the list from which the Members of the Senate are named.

One of them, at least, must necessarily be taken from the College which presents him, and they both may be taken from the Department.

They are to have the age and the qualifications prescribed by the Constitution.

32. The Electoral Colleges of the Departments and Circuits present each two citizens domiciliated in the department, in order to form a list from which the Members of the Deputation to the Legislative Body are to be named.

One of these citizens is necessarily to be taken from the college which presents him.

There must be three times as many different candidates on the list formed by the combination of the presentations of the Electoral Colleges of the Departments and Circuits as there are vacant places.

33. The same person may be a Member of a Council of Commune and of an Electoral College of Circuit or Department.

The same person cannot, however, be at the same time Member of a College of Circuit and College of Department.

34. The members of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunal cannot attend the Sitzings of the Electoral College to which they belong.

All the other public functionaries have a right to attend and to vote.

35. No Cantonal Assembly shall proceed to nominate to the places that



that belong to it in an Electoral College, until these places are reduced to two-thirds.

36. The Electoral Colleges can assemble only in consequence of an act of convocation emanating from the government, and in the places assigned to them.

They can take cognizance of the subjects only for which they are assembled, nor can they prolong their sittings beyond the time fixed by the act of Convocation.—If they exceed these limits, the government possesses the right of dissolving them.

37. The Electorate Colleges can neither directly or indirectly, nor under any pretext whatsoever, hold any intercourse with each other.

38. The dissolution of an Electoral Body necessarily leads to the renewal of all its Members.

#### Title IV. *Of the Consuls.*

39. The Consuls are for life. They are members of the Senate, and act as Presidents.

40. The Second and Third Consuls are appointed by the Senate on the presentation of the First.

41. For this purpose when any of the two places become vacant, the First Consul presents to the Senate a first person. If he is not appointed, he presents a second, and if the second is not accepted, he presents a third, who is of necessity appointed.

42. When the First Consul thinks proper, he appoints a citizen to succeed him after his death, according to the forms prescribed in the preceding article.

43. The citizen appointed to succeed; the First Consul takes an oath to the Republic, to be adminis-

tered by the First Consul, assisted by the Second and Third Consuls, in the presence of the Senate, the Ministers, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, the Tribunal, the Tribunal of Cassation, the Archbishops, Bishops, Presidents of the Tribunals of Appeal, the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges, the Presidents of the Cantonal Assemblies, the Grand Officers of the Legion of Honour, and the Mayors of the 24 principal Cities of the Republic.

The Secretary of State draws up the Procès-Verbal of the administration of the oath.

44. The oath is in these terms.

—“ I swear to maintain the Constitution, to respect the liberty of conscience, to oppose the return of feudal institutions; never to make war but for the defence and glory of the Republic; and not to employ the power where- with I shall be invested, but for the happiness of the people, from whom and for whom I shall have received it.”

45. Having taken this oath, he takes his seat in the Senate immediately after the Third Consul.

46. The First Consul may deposit, among the archives of Government, his wish as to the nomination of a successor, to be presented to the Senate after his death.

47. In this case, he summonses the attendance of the Second and Third Consuls, the Ministers and Presidents of the sections of the the Council of State. In their presence he delivers to the Secretary of State the paper sealed with his seal, and in which his wish is recorded. This paper is subscribed by all those who are present at the transaction. The Secretary of



State deposits it among the archives of Government in the presence of the Ministers and Presidents of the Sections of the Council of State.

48. The First Consul may withdraw this deposit, observing the formalities prescribed in the preceding article.

49. After the death of the First Consul, if his choice has remained in deposit, the paper containing it is withdrawn from the archives of Government by the Secretary of State, in the presence of the Ministers and Presidents of the Sections of the Council of State; their authenticity and identity being ascertained in the presence of the Second and Third Consuls. It is addressed to the Senate by a message from the Government, with a copy of the Procès-Verbal, certifying the deposit, the identity, and authenticity.

50. If the person, presented by the First Consul, is not appointed, the Second and the Third Consuls present one each; in case of neither of these being nominated, they each make another presentation, and one of the two must of necessity be appointed.

51. If the First Consul leaves no presentation, the Second and Third Consuls make their presentations separate, one first, one second, and if neither obtains the nomination, they make a third, from which the Senate must of necessity nominate.

52. In every case, the presentations and nominations must be completed within twenty-four hours after the death of the First Consul.

53. The law determines for the life of each First Consul the state of the expenditure of Government.

#### Title V.—*Of the Senate.*

54. The Senate regulates, by an Organic Senatus Consultum.

1st, The Constitution of the Colonies.

2d, Every thing not provided for by the Constitution, and which may yet be necessary to its operation.

3d, It explains those Articles of the Constitution which admit of different interpretations.

55. The Senate by Acts, entitled Senatus Consulta,

1st. Suspends for five years the functions of Juries in the Departments where that measure may be necessary.

2d. Proclaims, when circumstances require it, certain Departments out of the protection of the Constitution.

3d. Determines the time when the individuals arrested in virtue of the 46th Article of the Constitution, are to be brought before the Tribunals, in such cases where they are not brought to trial in ten days from the period of their arrest.

4th. Annuls the judgments of the civil and criminal tribunals, when dangerous to the safety of the State.

5th. Dissolves the Legislative Body and Tribunate.

6th. Appoints the Consuls.

56. The Organic Senatus Consulta and Ordinary Senatus Consulta are deliberated upon by the Senate, on the initiative of the Government.

A simple majority suffices for a Senatus Consulta. Two thirds of the votes of the Members present are necessary for an organic Senatus Consultum.

57. The projects of the Senatus Con-



Consultum, adopted in consequence of articles 54 and 55, are discussed in a Privy Council, composed of the Consuls, two Ministers, two Senators, two Counsellors of State, and two grand Officers of the Legion of Honour.

At each meeting the First Consul appoints the Members who are to compose the Privy Council.

58. The First Consul ratifies the Treaties of Peace and Alliance, after taking the advice of the Privy Council. Before he promulgates them, he communicates them to the Senate.

59. The act of the nomination of a Member of the Legislative Body, of the Tribunal, and of the Tribunal of Cassation, is entitled Arrêté.

60. The acts of the Senate, relative to its police and internal administration, are entitled Deliberation.

61. In the course of the year eleven, he will proceed to the nomination of fourteen citizens, to complete the number of eighty Senators, fixed by the 15th article of the Constitution.—This nomination shall be made by the Senate, on the presentation of the First Consul, who shall, for that purpose, select three persons from the list of citizens chosen by the Electoral Colleges.

62. The Members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour are Members of the Senate, whatever may be their age.

63. The First Consul may besides nominate to the Senate, without the previous presentation of the Electoral Colleges of the Departments, citizens distinguished for their services and their talents, on these conditions, however, that

they shall be of the age required by the Constitution, and that the number of Senators shall not exceed 120.

64. The Senators may be Consuls, Ministers, Members of the Legion of Honour, Inspectors of Public Instruction, or employed on extraordinary and temporary Missions.

65. The Senate appoints each year two of its Members to perform the duty of Secretaries.

66. The Ministers have seats in the Senate, but no deliberative voice, unless they are Senators.

#### Title VI.—*Of the Counsellors of State.*

67. The Counsellors of State shall never exceed the number of fifty.

68. The Council of State is divided into sections.

69. The Ministers have rank, seats, and votes in the Council of State.

#### Title VII.—*Of the Legislative Body.*

70. Each department shall have a number of Members proportioned to the extent of its population, conformable to the annexed table.

71. All the Members of the Legislative Body, belonging to the same deputation, are to be nominated at once.

72. The departments of the Republic are divided into five series, conformable to the annexed table.

73. The present Deputies are classed according to these five series.

74. They shall be renewed in the year to which the series, including the department to which they are attached, shall be referred.



75. The Deputies nominated in the year ten, shall, however, complete their five years.

76. The Government convokes, adjourns, and prorogues, the Legislative Body.

*Title VIII.—Of the Tribunate.*

77. From and after the year 13, the Tribunate shall be reduced to 50 Members.

One half of the 50 shall go out every three years. Until this reduction be completed, the Members who go out shall not be replaced.

The Tribunate is divided into Sections.

78. The Legislative Body and the Tribunate are to be wholly renewed, immediately on their dissolution by the Senate.

*Title IX.—Of Justice and the Tribunate.*

79. There shall be a Grand Judge, Minister of Justice.

80. He has a distinguished place in the Senate and the Council of State.

81. He presides in the Tribunal of Cassation and the Tribunals of Appeal, when the Government judges it proper.

82. He has the right of vigilance and superintendence over the Tribunals and Justices of Peace.

83. The Tribunal of Cassation, when he sits as President, has the right of censure and discipline over the Tribunals of Appeal and the Criminal Tribunals. He may, on serious complaints, suspend the Judges from their functions, and send them before a Judge, to give an account of their conduct.

84. The Tribunals of Appeal have the right of superintendence over the Civil Tribunals within

their jurisdiction, and the Civil Tribunals over the Justices of Peace of their District.

85. The Commissioners of Government to the Tribunal of Cassation, superintends the Commissioners to the Tribunals of Appeal and the Criminal Tribunals.—The Commissioners to the Tribunals of Appeal superintend the Commissioners to the Inferior Tribunals.

86. The Members of the Tribunal of Legation are appointed by the Senate on the presentation of the First Consul.

The First Consul presents three Candidates for each vacant place.

*Title X.—Right of Pardoning.*

87. The First Consul has the right of pardoning.

He exercises it after the deliberation of a Privy Council, composed of the Grand Judge, two Ministers, two Councils, and two Members of the Tribunal of Cassation.

The Council of State having, on the reference of the Consuls, discussed the above project, approve of it, and agree that it shall be presented to the Consuls in due form.

(A true copy,)

J. G. LOCRE, Secretary General  
of the Council of State.

Approved, BONAPARTE,  
First Consul.

By order of the First Consul,  
H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

The project of the Organic Senatus Consultum was carried to the Conservative Senate by the Counsellors of State, Regnier, Portalis, and Dessolles, Orators of the Government, and adopted by the Senate in its sitting of this day.

*Bontz.*



*Bonaparte, First Consul, in the name of the French people, proclaims as a Law of the Republic, the Senatus Consulte, of which the following is the tenor :*

*Senatus Consulte for organizing the Constitution. Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate of the 4th of August, 1802.*

THE Conservative Senate, consisting of the number of members prescribed by the 90th Article of the Constitution; having seen the message of the Consuls of the Republic dated this day, announcing the sending of three orators of government, charged to present to the Senate a project of a *Senatus Consulte* for organizing the Constitution; having seen the said project of *Senatus Consulte*, presented to the Senate by Citizens Regnier, Portalis, and Dessolles, Councilors of State, appointed for that purpose by an Arrêté of the First Consul of the Republic, of the same date; after having heard the orators of government respecting the motives of the said project; deliberating on the report of its special Committee appointed in the sitting of the 30th ult. decrees as follows: the present *Senatus Consulte* shall be transmitted by a Message to the Consuls of the Republic.

(Signed) *Barthelemy*, President.

*Vaubeis* and *Fargues*, Secretaires.

By the Conservative Senate,

The Secretary-General, *Cauchy*.

[Then follows a table of the number of deputies to be chosen by each department to the legislative body, amounting in the whole to 300. Also a table of the departments of the Republic, divided into five series.]

Let the present *Senatus Consulte*, sealed with the Seal of State, be inserted in the bulletin of laws, and inscribed in the Registers of the Judiciary and Administrative Authorities, and the Minister of Justice is charged with the superintendence of its publication.

Paris, August 5, 1802.

(Signed)

*Bonaparte.*

(Signed)

*H. B. Maret.*

Pius VII. *To the Five Emigrant French Bishops resident in London, who gave in their Resignations conformably with the Request of his Holiness.*

“Venerable Brother—Health and Apostolic Benediction!

“THE new and illustrious testimony you have afforded us, Venerable Brother, of your ardent wishes and constant dispositions to promote the re-establishment of the unity of the Church in France, and tranquillity in the Catholic Religion, when, on the receipt of our apostolical letters, you spontaneously resigned your Archbishopric or Bishopric, and freely deposited your dignity in my hands, you not only crowned your distinguished merits, but have also shed more lustre, in the eyes of the universal church, on the *eclat* of your virtues, and deserved on the part of the Supreme Remunerator, those munificent recompences reserved for such as regard not their private interests, but those of God. You, then, who have without any delay yielded to our paternal instances, who have preferred the good of the Church to your personal advantages; who, in order to enable us to relieve its necessities



necessities without the opposition of any difficulties, have broken those bonds which attached you to your flock, receive from us the expression of our gratitude, blessing, and eternal praise, hoping that you will also receive every mercy and all kind of consolation from God, who has been pleased, by this new proof of your eminent virtue in these trying situations, from which the miserable situation of mortals cannot be exempted, to afford this subject of consolation and solace in our solitudes, and who by his grace has deigned to give our venerable brethren to offer him up this memorable sacrifice, so glorious to themselves and so useful to the Church. We pray God to grant you, Venerable Brother, all the humanly and earthly good which your admirable virtue deserves: we henceforth assure you of our gratitude, and, as a pledge of our tenderness and paternal love, give you our apostolical benediction.

“ Done at Rome, at St. Marie Majeuro, the 4th of November, and the 2d Year of our Pontificate.”

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PIUS VII. *To those French Emigrant Bishops and Archbishops, resident in England, who have refused to give in their Resignation.—(circular.)*

“ Venerable Brother—Health and Apostolic Benediction!

“ **T**HE consolation given to us by the answer of the Archbishops and Bishops resident in London, to our brief of the 15th of August last, by which we requested their voluntary resigna-

tions, which the interests of religion called for under the existing circumstances, was accompanied with affliction on account of the refusal, which we read with infinite sorrow, in the letter addressed by yourself and your colleagues, on the 26th of September 1801. We cannot sufficiently express to you our surprize and our pain on seeing that the part which you have so *ineffectually* taken to impede, in the present circumstances, the measures which (we call God to witness) the good of religion alone has induced us to adopt in this important crisis, the circumstances of which render it impossible to deprive you and your colleagues of the great merit of completing, by this last sacrifice, all those which you have already made, in such great numbers, for the interest of our holy religion, and to deprive ourselves of the comfort and support of your co-operation in so great an object, without, in the midst of our solicitude, overwhelming us with the most sensible affliction. We have thought proper to write this letter to you with our own hand, in order to manifest to you our sentiments, and excite your virtue to renewed considerations of the powerful motives which we have explained to you in our brief. In gaining to them the most tender sollicitations dictated by the sentiments of our heart, in unison with the public testimony which we thought proper to give to your merit, and to the opinion we entertain of you and your colleagues; we cannot doubt but this fresh assurance of our esteem and affection will determine you to agree, without further delay, to our repeated sollicitations, after the example of  
so



so many of your brethren who possess your esteem, rather than lay us under the bitter misfortune of seeing ourself forced by irresistible circumstances, to go on no longer with your concurrence towards that sacred end which the duties of our ministry imperiously prescribe to us; and, again assuring you that we will carefully watch over all your interests in the best possible manner, and according to your real merits, we shall conclude this letter by giving you, from all our heart, the paternal and apostolic benediction.

“Rome, Nov. 9, 1801.”

[These Briefs were transmitted to the different Prelates by Mr. Douglas, the Titular Bishop of London.]

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*Arrêté of the 20th August, 1802, declaring Talleyrand a Layman.*

**T**HE Consuls of the Republic, having seen the Brief of Pope Pius VII. given at St. Peter's at Rome, on the 29th June, 1802.

Upon the Report of the Counsellor of State, charged with all the affairs relative to worship, the Council of State having been heard, decree.

The Brief of Pope Pius VII. given at St. Peter's, at Rome, on the 29th June, 1802, by which Citizen Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs is restored to the secular and lay life, shall have its full and intire effect.

The First Consul,  
(Signed) *Bonaparte.*

*Decree of Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint Mery, issued at Parma, October 23, 1802.*

**I**N the name of the French Republic, Mederic Louis, Elie Moreau de Saint Mary, Counsellor of State, Administrator General of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. A convention concluded between France and Spain, the 21st March 1801\*, places at the disposal of France, the states of the infant Duke of Parma, and death having carried off that prince upon the 9th of October, 1802, the First Consul has decided that from this moment, the exercise of the sovereignty is transferred by just right to the French Republic, and he has in consequence cast his eyes upon us, and declared us Administrator General of these States. We have in consequence, decreed as follows.

I. Reckoning from the 9th October all the rights and powers attached to the Sovereignty in the said States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. belong and remain to the French Republic.

II. The Provisional Regency established the same day that his Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma died is suppressed.

III. All the Functionaries of the old Government shall continue provisionally, and until a new order expresses their functions.

IV. The public acts of whatever nature, shall be made out in the name of the French Republic, and shall bear a double date, viz. that of the calendar of this Republic, and that of the old calendar.

\* See A. R. Vol XLIII. or I. of New Series, p. \* 302.



V. No act of public administration or legislation, shall have any validity, unless it emanates directly from us, or is clothed with our approbation.

VI. We enjoin all the public functionaries, without exception, under their responsibility to increase their zeal and activity; to labour conjointly with us to maintain good order, and public tranquillity, to secure the triumph of justice, without which there is no society, and to preserve among a people, worthy of all our cares, the respect which it owes to its Magistrates, as also the sentiment of happiness to be governed by France.

VII. The present decree shall be printed, published, and posted up in the usual places, and enregistered in the different offices through the whole extent of the States of Parma, Piacenza, Guastalla, &c. in order that it may be known by every body, and that all may conform to it in every respect, &c.

(Signed)

MOREAU SAINT MERY.

Parma, Oct. 23.

*Extract from the Registers of the  
Conservative Senate, of the 11th  
of September, 1802.*

THE Conservative Senate, the number of members being present prescribed by the 90th article of the constitution. Having seen the project of an *Organic Senatus Consulte*, prepared in the form prescribed by the 57th article of the *Organic Senatus Consulte* of the 4th of August; after having heard respecting the motives of the said project, the orators of Government,

and the reports of its special committee, appointed in the sitting of the 7th instant. The adoption having been agreed to by the number of votes prescribed by the 56th article of the *Organic Senatus Consulte*, decrees as follows:

Art. 1. The department of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura, and Tanaro, are united to the territory of the French Republic.

2. The department of Po, shall send four deputies to the legislative body.—The department of Marengo three deputies.—The department of Doire two; of Sezia, two; of Stura three; and Tanaro three; making the number of the legislative body 318.

3. These deputies shall be appointed in the year 1802, 3, and shall be renewed in the year to which the series belongs, in which the department to which they are attached shall be placed, with the exception of the department of Stura, who shall not go out till the 6th year.

4. The department of Po, shall be classed in the first series, Marengo in the second; Davie and Sezia in the third, Stura in the fourth; and Tanaro in the fifth.

5. The city of Turin shall be comprized amongst the principal cities of the Republic, of which the mayors shall be present at the taking the oath by the citizen appointed to succeed the First Consul, making the number of those cities twenty-five.

6. The present *Organic Senatus Consulte* shall be transmitted by a message to the Consuls of the Republic. (Signed)

Cambaceres, Second Consul,  
President.

Farques and Vaubois, Secretaries.  
*Treaty*



*Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Regency of Tunis.*

THE First Consul of the French Republic, wishing to renew the articles of peace anciently agreed upon between France and Tunis, and to add thereto new articles, has appointed for this purpose Jacques Devoize, who by virtue of full powers given to him as the representative of the First Consul of the French Republic, has agreed with his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey and the Divan of Tunis, upon the following additional articles :

1. The First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and his Excellency Hamouda Pacha Bey, and the Divan of Tunis, do confirm and renew all preceding treaties, particularly that of 1742.

2. The French nation shall be maintained in the enjoyment of all those privileges and exemptions which it enjoyed before the war; and being more distinguished and more useful than other natives established at Tunis, it shall also be the most favoured.

3. Whenever any French ship of war shall stop at the Goulette, the commissary of the Republic, or some one for him, shall be allowed to go on board without molestation.

4. The commissary of the French Republic shall appoint, and change at his pleasure, the Dragomans and the Janissaries in the service of the Commissariat.

5. The merchandizes coming from France in French vessels, either to Tunis or any other ports dependent upon it, shall only pay as heretofore, a custom duty of 3

per cent. which shall not be collected on merchandize, but in the current coin of the country. The Tunisian subjects shall enjoy in France the same privilege.

6. All merchandize coming from countries at war with the regency, and which shall be imported into Tunis by French merchants, shall continue to pay a custom duty of three per cent.; and in case of a war between the French Republic and any other power, the merchandizes belonging to and laden in France on account of the French merchants, in vessels belonging to neutral powers, friends of the regency, shall only pay the duty of three per cent. until the cessation of hostilities. Reciprocal regulations shall be made in France, with respect to the Tunisians.

7. The Jewish brokers and other strangers resident at Tunis, in the service of the French merchants, shall be under the protection of the Republic; but if they import merchandize into the kingdom, they shall pay the impost usually paid by the subjects of the country to which they belong; and if any difference arise between them and the Christians or Moors of the country, they shall come with their antagonists before the commissary of the French Republic, where they shall choose, at their own option, two French and two Moorish merchants of the first rank, to decide their disputes.

8. Every individual of any country, which, by conquest or by treaty, shall have been re-united to the states of the French Republic, who shall be found in a state of captivity in the kingdom of Tunis, shall be set at liberty on the first request of the commissary of



of the Republic; but if that individual shall have been taken in the service and pay of a power at war with the regency, he shall not be released, but remain a prisoner.

9. In the event of a rupture between the two powers, the French residents at Tunis shall not be any ways molested; they shall be allowed the space of three months, during which they shall enjoy all manner of liberty and protection; and upon the expiration of that term, they shall be at liberty to retire unmolested with their effects, to wherever they may think proper.

Done at Tunis the 23d of February, 1802, or the 21st of the month Chéwal, in the year one thousand two hundred and six of the Hegira.

(Signed) *Devoize*,  
Commissary-General  
of the French Republic with the  
Bey of Tunis.

*Hamouda*,  
Pacha Bey of Tunis.

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*Letter of Hamouda, Pacha Bey of Tunis, to the First Consul of the French Republic.*

TO the most distinguished among the followers of the Messiah, the greatest of those who profess the religion of Jesus, the First Consul of the French Republic, our highly honoured and sincere friend Bonaparté, may whose end be happiness and the summit of prosperity:

The present friendly letter is to remind you that heretofore (by the permission of the Supreme Being),

a slight coolness took place between us; in consequence of which, Citizen Devoize, your commissary here, was obliged to return to you. Now that happy days have succeeded, and that this coolness has been changed into sincere friendship, by the return hither of our friend the Commissary Devoize, who has resumed his functions, and put an end to this indifference by re-establishing the ancient union and amity, for which you have again established and confirmed him in his post, as you inform me in your friendly letter, which he delivered in your name, the contents of which I have understood, and am satisfied with—Be pleased to know that, after conferring with the said commissary, we have agreed that the ancient treaties, dated according to our Hegira 1155 (or of the Christian æra 1742) shall be on both sides renewed, and though it was not necessary to add others, yet in consideration of your sincere friendship, to which I ought to make a suitable return, I have amicably consented with your commissary to add to the ancient treaties nine new articles, and still more to unite and cement our sincere and unalterable friendship, our Divan, according to ancient usage, assisted at the instalment of the flag of the French Republic, which was hoisted at the house of the said commissary; and in consequence of the same friendship which prevails between us, I have consigned and delivered into the hands of the said commissary thirty-five Christians, subjects of countries which were before enemies to our regency, and which at present are under your dominion; and to give you a more striking proof of our sincere friendship,



ship, though the same Christians were subjects of the said countries, I have set them at liberty, in order that the said commissary may send them to you along with this amicable letter, by which I desire to give you an authentic proof of the lively and sincere friendship, which reigns between us, and which will always increase.

Tunis, the 5th day of the moon  
Zilkaade, of the Hegira 1216  
(Ventôse 17th, 10th year of the  
French Republic,) March 8.

(Signed) *Hamouda*,  
Pacha Bey of Tunis.

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*Definitive Treaty of Peace between  
the French Republic and the Sub-  
lime Ottoman Porte.*

THE First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and the Sublime Ottoman Emperor, being desirous to restore the relations of peace and amity which have of old subsisted between France and the Sublime Porte, have for that purpose appointed Ministers Plenipotentiaries, viz. the First Consul, in the name of the French people, Citizen C. M. Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs to the French Republic; and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, Effend Mahomed Said Ghalib Effendi, Private Secretary and Director of Foreign Affairs; who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall hereafter be peace and friendship between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte: hostilities shall for the future, and for ever, cease between the two states.

II. The treaties or capitulations which, before the war, defined the respective relations of every kind, existing between the two powers, shall be renewed in all their particulars.

In consequence of this renewal, and in fulfilment of the ancient capitulation, according to which the French have a right to enjoy, in the states of the Sublime Porte, all the advantages granted to other nations, the Sublime Porte consents that the French merchant ships bearing the French flag, shall for the future possess the undisputed right to navigate and pass freely in the Black Sea. The Sublime Porte likewise consents, that the said French merchant ships, on their passage into and out of this sea, shall, with respect to every thing that can favour the free navigation of it, be placed precisely on the same footing with the merchant ships of those nations which now navigate it.

The Sublime Porte and the Government of the French Republic, will with common consent take vigorous measures to cleanse the seas, which the ships of both states navigate, from all kinds of pirates.

The Sublime Porte promises to protect the French trading-ships in the Black Sea against all kinds of pirates.

It is hereby understood, that the advantages secured by the present article to the French in the Ottoman Empire, shall in like manner extend to the subjects and flag of the Sublime Porte in the seas and territory of the French Republic.

III. The French Republic shall, in the Ottoman countries which lie on, or in the vicinity of, the Black Sea, both with respect to  
their



their trade and the agents and commissaries which that trade may render it necessary to appoint in such places, enjoy the same rights and privileges which France, before the war, enjoyed by virtue of the old capitulations, in any other parts of the states of the Sublime Porte.

IV. The Sublime Porte assents to all that was stipulated with respect to it in the treaty concluded at Amiens between France and England, on the 4th Germinal of the year ten (25th of March, 1801), or the 22d of Zillides, of the year of the Hegira 1216. All the articles of this treaty, which have relation to the Sublime Porte, are by the present treaty formally renewed.

V. The French Republic and the Sublime Porte mutually guarantee the integrity of their possessions.

VI. The restorations and indemnifications which are due to the agents of the two powers, or to their citizens and subjects, whose effects have been confiscated or sequestrated during the war, shall be regulated in an equitable manner, by a particular agreement to be concluded between the two governments at Constantinople.

VII. Until by common consent new regulations shall be agreed on, with respect to the tolls or customs on which disputes may have arisen, these shall in both countries continue to be regulated by the old capitulations.

VIII. Should any prisoners be found in the two countries, who are detained in consequence of the war, they shall immediately be set at liberty, without ransom.

IX. As the French Republic

and the Sublime Porte, by the present treaty, wish to place their states reciprocally in the situation of the most favoured powers, it is expressly understood that each state grants to the other, all the advantages which have been or shall be granted to any other powers, in the same manner as if they were expressly stipulated in the present treaty.

X. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within eighty days, or sooner if possible, at Paris.

Done at Paris, the 6th of Messidor, of the year ten (June 25, 1802, or the 24th of Safer-nair, the year of the Hegira 1217.

(Signed) *Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.*

*Esseid Mohamed Said Ghalib  
Effendi.*

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*Report made to the First Consul of France (in Senate), Sept. 7, 1802, relative to the Treaty with Turkey.*

THE distinguishing characteristic of that period in the policy of nations which has ended in the general peace, was a striking opposition of their sentiments and conduct to their true interests. States and kingdoms were betrayed into wars and alliances by a sort of blind fatality. Some made common cause with one another without suppressing their mutual hatred; others, amid mutual hostilities, still continued to wish one another well. In that dissolution of the mutual relations of the states and kingdoms of Europe, which had been long approaching, the accustomed diplomatic law lost all force and truth. Its traditions, its maxims, its local regulations, became vain; and,



and, amidst the confusion of the change, more than one government quite lost sight of the dearest interests, and are themselves menaced with danger, from those habits of policy which they had been accustomed to think the safest, and abandoned itself in this distribution of just counsels, to the vainest terrors, and the most imprudent projects. Such, in particular, were the condition and conduct of the Sublime Porte, at that period of the war when Europe, with astonishment, saw this government take part with the enemies of France. The Sublime Porte soon saw its error; indeed, both at home and abroad, it could discern nothing but what was adapted to make it regret the part it had taken. It saw the conqueror, faithful to his declarations, when he occupied a province of the Ottoman Empire, rule over it with wisdom, make provision for its future prosperity, and even when, by an unprovoked declaration of war, it became a lawful conquest, still to evince by his respect for the manners and the religion of the vanquished, that his primary intentions were unchanged. France, instead of desiring to hurt the prosperity or diminish the strength of Turkey, *had, at that time, no view but to render it happier and more powerful, by introducing into it new elements of civilization, and by opening through its provinces a grand channel for the commerce of the world.* But the Ottoman government had entered into engagements of which it could not clearly foresee the effects: it was the last to enter into a war by which it had nothing to gain; and was, of course, the last to renounce hostilities. It was

not till after peace had been concluded among the powers of Europe, that the Ottoman government found itself perfectly free to negotiate. But from the first moment of its being at liberty to treat with France, the two Empires have been mutually at peace. By the treaty of the 25th of June, that peace is complete. That treaty entirely restores the relations which formerly subsist between the two powers. It makes full provision for the interests and wants of the Ottoman Empire, for the interests and the glory of France. The public joy at Constantinople, when this treaty was proclaimed, was such as to prove how highly the friendship of France was there valued. Great errors, great dangers had distinguished the conduct and condition of the Ottoman government, while it was at war with France. *That government now trusts to find the difficulties of its situation constantly alleviated by the friendly counsels of a power that takes a sincere concern in its welfare.* By the treaty, due provision is happily made for the interest of French commerce. French citizens engaged in the Turkish trade will now recover their sequestered property, their wonted privileges, and their wonted ascendancy among the other merchants of Europe trading to the same countries. The compensations due to them are secured by an express stipulation. The honour of France, and the dignity of its government, demanded an abolition of certain restrictions, to which its navigation had been hitherto subject. They are abolished, and the navigation of the Black Sea, now free to France, opens to us a communication with the Southern provinces



of Russia. The Sovereign of that country, more enlightened than to stoop to the prejudices of vulgar jealousy, knows that whatever opens new channels to the industry of any one nation, is in fact useful to the industry of all. The Sublime Porte wanted only the friendship of France. By the peace which has been concluded, it acquires of that all the benefits. Before it opens a new æra of quiet and security. It can resume its ancient maxims. And in the multiplied communications of our trade, with its dominions in Europe, Africa, and Asia; and in the return of mutual confidence between the two governments; it will find all that it wants, to enable it long to maintain the safe and honourable condition to which it has been restored.

(Signed)

C. M. TALLEYRAND.

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*Official Note delivered by the Reis Efendi to Alexander Stratton, Esq. at a Conference in his Excellency's house on the Canal, the 29th July, 1802.*

IT behoves the character of true friendship and sincere regard to promote with cheerfulness all such affairs and objects as may be reciprocally useful, and may have a rank among the salutary fruits of those steady bonds of alliance and perfect good harmony which happily subsist between the Sublime Porte and the Court of Great Britain; and as permission has heretofore been granted for the English merchant ships to navigate in the Black Sea for the purposes of trade, the same having been a voluntary trait of his Imperial Majesty's own

gracious heart, as more amply appears by an official note presented to our friend the English minister residing at the Sublime Porte, dated 3 Gemaziel Ahir 1214—This present "Takrir" (official note) is issued; the Imperial Ottoman Court, hereby engaging that the same treatment shall be observed towards the English merchant ships coming to that Sea, as is offered to ships of powers most favoured by the Sublime Porte, on the score of that navigation.

The 23 Rebiul Evvel 1217 (23d July, 1802.)

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*Report made to the First Consul of France in Senate, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

THE First Consul having ordered me to render an account to him, in senate, of the differences subsisting between the republic of France and the regency of Algiers, and of the success of the measures which have been adopted to terminate them.—I shall first advert to the previous situation of affairs.—From the frontiers of Egypt to the Streight of Gibraltar, the North of Africa, is possessed by men ignorant of the public law of Europe. The principles and the manners, which in a great degree, have formed Europeans into one great society, and not only forbid the oppression of, but enjoin them to protect and assist, when in danger, the navigation and commerce of pacific nations—which reprobate all unjust aggression; and require that the rights of humanity be preserved sacred: these are still unknown to the people of those countries. They acknowledge no other law of nations, than those dictated



dictated by their own police, which permits amongst them individual violence, authorizes it with respect to foreigners, and consecrates even acts of barbarity and outrage with regard to enemies—they are ignorant that the law of nations, proceeding upon general principles, abolishes those chimerical rights, which a people too much impressed with their local importance, derive from the licentiousness of their particular customs. It is, however, to the honour of Europe, that in those respects, the supremacy of its public law assigns just limits to the tolerance of particular systems of legislation, and which hereafter shall not be unknown, but in Africa. The regency of Algiers is particularly remarkable for an audacity, which some events have tended to strengthen. Charles the Fifth turned his victorious arms against Africa—he wished to free Europe from the incursions of Barbarians, by reducing their power; but the success was not commensurate to the greatness of the design, and fell far short of the magnitude of his preparations. In succeeding times, Louis XIV. asserted at Algiers, the honour of the French flag, and in the interval of six years, that city was three times bombarded by his orders. But the affairs of Europe claiming his attention at the time, set bounds to his vengeance. However, since that period, the Algerines have appeared to respect France, and the peace which was concluded in 1689, subsisted more than a century, when, in the course of the year 7, it was infringed at the instance of the Sublime Porte. Of all the enemies which were opposed to France, when the First Consul took the reins of govern-

ment, the regency of Algiers was the least formidable. But the First Consul, desirous that the calamities of war should every where terminate, and learning that the Dey was inclined to pacification, dispatched a negotiator to Algiers. Being preceded by the renown of those exploits of which Italy, Germany, Syria, and Egypt had been the witnesses, the consular envoy was properly received. Peace was determined upon, and even notified to the Divan: but a fresh interference of the Sublime Porte prevented the signature. War appeared to be renewed, but no actual hostilities took place. The French were permitted freely to retire from Algiers, and to dispose of their properties, and the French agent waited at Alicant until the moment when the negotiations should be resumed. In short, a definitive treaty which assures to France all the advantages stipulated by the ancient treaties, and which by new articles guaranteed more explicitly and more favourably to France the freedom of commerce and navigation to Algiers, was signed the 2d of December. General peace being concluded, commerce began to take all its accustomed courses. But we soon learned that the armed ships of Algiers scoured the Mediterranean—desolated the French commerce, and infested the coasts. Neither the flag nor even the territory of the republic were respected by Corsairs of the regency. They conducted to Algiers, transports which had sailed from Toulon for St. Domingo. They seized a Neapolitan vessel close to the coasts of France. An Algerine officer dared to make a French trading captain undergo a most in-



famous treatment in the road of Tunis. The barques of the coral company, which were, by the terms of the treaty free to dispose of their fish, were violently repulsed from the coasts. The Chargé-d’Affaires called in vain for satisfaction—they even dared to make propositions injurious to the dignity of the French people—they even proposed—that France should pay for the execution of the treaty! The First Consul on being informed of those circumstances, ordered that a naval division should be stationed before Algiers. I transmitted by his orders, the instructions by which the Chargé-d’Affaires, citizen Dubois Thainville is to regulate his conduct, agreeably to the dictates of prudence, but at the same time with energy and dignity. The division commanded by Rear-Admiral Leisseques, appeared before Algiers, the 5th of August, and carrying on board an officer of the palace, the adjutant Hullin, charged with a letter from the First Consul to the Dey. On the 6th of August this officer landed—he was received with distinction, and he presented the letter of the First Consul which is conceived in the following terms :

“ Bonaparte, First Consul of the  
 “ French Republic, to the Most  
 “ High and Most Magnificent  
 “ the Dey of Algiers, whom  
 “ God preserve in prosperity  
 “ and glory.  
 “ I write this letter directly to  
 “ you, because I know there are  
 “ among your ministers some who  
 “ deceive you, and who induce  
 “ you to conduct yourself in a  
 “ manner which may bring on you  
 “ great misfortunes. This letter  
 “ will be given into your own

“ hand by an adjutant of my pa-  
 “ lace. The object of it is to de-  
 “ mand a prompt reparation, such  
 “ as I have a right to expect, from  
 “ the sentiments which you have  
 “ always shewn for me. A French  
 “ officer has been beaten in the  
 “ road of Tunis, by one of your  
 “ captains, Rais. The agent of  
 “ the republic has demanded sa-  
 “ tisfaction, and has been unable  
 “ to obtain it. Two armed brigs  
 “ have been taken by your cor-  
 “ fairs, who carried them into  
 “ Algiers, and retarded them in  
 “ their voyage. A Neapolitan  
 “ vessel has been taken by your  
 “ corsairs, in the road of Hieres,  
 “ and by this they have violated  
 “ the French territory. Finally,  
 “ I still want 150 men of the crew  
 “ of the vessel that was wrecked  
 “ on your coast last winter, who  
 “ are in the hands of the barba-  
 “ rians. I demand of you re-  
 “ dress for all these grievances;  
 “ and having no doubt of your  
 “ taking all the measures which I  
 “ would in similar circumstances,  
 “ I send a vessel to bring home the  
 “ 150 men that I want. I pray  
 “ you also to look with distrust on  
 “ those of your ministers who are  
 “ enemies to France ; you cannot  
 “ have greater enemies, and if I  
 “ desire to live in peace with you,  
 “ it is no less necessary for you to  
 “ preserve this good understanding  
 “ which has been re-established,  
 “ and which alone can maintain  
 “ you in the rank and prosperity  
 “ in which you are, *for God has*  
 “ *decreed that all those who are un-*  
 “ *just towards me should be punished.*  
 “ If you wish to live in good  
 “ friendship with me, you must  
 “ not treat me as a feeble power,  
 “ you must cause the French flag  
 “ to



“ to be respected as well as that  
 “ of the Italian Republic, which  
 “ has appointed me it its Chief,  
 “ and you must give me redress  
 “ for all the outrages which have  
 “ been done to me. This letter,  
 “ having no other object, I pray  
 “ you to read it with attention,  
 “ and to inform, by return of the  
 “ officer whom I send to you, what  
 “ you may think proper to do.”

Whatever may have been the internal sentiments of the Dey, he shewed only the most lively desire to live in good understanding with the French Republic. “ I wish,” said he, “ to be always the friend of Bonaparte.” He promised, and actually gave, all the satisfaction required. In order to shew a particular respect for the First Consul in the person of his envoy, he wished even to deviate from the usual forms, and, contrary to the immemorial custom of the regents, he received in the most magnificent kiosck in his gardens the officer of the palace, the Charge des Affaires of the republic, Rear-Admiral Leisseques, and his numerous staff. It was there that he gave to General Hullin the answer which he had prepared for the First Consul, and of which the tenor is as follows :

“ In the name of God alone, of  
 “ the man of God, master of us,  
 “ illustrious and magnificent Lord  
 “ Mustapha Pacha, Dey of Algiers, whom God preserve in  
 “ glory,—To our friend Bonaparte, First Consul of the French  
 “ republic, President of the Italian  
 “ Republic. I salute you; the  
 “ peace of God be with you.  
 “ Hereinafter, my friend, I notify  
 “ to you, that I have received  
 “ your letter, dated the 29th  
 “ Messidor (18th July); I have

“ read it, it was presented to me  
 “ by the general of your palace  
 “ and your vekil, Dubois Thainville. I answer you article by  
 “ article. I. You complain of  
 “ the Rais Ali Tatur. Though  
 “ he is one of my *jol daches*, I arrested him in order to put him  
 “ to death. At the moment of  
 “ execution, your vekil demanded  
 “ his pardon in your name, and for  
 “ your sake I have set him free.  
 “ II. You demand of me the Neapolitan polacre taken, you say,  
 “ under the cannon of France.  
 “ The details that have been laid  
 “ before you on this head, are not  
 “ exact; but according to your  
 “ desire, I have set at liberty  
 “ eighteen christians, forming her  
 “ crew, and I have given them up  
 “ to your vekil. III. You demand a Neapolitan vessel, which  
 “ is said to have sailed from Corfu  
 “ with French property. No  
 “ French papers were found; but,  
 “ according to your desire, I have  
 “ given liberty to the crew, and  
 “ I have given them up to your  
 “ vekil. IV. You require of me  
 “ the punishment of the Rais who  
 “ brought in here two vessels belonging to the French Republic.  
 “ According to your desire, I  
 “ have deprived him of his command; but I must inform you,  
 “ that my Rais do not know how  
 “ to read European characters, they  
 “ know nothing but the accustomed passport; and for this reason  
 “ it is proper that the ships of war  
 “ of the Republic should make  
 “ some signal, in order to be  
 “ known by my corsairs. V.  
 “ You demand 150 men, who, you  
 “ say, are in my dominions: God  
 “ has willed that these men should  
 “ be lost, and I am sorry for it.



“ VI. You say there are men who  
 “ give me advice, tending to pro-  
 “ duce a misunderstanding with  
 “ you. Our friendship is antient  
 “ and solid; and all who strive to  
 “ make us quarrel, shall fail.  
 “ VII. You require me to enter  
 “ into terms of amity with the Ita-  
 “ lian Republic. At your request  
 “ I shall respect its flag equally as  
 “ your own. To the same request  
 “ from any other person, I would  
 “ not, for a million of piaftres,  
 “ have agreed. VIII. You have  
 “ refused the 200,000 piaftres  
 “ which I asked in compensation  
 “ for the losses I had sustained on  
 “ your account; whether you give  
 “ or withhold them we shall  
 “ equally remain in friendship.  
 “ IX. I have settled with your  
 “ agent, my friend Dubois Thain-  
 “ ville, every thing respecting  
 “ Calle, and your people are at li-  
 “ berty to come to the coral fishery  
 “ as soon as they please. Your  
 “ African company shall enjoy its  
 “ old privileges. I have directed  
 “ the Bey of Constantine to grant  
 “ it, in all cases, his protection.  
 “ X. I have satisfied you to your  
 “ own wishes, I expect from you  
 “ the like satisfaction. XI. I  
 “ therefore request you to give  
 “ particular orders that no nations  
 “ which are at enmity with me,  
 “ may sail under your flag, or un-  
 “ der that of the Italian Republic;  
 “ and this to prevent all future  
 “ disputes between us that our mu-  
 “ tual friendship may be perma-  
 “ nent. XII. I have given or-  
 “ ders to all my commanders at  
 “ sea to respect the French flag.  
 “ The first that brings a French  
 “ prize into any of my ports shall  
 “ be punished. Should any future  
 “ difference arise, write to me

“ directly; and it shall be settled  
 “ to your wishes. May God pre-  
 “ serve you in health and glory!  
 “ Algiers, the 13th day of the lu-  
 “ nar month Rabiad Ewel, the  
 “ year of the Hegira, 1217.”

I cannot conclude this report to  
 the First Consul without adding,  
 that Adjutant Commandant Hullen,  
 and Rear-Admiral Lessieques, have  
 executed their commission with  
 dignity, firmness, and moderation.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

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MANIFESTO addressed to all the  
 States, Friends, or Allies of the  
 French Republic, to all Governors  
 and Commanders in Chief of the  
 Sea and Land Forces in the West  
 Indies, to the Captains and Com-  
 manders of the different Ships of  
 War belonging to the said States,  
 stationed for the Protection of their  
 respective Colonies, or navigating  
 in these Seas, by the three under-  
 written Magistrates, nominated by  
 the First Consul of the French Re-  
 public, to establish and constitute  
 the Government of Guadaloupe and  
 its Dependencies:

“ A MONTH has elapsed since  
 a few factious men, enemies to all  
 social order, have found the means  
 to usurp the Government in the  
 Island of Guadaloupe. To succeed  
 in their plans, they have calum-  
 niated the legal authority of the  
 Captain-General, Rear-Adm. La  
 Crosse, who was then solely and  
 provisionally charged by the First  
 Consul, Bonaparte, with the civil  
 and military powers; they have  
 seduced and led astray the armed  
 forces, incarcerated the Officers  
 who remained faithful to the Mo-  
 ther Country, and finally, they  
 have



have audaciously dared to lay criminal hands on the Captain General, and banish him from his government, after having detained him several days a prisoner.

“ The Captain General having been put on board a Danish vessel, with imperative instructions to land him at Copenhagen, was fortunately met by his Britannic Majesty’s frigate the *Tamer*, Captain Western, Commander, his claimed protection was granted, and he found an asylum at the Government House at Dominica.

“ At this juncture, the news of a general Peace arrived in these Islands, with the official account of the Preliminary Articles having been concluded, ratified, and exchanged between France and England. It was supposed that the communication of this intelligence, by demonstrating to the rebels the speedy punishment awaiting their misdemeanours, would be sufficient to recal them to their duty, but it was in vain. A British flag of truce went to Guadaloupe the 13th of November, 1801, and notified to them, the 14th, the official account of Peace, to which no credit was given, and the Officer of the flag was insulted.

“ It was necessary for them to act in this manner to be enabled to fit out privateers, and to allow those actually cruising to continue their depredations, and receive their prizes. The legal Magistrates have now in their possession a Commission of Letter of Marque, dated the 15th of November, (the day after the notification of Peace was communicated by a flag of truce) information has been received that they have authorised the capture of several vessels belonging to the

subjects of his Britannic Majesty, which have been carried into the ports of Guadaloupe, a conduct absolutely piratical.

“ The First Consul having given orders to dispatch from Brest the *Pensee* frigate, Capt. Valteau, with the official account of Peace, sent out likewise the Colonial Prefect, and the Commissary of Justice, in order to form and complete, in concert with the Captain General, the government of Guadaloupe and its dependencies: on their making the land of Desada, they were informed of the rebellious state of Guadaloupe, and on the 24th of November they joined the Captain General in the town of Roseau, of his Britannic Majesty’s Island of Dominica, with the permission of his Excellency the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone.

“ In consequence of which, and of the two annexed Papers, one being an Act of the Government of the French Republic, regulating and constituting the different Authorities, military, civil, and judiciary, for the Island of Guadaloupe and its dependencies; and the other the Address of the three Magistrates composing the Government, to the Citizens of that Island;

“ The three aforesaid Magistrates, composing solely the legal government of that Colony, are earnestly prompted to fulfil an essential duty, by denouncing to all nations, friends and allies of the French Republic, the state of rebellion of Guadaloupe against the Mother Country, caused by some subaltern factious individuals and others, without any title, who have usurped the reins of Government, and all civil and military authority; in consequence of which



they hereby declare, that no act of the said rebellious usurpers will be approved of, or have any effect; that the privateers of Guadaloupe, continuing to cruise after the official account of Peace, or attempting to make prizes, will be looked upon as pirates, and treated accordingly with all the severity pointed out by law.

“ They request the different Governments of their Allies, the Governors and Commanders of their fleets and ships of war, to prevent the exportation of arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or provisions of any kind, for the use of the rebels, the importation of which into Guadaloupe will be prohibited under the severest penalties.

“ They declare and announce, that no naval expedition or commercial clearance from the said island or its dependencies can be legal without the Captain General's signature for ships of war or armed vessels, and that of the Colonial Prefect for merchantmen and other vessels of that description, and they in consequence request all those who are authorised to act in the different parts where such vessels from Guadaloupe, and its dependencies should anchor, without the proper papers heretofore mentioned, to seize and sequester them and their respective cargoes, arrest their crews and passengers, and likewise all passengers leaving Gaudaloupe in neutral bottoms, without the Captain General's passport; the aforesaid seizures and individuals to be at the disposal of the Magistrates composing the Government of Guadaloupe, or of the Commissaries for the commercial intercourse of the French Republic, wherever such establishments should

exist. They declare, that the *Saints* is the place fixed upon for vessels intended for Guadaloupe, that it has been granted for that purpose by the British Government until further orders, and that means will be there found to communicate with the legal Government of the said Island, and assistance, if required, obtained.

“ The aforesaid dispositions will take place provisionally until the French Government sends out to these islands sufficient means to put a stop to plunder and rebellion, and re-establish order, which, when it takes place, will be published in the same manner, being of essential importance for the tranquillity of all Governments.

Given at Roseau, in his Britannic Majesty's Island of Dominica, the 3d day of December, 1801.

(Signed)

“ LA CROSSE, Capt. Gen.

“ LESCALLIER, Colonial Prefect.

“ COSTER, Commiss. of Justice.”

*Letter from Toussaint, to his General Domage.*

Toussaint Louverture, Governor of Saint Domingo, to Citizen Domage, General of Brigade, commanding in chief the district of Jeremie. From headquarters at St. Marc, Feb. 9, 1802.

I SEND to you, my dear General, my aid de camp, Clianey. He is the bearer of the present, and will communicate to you, on my part, the business with which I have charged him. The whites of France, and of the colony, united together,



together, wish to take away liberty. A great many ships of war and troops have arrived and taken possession of the Cape, of Port Republicain, and of Fort Liberty. The Cape after a vigorous resistance, has fallen; but the enemy have found there nothing but a town, and a plain of ashes. The forts have been blown up and every thing is burned. The town of Fort Republicain has been delivered up to them by the traitor general of brigade Age; as also the Fort Bizoten, which surrendered without firing a shot, through the cowardice and treason of the chief of battalion, Bardet, formerly officer of the south.

The general of division, Dessalines, supports at this moment a Cordon at Croix des Bouquets; and all our other places are upon the defensive. As the place of Jeremie is very strong, from its natural advantages, you will maintain yourself there, and defend it with the courage which I know you possess. Put no confidence in the whites. They will betray you if they can. Their manifest wish is the return of slavery. In consequence I give you a *carte blanche*. Every thing you do will be done well: raise the cultivators *en masse*, and make them fully sensible of this truth, that they must put no confidence in those active persons, who may have secretly received proclamations from the whites of France, and who would circulate them privately, for the purpose of seducing the friends of liberty. I have given orders to the general of brigade La Plume, to burn the town of Cayes, the other towns and all the plains, in case they should not be able to resist the force of the

enemy, and then all the troops of the different garrisons and all the cultivators would go to increase your numbers at Jeremie. You will come to a perfect understanding with general La Plume that you may execute your plans well; you will employ all the female cultivators in planting provisions in great quantities. Endeavour to inform me as well as you can of your position. I depend entirely upon you, and leave you absolute master to do every thing to withdraw us from the most horrible yoke. I wish you good health.

Health and friendship,

(Signed)

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

#### PROCLAMATION.

*The First Consul, to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.*

*Paris, Nov. 8, 1801.*

“ Inhabitants of St. Domingo,  
“ **WHATEVER** may be your origin and colour, you are all Frenchmen, all free, all equal before God, and the Republic.

“ France, like St. Domingo, has been the prey of factions, and torn by civil and foreign war. But now, all is changed. All nations have embraced the French, and sworn to them peace and friendship. All the French are likewise reconciled to one another, and have sworn to be friends and brothers. Come you also to embrace the French, and to gratify yourselves with a sight of your friends and brethren of Europe.

“ Government sends you Captain General LeClerc; he leads a great force with him to protect you against



against your enemies, and against the enemies of the Republic.

“ If it be said to you, ‘ *these forces are destined to deprive you of your liberty,*’ do you reply, ‘ *The Republic will not suffer it to be taken from us!*’ ”

“ Rally around your Captain General. He brings you abundance and peace—rally around him. He that dares to separate himself from the Captain General, is a traitor to his country, and the wrath of the Republic shall devour him, as the fire devours your dry canes.

(Signed)

“ BONAPARTE, First Consul.

“ H. B. MARET, Sec. of State.”

*The First Consul of France to Citizen Toussaint Louverture, General in Chief of the Army of Saint Domingo.*

“ Citizen General,

“ **P**EACE with England, and the other powers of Europe, which has raised the Republic to the first degree of power and grandeur, has also induced the Republic to take possession of St. Domingo. We have sent thither Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, with the rank of Captain General, as first magistrate of the colony. He is attended by a force such as is proper to make the sovereignty of the people respected.

“ In these circumstances, we flatter ourselves that you will prove to us, and France in general, the sincerity of the sentiments which you have constantly expressed in the different letters which you have written to us. We have conceived an esteem for you, and we feel a

pleasure in acknowledging and proclaiming the great services which you have rendered to the French people. If its colours wave in St. Domingo, it is owing to you and your brave Blacks.

“ Called by your talents and the face of circumstances, to the chief command, you have extinguished civil war, imposed a restraint on the persecution of some ferocious men, restored to its proper rank, religion, and the worship of a God from whom all things emanate. The constitution you have made, includes many good things, but contains also others contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo is only a portion.

“ The circumstances in which you have been placed, surrounded by enemies, without being able to derive any assistance from the mother country, have legitimated the articles of this constitution, which otherwise would be improper. But now, that things have happily changed their appearance, you will, no doubt, be the first to pay homage to the sovereignty of the nation, which numbers you among its most illustrious citizens, by the services which you have rendered to it, both by the talents and intrepid character with which nature has endowed you. A contrary line of conduct will not be reconcileable to the sentiments we entertain of you. It will make you forfeit your numerous claims to the gratitude and to the rewards of the Republic, and contribute to the misery of those generous blacks, whose courage we admire, and whose rebellion with pain we should be obliged to punish.

“ We have made known to your children and their tutor the senti-



sentiments by which we are governed. We return them to you.

“ Assist the Captain General with your advice, your influence, and your talents. Do you wish for the freedom of the blacks? You know well, that in every country where we have been, we have conferred it on those people who before were not in possession of it. Do you wish for rank, honours, and fortune? After the services you have rendered, and which it is now in your power, in the present conjuncture, to effect, and with the personal estimation which we entertain for you, you need not doubt of the consideration, the fortune, and the honours which attend you.

“ Let the people of St. Domingo know, that the solicitude which France has ever felt for their happiness, has often been inefficient, from the imperious circumstances of the war: that the men who have arrived from the continent to agitate the colony, and foment divisions, were the spawn of factions which were tearing in pieces the mother country herself, but now, that peace and the power of the Government secure their prosperity and freedom, tell them that if liberty be their chief good, they cannot enjoy it but with the title of French citizens, and that every action contrary to the interests of the country, to the obedience which they owe to the government, and to the commander in chief, who is the depositary of it, will be a crime against the national sovereignty, which will eclipse their services, and render St. Domingo the theatre of an unhappy war, in which fathers and children will ultimately destroy each other.

“ And you, General! reflect,

that you are the first of your colour who have arrived at so high a degree of power, and who have been so greatly distinguished by valour and military talents, you are also to God and us, the principle responsible agent for your own conduct.

“ If there be any evil designing person who say to those who have taken the lead in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we come to investigate what they have been doing during the days of anarchy, assure them that we shall look only to their present conduct, that we shall make no enquiries into the past, except to learn those exploits by which they have distinguished themselves in the war which they sustained against the Spaniards and English, then our enemies.

“ Rely upon our esteem, and conduct yourself as becomes one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world.

“ The First Consul, BONAPARTE.

“ *Paris, Nov. 18, 1801.*”

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*Letter to General Christophe, from General Le Clerc, Commander in Chief.*

“ *On board the Ocean.*

“ I LEARN with indignation, Citizen General, that you refuse to receive the French squadron and army which I command, under pretence that you have received no orders from the Governor General.

“ France has made peace with England, and the Government has sent to Saint Domingo a force sufficiently strong to crush rebels, if there be any found there. With respect to yourself, Citizen General, I confess to you, that it will be



be painful to me to consider you among the rebels.

“ I give you notice, that if you do not this day deliver into my possession the Forts Piccolet and Belait, and all the batteries on the coast at day break, 15,000 men shall be disembarked. Four thousand men are now disembarking at Fort-Liberté, (Fort Dauphin); 8000 at Port-Republicain, (Port-au-Prince).

“ Annexed to this letter, you will find my proclamation; it expresses the intention of the French Government. But, remember, that whatever personal good opinion I may entertain of your conduct in the colony, I consider you as responsible for whatever may happen.

“ LE CLERC.”

*Proclamation by General Leclerc, General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, dated Head-Quarters at the Cape, 28th Pluviose, (Feb. 16.)*

**I** AM come here in the name of the French government, bearing to you peace and happiness. I feared to be encountered by obstacles arising from the ambitious views of the chiefs of the colony, and I am not deceived. They, who announced their devotion to France in their proclamations, thought of nothing less than acting as Frenchmen. If they sometimes spoke of France it was because their plans were not sufficiently matured openly to disavow it.

To-day their perfidious intentions were unmasked. General Touffaint sent me his children, with a letter, in which he assures me that there was nothing he so much desired as the prosperity of the colony,

and that he was ready to obey all the orders that I should give him. I ordered him to come before me, and gave him my word that I would employ him as my Lieutenant-General: he did not reply to this order, further than by phrases, which were only designed to gain time. My orders are from the French government, that I promptly restore prosperity and abundance. If I suffer myself to be amused by crafty and perfidious artifices, the colony will be the theatre of a long civil war.

I advance into the country, and am about to manifest to this rebel the force of the French government. It can be no longer necessary to prove to all good Frenchmen, inhabiting St. Domingo, what a frantic monster he is. I promise liberty to the people of this island. I have the means of making them enjoy it; and I will respect their persons and property.

I order as follows:

Art. I. The General Touffaint and the General Christophe are put out of the protection of the law—all citizens are ordered to pursue them, and to treat them as rebels to the French republic.

II. From the day on which the French army shall occupy a position, all officers, whether civil or military, who shall obey other orders than those of the generals of the army which I command, shall be treated as rebels.

III. The cultivators who, seduced into error, and deceived by the perfidious insinuations of the rebel generals, may have taken arms, shall be regarded as children who have strayed, and shall be sent to their plantations, provided they do not seek to excite insurrection.

IV.



IV. The foldiers of the demi-brigades, who shall abandon the army of Toussaint, shall be received into the French army.

V. The general Agustin Cleraux, who commanded in the department of Cibao, having acknowledged the French government, and the authority of the captain general, is continued in his rank, and in his command.

VI. The General, Chief of the Staff, shall print and publish this Proclamation.

(Signed) LECLERC.

General of Division, and Chief of the Staff.

DUGA.

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*Notice issued by the French Chargé-d'Affaires in the United States of America.*

“THE Commissary-General and Chargé-d'Affaires of the French Republic, gives information to all persons whom it may concern, that in consequence of the revolt of the negroes in St. Domingo, all manner of intercourse is, by order of the Commander in Chief of the French Republic in the island, prohibited to foreigners, with any other part of the island but the two ports of Cape François and Port Républicain. Cruisers will arrest all foreign vessels attempting to enter any other port, and to communicate with the revolted negroes, to carry either ammunition or provisions to them: such vessels shall be confiscated, and their commanders severely punished, as violating the rights of the French Republic, and the law of nations. Fair and regular traders will meet with encouragement and protection

at the above-mentioned places from the General in Chief and subordinate authorities. The intercourse between the United States and those two ports is left open to the American trade. It will be advisable for merchants who make shipments to the colony, and who wish to meet with no interruption by incurring suspicion of improper conduct, to take certificates from the commissaries, or commissarial agents of the French Republic in the United States, who are instructed to deliver them to the applicants.

“ Given at George Town, Columbia District, the 27th Ventôse, 10th year of the French Republic (18th March, 1802.)

“ L. A. PICHON.”

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*Proclamation of General Leclerc to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.*

LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

In the Name of the French Government,

A PROCLAMATION.

*The General in Chief to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.*

Citizens,

THE time is arrived, when order will succeed to that chaos which has been the necessary consequence of the opposition made by the rebellious to the landing of the army at St. Domingo.

The rapid operations and progress of the army, and the necessity of providing for its subsistence and its establishment, have, hitherto, prevented my attending to the definitive organization of the colony.

I could



I could not, moreover, have any fixed or certain ideas of a country with which I was totally unacquainted, and consequently could not, without mature deliberation, form an opinion of a people who have been, for ten years, a prey to revolutions.

The basis of the provisional organization which I shall give the colony, but which shall not be definitive till approved of by the French Government, is Liberty and Equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, *without regard to colour*.—This organization comprises,

1. The Administration of Justice.
2. The Interior Administration of the Colony combined with those measures which its interior and exterior defence require.
3. The imposition of Duties—the means of raising them and their application.
4. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Agriculture.
5. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Commerce.
6. The Administration of the National Domains, and the means of making them most beneficial to the State, so as to be less burthensome to Agriculture and Commerce.

As it is of infinite interest to you, citizens, that every institution should, in an equal degree, protect agriculture and commerce, I have not determined upon this important work, without having first had recourse to, and consulted with the most distinguished and enlightened citizens of the colony.

I have, in consequence, given orders to the generals of the south and west divisions to select for each of these departments, seven citizens, proprietors and merchants (without

regard to colour) who, with eight more which I shall myself choose for the department of the north, are to assemble at the Cape in the course of the present month, to impart their observations to me on the plans I shall then submit to their consideration.

It is not a deliberative assembly I establish. I am sufficiently acquainted with the evils which meetings of this nature have brought upon the colony, to have that idea. The citizens who are thus chosen, being honest and enlightened men, to them will I communicate my views; they will make their observations upon them, and will be able to impress on the minds of their fellow-citizens, the liberal ideas with which government is animated.

Let those, then, who are thus to be called together, consider this appointment as a flattering proof of my consideration for them. Let them consider that, for want of their counsels and advice, I might pursue measures disastrous to the colony, which would ultimately fall upon themselves. Let them consider this, and they will find no difficulty in leaving, for some time, their private avocations.

Done at head quarters at the Cape, 25th April, year 10th of the French Republic,

The General in Chief,

(Signed) LECLERC.

(a true copy)

The Deputy Adjutant General,

(Signed) D'Aoust.

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*Proclamation made by Richépanse, General in Chief of the Army of Guadaloupe, to the Inhabitants of that Colony.*

Citizens,



Citizens,

**I** HASTEN to announce to you, that the French revolution has at length reached its ultimate degree of power and stability. The definitive peace has just reconciled all the nations of Europe; and, you see, by the articles of that solemn compact, how advantageous the stipulations have been in favour of the mother country. Know further, that the government which has sent me, actuated by its profound wisdom, has nearly brought to perfection, in the course of two years, the work of public felicity. Its power is not to be shaken, because it resides in a well founded confidence in the regard of good citizens, and, in the affection and energy of the armies, which is respected by the cabinet of every sovereign, and blessed by all the children of the Republic. The warriors whom I have introduced among you, are part of those on whose victories were raised, on the 18th Brumaire, the new constitutional edifice. Go, said the French government, to them, elevate your glory to the highest pitch, by triumphing over the last opposition, to its authority in distant countries. There you will have less enemies to conquer than errors to correct—your presence will dissipate them. The inhabitants of Guadaloupe have offered their tribute of courage, by preventing the destruction of their country. There is in the profession of arms, a happy sympathy, which unites by the ties of honour all the defenders of their country. They desire to become the associates of your reputation; they hope to find in you brothers, and soon the ancient bonds which attached them

to the common centre, will be confirmed by you. It is my duty, citizens, to realize this hope; it is also the wish of my heart to do so. Those brave soldiers who have so many times confronted death against the enemies of France, are only here as the protectors of your homes, and as models of virtuous warriors and frenchmen like yourselves. The act of authority of their chief, will be assurances of your happiness. You will anticipate their effects by your voluntary return to good order, by an intire submission to the government which I represent, and by the oblivion of animosity; but if the important ministry I am come to fulfil among you, should fail in producing universal conviction, and if there should any remain who are so senseless as to disregard the legitimate power of the government, the natural vengeance, which has been so long restrained, will overwhelm.—Disgrace and death will be their portion. The present proclamation shall be printed, published, affixed, and sent to the communes.

Done at Point-à-Pitre, the  
17th Floréal, 10th year of  
the French Republic, one  
and indivisible.

*Richepanse.*

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*The General in Chief of the Army  
of St. Domingo, to the Minister  
of Marine. Head quarters, the  
Cape, Prairial, 22 (May 12.)*

Citizen Minister,

**I** INFORMED you, by one of my last dispatches, of the pardon which I had granted to general Toussaint. That ambitious man, from the moment I pardoned him,  
has



has never ceased to conspire secretly. If he surrendered, it was because general Christophe and Dessalines had signified to him, that they saw they had been deceived, and that they were resolved to make war no longer; but seeing himself abandoned by them, he endeavoured to organize, among the cultivators an insurrection, to make them rise *en masse*; the reports that have been sent to me by all the generals, even from general Dessalines, upon the conduct which he has adopted since his submission, do not leave me any doubt upon the subject. I have intercepted the letters he wrote to a person named Fontaine, who was his agent at the Cape. These letters prove incontestibly that he was conspiring, and that he wished to resume his former influence in the colony. He waited for the effect of diseases upon the army.

Under these circumstances, I did not think it proper to leave him time to consummate his criminal projects; I ordered him to be arrested; the affair was not easy, yet it succeeded by the good dispositions of the general of division Brunet, whom I charged with it, and by the zeal and devotion of citizen Ferrari, my aid de camp, chief of Squadron.

I send to France with all his family this man so deeply perfidious, who, with so much hypocrisy, has done us so much mischief. Government will see what it ought to do.

The arrest of general Toussaint has produced some assemblages, two insurgent chiefs are already arrested. I ordered them to be shot; a hundred of his principal confidential persons have been taken up. I have sent a part of them on board

the frigate *Mucron*, which has orders to proceed to the Mediterranean; the rest have been distributed on board the different ships.

I am employed incessantly in reorganizing the colony with as little evil as possible; but the excessive heat, and the disorders that afflict us, render the work extremely painful. I wait with impatience for the month of September, when the season will restore us all our activity.

The departure of Toussaint has caused a general joy at the Cape.

The commissary of justice, Montperon, is dead; the colonial prefect, Beuzezech, is at the last gasp; adjutant commandant Dampierre, is dead: he was a young officer of much promise.

I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed)

LECLERC.

*Leclerc to the inhabitants of St. Domingo. Head Quarters at the Cape, June 11, 1802.*

Citizens,

THAT Toussaint conspired, you will be able to judge by the annexed letter to citizen Fontaine. I could not compromise the tranquillity of the colony. I arrested him, made him embark, and sent him to France, where he must render an account of his conduct to the French government. In another letter addressed to citizen Fontaine, he loads general Christophe with invective, and complains that general Dessalines has abandoned him. He had prohibited Sylla from laying down his arms, and forbid the cultivators to labour in any other plantations than those adapted to their own subsistence. He had sent

one



one of his accomplices to General Dessalines to engage him to break his good faith; General Dessalines declared it to me. He relied much at St. Marc, on Maniffet. He is arrested. I have proceeded with severity against this great criminal; and I ordered the General of Division of the army to compel by force all the cultivators, who are yet in arms in the mountains, to return. The cultivators are not so culpable as those who lead them astray. In consequence, every commandant of the National Guard, every officer, every manager or proprietor, who shall be found assembled in arms, shall be immediately shot. As to the commune of Ennery, I order it to be disarmed immediately, for having been so tardy in submitting. General Brunet will see this order executed. The chief of the Etat Major will print, publish, and post up the present order, with the letter of Gen. Toussaint, and circulate it throughout the army and the colony.

LECLERC.

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*Copy of a Letter of the Ex-General Toussaint Louverture, to Citizen Fontaine.—Quarter of Louverture, May 27, 1802.*

YOU send me no news, Citizen. Remain at the Cape as long as you can. It is said General Le Clerc is ill at Tortue; be particular in informing me relative to that subject. We shall see . . . For the a . . . , of the news. As to the corn, which we must have as before, it cannot be sent till they have passed the Saona, in order to know the point where it can be placed in safety. If you see the General in

Chief, be sure to tell them that the cultivators will no longer obey me. They wish to labour at Hericourt, which the manager ought not to suffer. Try if you can gain some person near the General in Chief, in order to render D—— free:—he will be very useful to me by his credit, as to news and otherwise. Tell Gangambre that he must not quit Le Borgue, where the cultivators must not labour.—Direct to the habitation Najac.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

An exact copy, collated with the original.

The General of Division, Chief of the Etat Major of the Army.

DUGUA.

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*The Deputies of all the Communes in the Cantons of Uri; Schwitz, and Unterwald, to Citizen Verninac, Minister of the French Republic in Switzerland.*

*Schwitz, July 13.*

“WE have uselessly endeavoured, for four years past, to tear from us a constitution, which, from its origin, and still more from the violence with which it was established, could not fail to be odious and insupportable. It is in vain that we have constantly hoped that the Helvetic Government, instructed by the sorrowful events of four unfortunate years would at length find, that our separation from the Republic was that which was most wise and suitable for both parties, and that the wish which we have so often and so strongly expressed for our ancient liberty, would have induced them to set aside all hope that these three cantons would ever voluntarily accept any other constitution



stitution than that which has ever been considered as the only one suited to these countries, and for that reason so highly prized by ourselves and our ancestors. Our re-union with Helvetia, which has been stained with so much innocent blood, is perhaps the most cruel example of constraint that history can offer.

“ In the conviction, therefore, that for a forced and unfortunate marriage, divorce is the only reasonable remedy, and that Helvetia and ourselves cannot recover repose and content, except by the rupture of this forced tie, we are firmly resolved to labour at that separation with all possible activity, and we think it best to address that authority which for four years past has united us, in spite of ourselves, to the Helvetic Republic. As to any thing further, we only wish to preserve good harmony in our commercial relations, as becomes brave Swiss. In listening to our just demands, the Helvetic Republic will acquire in us brothers and faithful neighbours.

“ Health and Consideration.”

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*Letter from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic in Helvetia to the Landamman and Stadtholders.—Dated July 18.*

Citizens Landammans and Stadtholders,

YOU requested of me, by the letter which you did me the honour to address to me, dated the 13th of July, to give you some information as to the considerations which formed the motive of the resolution taken and answered by the First Consul, to withdraw immediately

into France the French battalions which he has permitted to remain in Helvetia since the peace, and you request me to petition the First Consul to postpone the execution of that resolution until the Helvetic ministry at Paris had transmitted to you the information which you had charged them to procure upon that subject. The First Consul thinking, Citizens Landammans and Stadtholders, that the government of Helvetia will find in the virtue of the Helvetic people, now more united with respect to the principles of its political organization, sufficient resources to maintain public order and tranquillity in Helvetia, such are the considerations which have influenced the determination of the First Consul; you ought therefore to regard this resolution as a pledge of his confidence in the Helvetic people, and in the intentions of its government, as well as of his repugnance to intermeddle in the domestic affairs of other nations.—Accept, Citizens Landammans and Stadtholders, my sentiments of consideration.

(Signed) R. VERNINAC.

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*Proclamation of the Council of Execution of the Helvetic Republic to the Helvetic people.*

Citizens of Helvetia,

THE French government approves of the use you have made of your independence; and the first pledge it gives you of its esteem, is that of declaring its readiness to withdraw its troops from Helvetia. The council of execution has accepted of this offer. That great act of justice, on the part of the First Consul,



Consul, should call forth all your gratitude to so generous an ally. Without him and without these troops, that are now about to depart from you, you again would have been a prey to all the horrors of anarchy. Now he thinks you may be relieved from the expences which the necessity of maintaining a foreign army, had imposed upon you. Agriculture, industry, and commerce, will again flourish amongst you, under the shade of peace. The citizens shall reap the fruits of those blessings, without being obliged to part with them: and the father of a family, retiring to his habitation at night, will feel with pleasure, that it contains none but his own children; every Swiss will see himself surrounded by his own countrymen alone. But the departure of foreign troops from your country, should above all things be a cause of thanksgiving to you. You, who are stung with grief at beholding this land, so celebrated for the glorious battles of our forefathers, become a theatre of war for neighbouring states: you who mourned when you thought you had no longer a national will left sufficient to restrain factions, nor a government able to support itself, should now rejoice; you should open your hearts to confidence. The independence of your country, acknowledged in the stipulations of Luneville, now obtains that privilege in substance. Helvetia again enjoys her national manners, and her ancient liberty. But know on what conditions you are to have the blessings of independence; and what duties the confidence of the French government, and the confidence of your own go-

vernment, impose on you. They command you to observe peace and concord. They require of you the sacrifice of all those regrets, of all those hopes and desires, which are no longer compatible with the existing order of things. They call on you in an imperious manner to rally round the constitution, and the government which it establishes; for it is only according to the constitution, and by the government, that liberty and independence can be preserved. In supporting these, you will be able to continue a nation; in abandoning them, you must perish. They wish that the author of every attempt against the actual state of things, may be punished in an exemplary manner. Such is the national will; such is the intention declared by the First Consul on withdrawing his troops. Citizens, there exists among the governments of Europe, a compact for the maintenance of peace, order, and those principles which preserve every political society. Too long have the Swiss disturbed foreign powers with their dissensions; and if, now that those powers are disposed to take some interest in our destinies, any disorders should rise up amongst us, we must expect to see the same powers, for the sake of their safety, taking up arms against us. We here declare ourselves to be the guarantees for the will of the people, consecrated by the constitution, and we have pledged ourselves to the French government, that the peace shall not be disturbed in Switzerland. Prudence in council; celerity in execution; justice to all; prompt severity against the factious and the disturbers of public tranquillity; these are, and



ever shall be, the rule of our conduct.

Given at Berne, July 20, 1802.

The Landamman, President of the Council of Execution,

DOLBER.

The Secretary-General,

MOUSSON.

*Proclamation of the Commissary Keller, published at Lucerne, on the Part of the Central Government.*

THE government had fondly hoped for the cessation of all troubles, for the re-union of all men by the influence of concord and of fraternity, and of course, for the restoration of general prosperity. It sees, however, with regret, that certain enemies of their country are eager to profit of the circumstances of the moment, to rend all those ties asunder, and to produce new calamities and misfortunes.

“ These have violated the confidence which the government placed in their sentiments of patriotism, and they have shut their eyes to the dangers attending such conduct. Behold your vallies and plains desolated—the still smoaking ruins of your houses—these are the fruits of such disastrous councils, and which on a former occasion you have experienced. Consider well, if the assertions of those who mislead you, have been founded in truth, if they have not already deceived you. And what trust can you repose in them after these reflections? Abjure their perfidious councils, and rally round a government, uniformly disposed, to administer to your necessities, and to soothe your misfortunes.

“ The executive council, true

to its principles, has endeavoured by every means of conciliation, to recal you to your duty; but, at the same time, it entertains the determined resolution generally to introduce and to maintain the constitution adopted by the Helvetic people in all parts of the republic, and apprises you that measures are adopted to carry it into full effect against every species of opposition whatever.

“ The executive council declares, that all *Landsgemein*, held or to be holden, are contrary to the existing laws, and the constitution, and decrees.

I. “ That in all the cantons, or wherever such assemblies are holden, the persons who were employed under the constitution, shall be reinstated in their respective situations in the course of eight days.

II. “ That in the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, the communes shall re-assemble, and elect a deputy from every 100 citizens.

III. “ These deputies shall reunite under the presidency of the commissary of the government, or of one of the delegates, in order to appoint a committee or council, consisting of 20 members.

IV. “ The government recognizes those councils, and will hold communication with them. They shall administer the particular affairs of the cantons, and shall be charged with the cantonal organization.

“ Given at Berne, Aug. 1, 1802.”

*Representation addressed by the Lesser Cantons to the First Consul, on the subject of the Evacuation of Helvetia.*

Berne,



*Berne, August 22.*

“ Citizen First Consul,

“ THE three cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwald, have been apprised, by public report, of your resolution to withdraw the French troops from Switzerland. They see in such a measure the most convincing proofs of that good will which you have manifested towards the Landamman, Alays Reding, and for the undersigned, &c. The cantons re-assembled at Schwitz, and by their deputies, have determined, in pursuance of the wishes of the people, to renew their former connexions, and to establish in their cantons a government conformable to their position and to their circumstances: such as you, Citizen First Consul, have approved of, and is exemplified in the 9th and 10th articles of the note of the 20th December, which the Landamman Reding has had the honour of presenting to you.

“ We should add, Citizen First Consul, that this resolution has been incited by the arbitrary measures of the cantonal authorities, and principally carried into execution by the commissary Keller, in the canton of Unterwald, proceedings which, by depriving the people of the power which they had formally reserved, of constituting their own government, have induced the greatest aversion against the central government, and to such a degree, that no way remains to maintain the public tranquillity in those countries but by immediately restoring the people to the exercise of their legitimate right.

We have the honour, Citizen First Consul, to communicate to you by these presents, the public declarations of the above mentioned

cantons, in the conviction, that you are determined those brave people shall continue to experience your benevolent support, which they so highly estimate, and which none, Citizen First Consul, feel a juster sense of than the undersigned.

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*The Envoys of the Republics, Guardians of the Independence of the Valais, to the People of the Valais.*  
—Sion, September 5, 1802:

Citizens of the Valais,

THE French government at the first moment of peace, which it had gloriously restored to Europe, occupied itself with the means of making you enjoy its beneficial effects, by putting an end to that state of indetermination among you which is always painful to the people. The Helvetic government, animated with the same sentiments, has been eager to concur in it, and that of the Italian republic has acceded with an equal sentiment of friendship. Wishing to consolidate your liberty, by making you enter into relations equally beneficial with the three republics, by which you are surrounded, the French, Italian, and Helvetic governments, have concluded between them a solemn treaty which establishes your independence, under the support and guarantee of those three republics. They have sent us to you to sign and deposit in the hands of your representatives assembled in legitimate diet this compact, which is become the foundation and the ægis of a free and happy existence to you; and they have directed us to concur, in order that you may have a constitution and a government which shall be the free result of

your



your choice, and which shall make you speedily enjoy that independence which the Helvetic government have just solemnly granted you. We are come to fulfil this important task; the republic of the Valais exists, and it is only necessary that her government should be established in order that she may occupy her station, among free nations. We consummate this work by declaring, in the name of the French, Helvetic, and Italian governments, friends of the republic of Valais, and guarantees of her independence, that the council of state named by the diet of the Valais, enter from day to day into the full possession of the rights granted to it by the constitution; and we make known to the people the following appointments which the diet has just made, and in consequence of which we install in the name of our government, the citizens Antonio Augustini, grand bailli of the republic;—Charles Derivaz, and Gaspard Stockalper, counsellors of state of the republic;—Pierre Antoine Preux, vice bailli;—Joseph Duray de la Vallaz, and Jacques Quatery, vice counsellors of state of the republic.—May the prosperity of the people of the Valais be hereafter the effect of the wisdom and the solicitude of the government; may it be the consequence of the tranquillity and order, which shall reign among you. It is by a total oblivion of past vicissitudes, it is by the silence of the passions which they may have irritated, it is by a sincere return to concord and to fraternal union, which formerly constituted your happiness, that you will cement it anew.—You will thus preserve the esteem and good-will of our go-

vernment; it is with the sentiment of the greatest interest that we come to make you feel the first effects of them, and that we renew the assurance of them.

(Signed)

TURREAU.

LAMERTENGHI,

MULLER FRIEDBERG.

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*Convention concluded between the Municipality of Zurich, and the Commissary of the Helvetic Government.*

DIFFERENT circumstances having given rise to hostilities between the Helvetic troops and the inhabitants of the city of Zurich, Citizen May, commissary of government, in virtue of his full powers, has taken upon himself the office of mediator; and has in consequence, agreed upon the following convention with the municipality of the city.—Art. I. The commissary of government, May, resigns, in full confidence, to the townsmen of Zurich the military service of that city, and engages that he will establish no garrison there, but will personally repair thither as the chief place of the canton, bringing along with him only a few pieces of ordnance.—II. All past proceedings shall be buried in oblivion. All the inhabitants of Zurich, as well as all the inhabitants of Helvetia, who have taken part in the late events, are discharged from all responsibility. Consequently, all those who on either side have been made prisoners, or arrested by the civil or military power, shall be immediately set at liberty, if there be no other accusation against them.—III. Immediately



Immediately after the signing of the present convention, the speediest means will be taken to put an end to all hostile proceedings.—Zurich, September 15, 1802, eight o'clock in the morning, in the name of the municipality.

(Signed)

HIRZEL, RHEINARD.

Head-Quarters at Zurichberg,  
September 15, 1802, nine in the morning.

(Signed)

MAY, Commissary of the Government.

*Convention for an Armistice, concluded at Berne.*

THE commander of the Helvetic armed force at Berne, in order to avoid any farther bloodshed, and particularly with the intention of sparing the inhabitants and the city, on the one part: and M. E. Eman de Watteville, in the name of the council of war of the troops who have attacked Berne, on the other, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. There shall be an armistice between the Helvetic troops at Berne, and those which have attacked the city, to commence from the signing of the present convention.

II. The Helvetic troops shall give up the place in twenty-four hours after the signature.

III. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, engage to obtain from the municipal authorities, the carriages, waggons, and horses, and all the necessary facilities for the departure of the government, and those in office, with their families and effects of every de-

scription, and also for the conveyance of twenty pieces of artillery, with the powder and ammunition necessary to serve them; in a word, every thing belonging to the government. The records, papers, and other articles, which cannot be carried off, will be respected, and remain under the guarantee of the parties stipulating. The sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals shall be maintained, taken care of, and sent to their respective corps.

IV. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, ensure the government a free passage to the frontiers of the cantons of Vaud and Friburg.

V. Should any members of the government, or any person in its employment, not be able to accompany the government itself, they shall have passports to follow it at full liberty. Should they be obliged to leave behind them their families and effects, these shall be respected.

VI. The ministers of foreign powers to the Helvetic republic, with their suite, and property of every description, remain under the guarantee of the law of nations. The leaders of the troops in arms against Berne, shall respect their character, and promise to furnish them at any time, with the facilities requisite to their removal, whithersoever they think proper.

VII. General Andermatt, the troops under his orders, and all other Helvetic troops on detached service, are comprised in the present convention, and may rejoin the Helvetic government, at its departure from Berne, without any molestation, with their arms, baggage, and train of artillery; and for this purpose couriers shall be immedi-



ately dispatched to the general and the detachments, to inform them of the present convention.

VIII. The other columns in arms against the government, are equally included in the present convention.

IX. Until the junction of the above mentioned detachments shall have been effected, the troops in arms against the Helvetic government shall not enter the territory of the cantons of Vaud or Eriburg. Hostilities shall not take place on either side.

X. As a security for the performance of the present convention, two officers of equal rank shall be reciprocally delivered as hostages until the complete execution of all its articles.

XI. Such articles as may appear doubtful, shall, if necessary, be explained by commissioners on both sides in favour of the besieged.

Done, and agreed upon at Berne, September 18, 1802, eight in the evening. (Signed)

GAUDARD, E. D. WATTEVILLE.

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*Project of a Constitution for Switzerland, published at Berne.*

ARTICLE I. The cantons shall be allowed a month to form each a government, adapted to its usages its local situation, and its actual wants.

II. The cantons, when once constituted, shall each name their deputies, who shall be made acquainted with the intentions of their constituents, and furnished with the necessary full powers—1st. To assemble in general diet, and organise a central power, which may be suited to the powers in alliance with Switzerland.—2d. To

make the first nomination of the members of the central power.

III. The central government shall be charged with the external, political, and foreign relations, and the general organization of the military. It shall guarantee the cantonal constitutions.

IV. If any difficulty should arise in any canton in regard to its constitution, it shall be referred to the central government. The case shall be the same in regard to any difficulties that may arise between one canton and another.

V. Sufficient sums for the ordinary expences shall be assigned to the central government.

VI. Each deputy to the central government, shall be indemnified by the canton by which he is nominated.

VII. The number of the deputies which each canton must nominate, shall be regulated according to its population.

VIII. The rights of city in those towns heretofore sovereigns, shall be open to every inhabitant of the canton, which can prove a right to a property in money or land of a fixed value, and paying a retribution in order to have a share in the enjoyment of communal property. Political advantages to be acquired by the right of city shall not be subject to any retribution whatever.

IX. No one shall be eligible to places in the government in the cantons heretofore aristocratic, except those who possess the right of city above mentioned.

X. The new cantons, such as Turgovia and others, which have not yet had a constitution, shall be free to give themselves one, or to unite themselves to other cantons.

XI. The cantonal governments shall



shall be in possession of all the powers which shall not have been expressly delegated to the central government.

XII. To present this general measure under a constitutional and conciliating form, the citizen minister of the French is requested to employ his good offices.—*Berne, Sept. 21, 1802.*

*Proclamation of Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, President of the Italian Republic, to the eighteen Cantons of the Helvetic Republic.*

*St. Cloud, Sept. 30.*

Inhabitants of Helvetia,

YOU have afforded, for two years, an afflicting spectacle. Opposite factions have successively taken possession of the sovereign authority; they have signalized their temporary rule by a system of partiality which proved their unskilfulness and weakness.

In the course of the year 10, your government desired that the small number of French troops in Helvetia should be withdrawn. The French government willingly availed themselves of that opportunity to honour your independence; but soon afterwards your different parties began to be agitated by fresh fury: the blood of the Swiss was shed by the hands of Swiss.

You have been disputing for three years, without coming to any understanding; if you are left to yourselves, you will be killing each other for three years longer, without coming to a better understanding. Besides, your history proves that your intestine wars could never be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France.

It is true that I had determined not to interfere at all in your affairs; I had constantly seen your different Governments ask advice of me, and not follow it, and sometimes abuse my name, according to their interests and their passions.

But I neither can, nor ought, to remain insensible to the misery of which you are the victims. I recal my determination—I will be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be efficacious, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak.

Five days after the notification of the present proclamation, the senate shall assemble at Berne.

Every magistracy that shall have been formed at Berne, since the capitulation, shall be dissolved, and shall cease meeting and exercising any authority.

The prefects shall repair to their posts.

All the authorities which may have been formed shall cease meeting.

Armed assemblages shall disperse.

The 1st and 2d Helvetic demi-brigades shall compose the garrison of Berne.

The troops, who have been on service for upwards of six months, shall alone remain in corps of troops.

Finally, all individuals disbanded from the belligerent armies, and who are now in arms, shall deposit their arms at the municipality of the commune where they were born.

The senate shall send three deputies to Paris; each canton may also send deputies.

All citizens who, for the last three years, have been Landammans, senators, and have successively occupied places in the central authority,



city, may repair to Paris, to make known the means of restoring union and tranquillity, and conciliating all parties.

On my part, I have a right to expect that no city, no commune, no corps, will do any thing contrary to the dispositions which I make known to you.

Inhabitants of Helvetia, awake to hope!!!

Your country is on the brink of a precipice; it shall be immediately drawn from it: all men of good intentions will second this generous plan.

But if, which I cannot believe, there be among you a great number of individuals who should have so little virtue as not to sacrifice their passions and their prejudices to the love of their country; people of Helvetia, you will have indeed degenerated from your forefathers!

There is no sensible man who does not see, that the mediation which I take upon myself is a benefit to Helvetia from that providence which, in the midst of so many shocks and concussions, has always watched over the existence and independence of your nation; and that this mediation is the only means of saving both.

For, indeed, it is time you should see, that if the patriotism and union of your ancestors founded your republic, the bad spirit of your factions, if it continue, will infallibly destroy it. Painful would it be to think, that, at a period when several new republics have arisen, destiny had marked out the termination and fall of one of the most antient.

(Signed) By the First Consul,  
BONAPARTE.  
H. B. MARET.

*Answer of the Diet of Schwitz to Bonaparte.*

TO CITIZEN BONAPARTE, FIRST  
CONSUL OF THE FRENCH RE-  
PUBLIC.

Citizen First Consul,

THE proclamation which you did us the honour to send to us on the 30th of September, by Citizen Rapp, your adjutant-general, arrived at Schwitz on the 6th of October.

We could have wished, that the letter we took the liberty of sending you, General First Consul, on the 30th of September, could have reached you sooner; it contains a faithful exposition of the present state of Switzerland. Permit us to send you inclosed a duplicate of it, and to entreat you to receive it favourably.

It will prove to you, that the movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not the result of a spirit of party; and that the Swiss nation has no other object in view than to make use of the right which she claims, of giving herself a central and cantonal constitution, founded on her position and her wants; a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself to ensure her by the treaty of Luneville.

Switzerland would long since have been tranquil, if the members of the Helvetic government, those obscure metaphysicians, had consulted the real state of affairs, instead of obstinately attaching themselves to theoretic attempts, as erroneous as they are expensive.

The violence with which they have tried to impose their system upon the democratic cantons, the civil war they have organized to attain



attain their end, directed at first against those cantons, then against all Switzerland, the unexampled severity with which they have done it, have produced a discontent equally general and just, and a determined and avowed will to shake off this insupportable yoke.

It is not then, General First Consul, an affair of party—it is the sacred cause of humanity—it is the general wish of a whole nation, which has given us our power and our instructions; of a nation which you yourself wished to free, and which has been ill-treated and irritated contrary to your intentions.

Yet that nation, we render ourselves guarantees, will never abuse the liberty it claims.

The Swiss have nothing more at heart than to attain a state of repose, in which, under the shield of a mild and just government, each inhabitant may enjoy his property and his existence.

We are convinced that we shall arrive at that essential object of all social order, from the moment our will and our efforts shall be no longer fettered.

General First Consul, all Europe admires in you the supreme head of an immense power and empire, which, without doubt, according to your own views, will be directed to the good of humanity. Your magnanimity assures us, that you will not make use of it against a people, who only desire what you have made them hope, and who only wish what they believe themselves authorized to do by yourself.

Penetrated with eternal gratitude, the Swiss nation will do its endeavour to deserve the good will of the French government, and will

fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon it by the desire of cultivating good neighbourhood.

It is with the most distinguished respect that we remain, General First Consul,

The DEPUTIES of the Helvetic Diet.

Schwitz, Oct. 8.

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*Proclamation of the Council of War of the Swiss League, to their Brothers in Arms.—Dated Basle, Oct. 12, 1802.*

Friends and Brothers,

WHEN you separated yourselves from your wives, your children, your fathers, and your friends, to conquer for your children, liberty, independence, and prosperity, you abandoned with alacrity and courage your cottages and your flocks.

This idea, “the God of our fathers is with us, and protects us,” gave you force to brave all the dangers, and to despise the fatigues of war. You quitted with songs your mountains and your valleys, to enter into the field and defend the cause of liberty and your country.

The Almighty blessed your arms, and heard the just wishes of a nation known only by its rectitude, and which had armed for its liberty and independence.

Our enemies, our oppressors, the *soi disant* Helvetic government, with its feeble party, have been chased almost to the frontiers of the confederate cantons.

But brothers and friends, we have received a notification, that if we did not by our conduct give proofs of an intire confidence in the

First



First Consul of the powerful nation of France, who has caused a declaration to be made by his envoy, General Rapp, to our fathers assembled at Schwitz, that he wishes to interpose as mediator in the war which we are carrying on against the odious Helvetic government, we should be compelled to it by the victorious arms of the French warriors. Brothers, friends, confederates, who among us could conceive the thought of menacing ourselves with the numerous and experienced armies of France? No; friends, no! we wish to await peaceably the determination of the First Consul, and with that order, that moderation, and that discipline, which have hitherto guided your steps; you will receive we are convinced, the orders of your superiors, of your general; and even if it should be necessary, you will return to your residence, in order that our country may not be exhausted by the entrance of foreign troops; that we may not be deprived of the scanty harvest of this year, which we hoped to consume with our children; and that we may not be plunged into indigence and misery.

It is only the Helvetic government, directed by its passions and its private interest, that could call in the aid of foreign troops; we, who took up arms only for our country and tranquillity, have no need of troops to attain our object.

But relying on our conduct, we dare to hope, that the First Consul of France, who has guaranteed our independence, and who has been deceived by false reports, will, as soon as he shall have been informed of the true state of things, take measures, which will secure our honour, and the prosperity and inde-

pendence of our country. May the Almighty deign to grant this, who has caused us to make an important step towards our future happiness, and crowned our arms with his benediction.

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*Convention for an Armistice concluded between the General of Brigade Wenderweld, charged with Powers to that Effect from the Helvetic Government, and Colonel Herrenschwand, authorized to the same Effect by Baron Bachmann, the General in Chief of the confederate Swiss Troops.*

ARTICLE I. There shall be an armistice between the Helvetic troops and the confederate Swiss troops; and if hostilities do recommence, it shall not be till twenty-four hours after the return of General Rapp to Lausanne.

II. The line of demarcation for the confederate troops shall proceed from Moudon, on the left by the Hurrens, Prayas, Cronay, Neiden, Yvonend; on the right from Moudon, the line shall pass by Chavannes, Breals, Sarfens, Lovoteirs, Dompiene, Vilard-Bramard, Sedeilles, Chattoney, Vilard-Imboz, Toray, Legrand, Firax, Mamaud, Montoguy, Norayaz, Pontaux, Grollay, Corbay, Pensiers, Barbarech—from this point the line shall ascend the Sarine to Grandfrey, and pass beyond the Uberville, Bucglen, and Martelach. It shall then proceed up to the Gerine, by Ergerbach, as far as its source, and shall afterwards follow the summit of the mountains of Planfayon, as far as the frontiers of Schwartzenburg, whence it shall turn towards Bellegrade, follow the chain of the Hahmatt,



Hahmatt, which descends to Rougemont, and thence shall continue in direct line to the frontiers of the Valais.

III. The Helvetic troops shall not advance more than within a league of that line of demarcation.

IV. The suspension of arms must be general, and such, that the two armies shall each detach troops to reduce, if necessary, those who, on either side, shall act against their chief.

V. If the town of Friburg capitulated before the armistice of the 5th October, came to the knowledge of General Auf-de-Maur, it shall be occupied by the confederate troops.

VI. If General Bachmann approve this convention, the reciprocal ratification shall be exchanged at the farthest to-morrow at noon, and sooner if possible.

VII. Until then hostilities shall be suspended on both sides, agreeably to the convention of yesterday, between General Von-der-Weld and Colonel Herrenschwand.

VIII. If any difficulties arise respecting the present convention, commissioners shall be appointed on each side to settle them.

Done at the head-quarters at Lausanne, Oct. 8, 1802.

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*Plan of a Constitution for Switzerland, agreed on by the Members of the Helvetic Diet, assembled at Schwitz, 9th October, 1802.*

ARTICLE I. Switzerland forms one federal republic, under the denomination of the Helvetic confederation.

II. It is divided into cantons.

III. Each canton to govern itself

according to its own will, and to exercise in its own territory all the rights of sovereignty which it exercised under the ancient regime.

IV. The town shall not enjoy any prerogative over the country; both one and the other to participate in the administration of justice, of the police, and in the internal government of the canton.

V. The government of one canton cannot publish ordinances prejudicial to another canton: those who break through this regulation, to be denounced to the diet.

VI. The government of each canton to name a deputy to the Helvetic diet. The deputies remain in office until their constituents think proper to recal them. They are indemnified by the canton.

VII. The diet is permanent; it deliberates on war and peace, and on the conclusion of such treaties of alliance and commerce as the general interest of the confederation may call for. It is authorized to repeal and annul the ordinances of the cantonal governments, which are prejudicial to the Helvetic confederation, or to any of its cantons.

VIII. Every deputy, member of the diet, is obliged to conduct himself, upon the discussion of an important object, particularly of treaties, peace, commerce, and alliance, according to the instructions of his constituents.

IX. The diet chooses, from among its members, a president and a secretary, who continue in their functions, for three months, and are always re-eligible.

X. The president of the diet receives the envoys of foreign powers, and signs the deliberations of the diet,



diet, which are countersigned by the secretary. The protocol shall be signed by every member.

XI. The diet appoints the Helvetic envoys to foreign powers, and recalls them.

XII. In case of a war, or threat of attack, the diet settles the contingent of troops, and the amount of the sums which each canton is obliged to furnish. The arsenals of the cantons are at the disposal of the diet. It appoints the generals and removes them, as also the inspectors of the militia in time of peace. Each canton is obliged to exercise in arms and military revolutions, a contingent of the militia, which, however, is not to perform any effective service, in time of peace, and receives no pay.

XIII. All the Swiss are soldiers. None can exercise the right of citizenship, nor be received into the corporation of artists and tradesmen, nor exercise a profession, nor marry, unless he has a musket, a sword, and a pouch. The government supplies the poor with arms. In extraordinary cases the cantonal government may order the disarming of the citizens. The expences of war are charged upon all the cantons, in proportion to their respective means.

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*Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to M. de Cetto, the Bavarian Minister at Paris.*

*Paris, 23 Vendemaire, 15 O<sup>r</sup>.*

Sir,

THE relations of neighbourhood which exist between Bavaria and Switzerland, and which will be rendered closer by the new

acquisitions his Electoral Highness is about to obtain in Germany, must have made him direct his particular attention to the late events of which Helvetia has been the theatre. That country has been long divided. An influence of intrigue and money has hitherto prevented the government established by the suffrages of the majority from assuming the position and the power necessary to its preservation.

As long as the opposition was confined to insidious and obscure parties, the First Consul thought he ought not to interfere in discussions, to which time, and the influence of the general tranquillity of Europe, promised continually to put an end. But at length the enemies of the Helvetic people have attempted an open opposition. Blood has flowed, and Helvetia has been menaced with a general destruction.

In this frightful conjuncture, the wishes of all have demanded the mediation of the First Consul. The very party which had armed against the government, drawn away by the opinion of men who must have been misled, to attach them to it, have been forced to claim solemnly the mediation of France.

The continental powers, adjoining Helvetia, have not contemplated, without apprehensions, the external effects of a disorder, the focus of which was established in that country. In this state of affairs, humanity, the interest of France and of Europe, demanded that the First Consul should desist from the determination he had made not to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland. He spoke as a mediator,



mediator, as a friend, and Helvetia was pacified. The people have returned to their homes. Those simple and just men, seeing they had been abused, have menaced with their arms the chiefs who had attempted to defame France in their minds, and who, in their public acts, had ventured to inveigh against her. General contempt now does justice to their clamours.

Such, sir, are the facts which I have thought it my duty to communicate to you. The First Consul neither ought nor would abandon a country which stands in need of the friendship of France, and which, without the benefit of his influence, would have passed in a short time through all the horrors of anarchy under the ancient yoke, which it feels itself happy to have broken.

But at the same time that he has recognised the necessity of assisting the Helvetic nation to fix at length herself, and in an irrevocable manner, her constitutional destiny, he has not ceased for one moment to consider that the most perfect independence ought to be the basis of her constitution. The right of establishing her own organization acquired by Helvetia, is one of the glorious results of the war which France has sustained against the most powerful armies of Europe, and of the treaties which have terminated it.

It is because Helvetia possesses this right from the victories, and the benevolent policy of France, that the First Consul would now protect the exercise of it, and take care that a handful of turbulent emigrants, deserters from foreign

armies, and who have just carried fire and sword into their own country, shall not succeed in depriving the whole almost of their fellow citizens of their rights.

It is not by such men that the treaty of Luneville can be invoked in what regards Helvetia, but by the great portion of the people which they would have oppressed, and whose independence the treaty guarantees. Are those men as estimable, as important a part of Helvetia as Argovia. The pays de vaud, and the bailiwicks, formerly subject, whose political rights France has guaranteed, not only in the treaty of Luneville, but in all those which, since the war, have bound the ancient ties of France and Helvetia closer?

One may conceive that it will be those persons who will endeavour to spread the belief that the Helvetic republic may be led by a spirit of imitation to establish, with the First Consul, the relations which unite him to the Italian republic; but this idea is as far from the expectation of the First Consul as it is opposite to all his determinations, and his formal intention is not to concur in the organization of Switzerland, but for the purpose of insuring to her an absolute independence.

I am persuaded, sir, that you will transmit to his electoral highness the communications I have the honour to make to you, the importance of which he will not fail to appreciate.

Receive the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

C. M. TALLEYRAND.



*Decree of the Senate of the Swiss Cantons, on the Subject of a Deputation to Paris.*

HAVING heard the message of the executive council, and also the report of the interior committee, considering that by virtue of the proclamation of the First Consul of the French republic, each canton may send deputies to Paris to explain their sentiments upon the means most likely to restore order and tranquillity, and to re-unite all parties; and considering also, that this measure should be regularly executed, in order that the regularity of forms may coincide with their power of delivering their opinions freely, orders—

1st. That the national prefects of the eighteen cantons shall convoke, during the first week of November ensuing, on a given day, a meeting of all the members of the diets of the cantons of the first of August, 1801; and of those who were members of the cantons on the second of April, 1802.

2d. These citizens, so united, shall determine whether their respective cantons ought to send deputies to Paris, in their names, at their expence, and under these circumstances. They will determine the number that are to be sent, and will make the nominations.

3d. The senate does not by this measure deprive the communes of the right of sending deputies, at their own expence, to express their sentiments.

4th. Every person named shall receive from the assembly the act of his nomination, which shall be

legalized by the national prefect, and by the secretary of state for foreign affairs.

5th. The deputies shall assemble at Paris, on the 15th of November next.

The further regulations, which may be necessary for carrying into effect the present decree, are left to the executive council.

25 October, 1802. (Signed)

The Landamman, President of the Senate.

Dolder Lauther, and  
Muller Freedburg,

Secretaries.

*The Council of Execution to the Inhabitants of Helvetia.*

Citizens of Helvetia.

THE government is assembled at Berne.

The events which had necessitated its departure, and those which have preceded its return, are sufficiently known to you. We will not, therefore, speak to you of the past: we wish only to open your eyes to the present, and to seek, if it be possible, your preservation for the future.

It is not a requisition of the Helvetic government that will cause the French to march among us; but the First Consul of the French republic cannot suffer factions and civil war to desolate a country bordering on France; a country attached to France by treaties; and which will for ever be indebted to France alone for the restitution of its independence.

There cannot, therefore, citizens of Helvetia, be any question, at this moment, of dispute, as to this



this or that system, or on the pre-eminence of this or that opinion; the object is to prevent the occupation of our country by foreign troops, and all the evils that would be the result of it. Only one mode remains to us to prevent those evils; it is that which the proclamation of the First Consul points out to us. Citizens of Helvetia; we counsel not to repel it: it is the last plank by which we can escape shipwreck.

The abyss is beneath your footsteps, and your ruin is certain if you neglect to seize it.

A general officer, attached to the staff of the army of observation on our frontiers, has arrived at Berne, to see, with his own eyes, if the orders of the First Consul are punctually executed throughout. He will cause the troops to enter if a single canton resist.

Yes, a partial disorder, a single unconstitutional authority refusing to dissolve itself, or an assembly refusing to lay down its arms, will be sufficient to draw down upon you this misfortune.

Let every citizen, therefore, submit to the constitution re-established, and await, in the dispositions of peace and good-will, the definitive order of things which is announced to us by the mediation of the First Consul.

Let all the party denominations and hatred be abjured; let a general desire to preserve the existence and independence of our country; let the necessity of preserving for ourselves and our families the feeble resources that remain to us, command tranquillity, and unite all minds.

For every true Swiss there can,

from henceforth, be but one thought, one end, and that is, the preservation of the Swiss amity.

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*Note addressed, on the 26th of October, by the Diet of Schwitz to General Ney.*

THE president of the confederated cantons having been required, on the part of General Ney, by his Adjutant, Mr. Becket, to declare whether the diet would accept the proclamation of the First Consul of the French republic, the diet have the honour to observe to the general, that already, on the 15th of this month, they had taken the resolution of delivering up their powers into the hands of their constituents as soon as the French troops should enter Switzerland, having never entertained the design of opposing them by force of arms.

Now that the diet is positively informed that the citizens of Basle and Berne are occupied by French troops, it no longer delays to dissolve itself; at the same time, they seize this opportunity of declaring to the general, that conformably to the instructions they have received from their constituents, which they consider themselves obliged to conform to, they cannot regard the Helvetic government as established, nor alienate the sacred right which their nation possesses, of forming a constitution for itself, a right which they inherited from their ancestors, and which was confirmed to them by the treaty of Luneville: but, on the contrary, are firmly convinced that the Swiss will never recover their



their tranquillity and their happiness, but in the exercise of that right.

They pray that the general will place before the eyes of the First Consul, this just demand, which is not only the expressions of the sentiments of the diet, but of all Swiss who wish well to their country. In the name of the diet,

ALOYS REDING.

*Proclamation to the Helvetic People,  
from the Government of Helvetia.*

Citizens of Helvetia,

IN announcing to you, four months ago, that the French troops were about to quit our soil, the council of execution at the same time declared to you, that a constant obedience to the laws, a spirit of confidence and peace, the union of all wishes for the maintenance of the established order of things, could alone protect your independence; while the contrary dispositions, disobedience, tumult, and dissensions, would infallibly bring back a foreign army.

You have not attended to our words, citizens of Helvetia!

Ambitious men have induced you to embrace the cause of their interests and their passions; and while one party amongst you roused itself at their calling to overturn the constitutional and national government, the other party became, by its silence, an accomplice in the civil war.

What is the result? A few weeks have scarcely passed when the French troops, ten times more numerous than they were last spring before their departure, penetrate into your cantons; they

take from you the arms which you have turned against your government, and thus declare to all Europe that you are at once incapable of remaining at peace, and unworthy to protect yourselves.

Tell us then, citizens of Helvetia, to whom you owe the return of these troops? Is it to the senate and to the council of execution, whose fault was, on the contrary, to consent too soon to their departure, and whose whole study latterly tended to prevent, by a frank and loyal acceptance of the mediation of the chief consul, the evils which we had to fear from his indignation? Or is it to the insurrectional authorities, to the assembly which dignified itself with the name of the confederate diet of Schwitz? To that assembly which, rejecting the conditions of the proposed mediation, promising to dissolve itself, and notwithstanding continuing its intrigues, announcing peace, and keeping the soldiers under arms, wishing that a foreign force might enter the country, that they might have it in their power to say, "we yielded only to force?"

Miserable vanity, which gratifies itself at the expence of a whole nation! Wretched ebullition of pride, calculated to precipitate the country into complete ruin, and which it would have done, if the generosity of the chief consul had not equalled his power, notwithstanding all the efforts of his enemies, and of yours, he had not still persisted to wish your welfare.

However, citizens of Helvetia! the council of execution is informed of it; the members of that seditious assembly, and the committees which



which it had established in the Cantons, not content with having consecrated, in formal protestations, their foolish pretensions, still seek to mislead the people respecting their real situation, to spread false hopes of foreign succour, to frighten them by menaces, and to belie the intentions in which the Helvetic government addressed itself to the chief consul, to invite him to make himself the supreme arbiter of our differences. But we will answer these men, that they likewise have invoked that mediation.

The letters of the chiefs of the Little Cantons to the chief consul, and to the ministers of France; the plans of constitution on which they openly called for their good offices; the sending deputies to Paris, are so many proofs of the desire which they had of interesting the French government in their cause.

It was only when the First Consul had previously demanded and exacted the cessation of a war which armed citizens against citizens, and brothers against brothers, that they rejected the mediation solicited by themselves, and which they then artfully turned for the purpose of increasing the number of their partizans.

We will tell them again, that if we have called for the mediation of the First Consul, it is because, of all the powers called by their position, to take an interest in the destinies of Helvetia, France is the only one which has recognized our independence, consecrated, by its means, in a solemn treaty: the only one which can exercise over us an influence of protection and support.

The history of Switzerland for five centuries, our revolution, and the years which have succeeded it, sufficiently prove how much it is our interest to follow the political system of France. It is this truth which, engraved on the hearts of our ancestors, protected the cradle of the confederation; and we, citizens of the Helvetic republic, have a thousand times more reason still to be convinced of it.

Lastly, we will say no longer to these men, for they will not understand us, but to the nation itself, that the equality of rights amongst the cantons, the abolition of hereditary privileges, the liberty of the citizens, being a deposit placed in our hands to be preserved at any price, it was not permitted to us to waver respecting calling for the mediation of the only government which can preserve to us these principles.

Thus, our conduct in this respect has been only the necessary consequence of the national will, expressed in favour of these same principles at the time of the acceptance of the constitution.

Such is the answer which the council of execution owes to that part of the accusations of its enemies.

With regard to the other accusations by which it is attempted to raise against them a factious hate, they despise them, well knowing that they cannot cite a single family of which it has caused the ruin, or a single person in whom the rights of a citizen have been violated. It is, on the contrary, for having been too indulgent, too confident in the justice of its fellow-citizens, too little severe, in short, that it has experienced misfortunes.



fortunes. The insurrectional authorities ordered in four weeks ten times more arrests, odious inquests, and measures of rigour of every kind, than it had ordered during the whole course of its existence.

Citizens of Helvetia! you will be required to furnish extraordinary contributions for the support of the troops which your insurrection have caused to enter your country.

Submit yourselves to a necessity which you cannot tax with injustice; open your hearts to dispositions of fraternity and social order; it is the only means of abridging the period of your misfortunes.

Shew yourselves, in short, worthy to be called a nation, and you will become one. Bonaparte only desires to have still the power of interesting himself in your destinies.

For us, citizens, thanks to the care of this generous mediator, our task will soon be finished. Returned into the class of private individuals with those who have so cruelly calumniated our conduct, we shall be always ready to answer their imputations. Henceforth there is no sacrifice to which we are not resigned, if it can only be profitable to our country.

Done at Berne, Nov. 3, 1802.

*Letter of the Prince of Orange to the Members of the former Government of the United Provinces.*

HAVING learnt that several members of the government, ministers, and other functionaries of the province of ———, who were in office on the 18th of January,

1795, as well as before the revolutions that took place after that period, entertain scruples with respect to the acceptance of places under the present circumstances, and since the introduction of the last constitution, refuse to take employments which have a relation to the government and administration of the country; I have thought it necessary to inform you by these presents (requesting you to make what use of them you think necessary), that according to my opinion, there are no longer any motives which should restrain you from using your efforts (considering the order of things which has lately been introduced) to procure for your country as much good as it is susceptible of, and thereby to prevent its total ruin. You may accept, without any difficulty, when you think proper, employments, and sit in the colleges which are connected with the administration of the affairs of the country, and take a place in the government, co-operating with the members of the present government.

I am, with esteem, &c.

GUILLAUME P. D'ORANGE.

“Oranjestein, 25th Dec. 1801.”

*Separate Convention between France and the Batavian Republic, explanatory of the 18th Article of the Definitive Treaty between France, Spain, and Holland, on the one part, and Great Britain on the other part.*

“THE undersigned plenipotentiary of the French republic declares, conformably to existing stipulations between the French and Batavian



Batavian republic, and in virtue of special instructions with which he is furnished to that effect on the part of his government, that it is understood that the indemnity stipulated in favour of the house of Nassau in the 18th article of the present treaty, shall not upon any account, or in any manner, be at the charge of the Batavian republic; the French government being guaranteed to this effect towards the said republic.

“ The undersigned plenipotentiary of the Batavian republic, in the name of his government, accepts the above declaration, as explanatory of the aforesaid 18th article of the definitive treaty, signed this day by the plenipotentiaries of the four contracting powers.

“ The present act shall be presented at the ratification of the two respective governments, and the ratifications exchanged in due form.

“ Done at Amiens, March 27.

(Signed)

“ J. BONAPARTE,

“ R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.”

*Treaty concluded between France and the Prince of Orange.*

ART. I. His Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, formally renounces for himself and his heirs and successors, the dignity of Stadtholder of the United Provinces which now form the Batavian republic; he also formally renounces all right, claims, and pretensions whatsoever, which arise from the above-mentioned dignity; as likewise all domains and territorial property situated

in the said republic, or in its colonies.

II. His Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, the princess his consort, their children and heirs, shall enjoy all permanent or annual rents which they have in the Batavian republic, in the same manner as other possessors of rents in the said republic.

III. To indemnify the house of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz for the renunciations and cessions in the first article of the present treaty, his highness shall receive, 1. The bishopric and abbey of Fulda; 2. The abbey of Corvey; 3. The abbey of Weingarten, with its dependencies; 4. The imperial town of Dormund, in Westphalia, and Yfny and Buch-horn, in Southern Swabia, with their territories and dependencies. His highness shall possess, for ever, and in full sovereign property, for himself, his heirs and successors, the above-mentioned bishopric and abbeys, which shall be secularized in his favour, and the imperial towns, with all the territory belonging to them, under the condition that his highness shall engage to satisfy the existing and acknowledged claims to certain inheritances appertaining to his house, in the course of the last century. This satisfaction shall be determined by arbitrators to be appointed by the two contracting parties.

IV. The inheritance in the New States which shall be assigned to the house of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, shall be regulated in the following manner: the male line shall succeed to the exclusion of the female; but in failure of male heirs, the female shall



enter into all their rights. This clause shall extend to all the legitimate offspring of his Highness the Prince in a direct line; and in case of the failure of that line, the above-mentioned territory, states, and sovereignty, shall devolve to the royal house of Prussia.

V. His Majesty the King of Prussia, and the First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, reciprocally guarantee, in conjunction with his Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, the indemnifications of the ceded or conquered countries, as they are stipulated in this treaty.

VI. His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, in like manner acknowledge the Batavian republic.

VII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, his Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Highness the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Dietz, may take possession of the states and territories allotted to them as indemnities.

VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties within 40 days, or sooner if possible.

Paris, May 24, 1802.

MARQUIS DE LUCCHESINI.

GENERAL BOURNONVILLE.

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*Letter of the State and Cabinet Minister, his Excellency Count Cobenzel, to Count Stadian, the Imperial Minister at Berlin.*

Vienna, Oct. 14.

YESTERDAY intelligence was received that his Royal High-

ness the Archduke Anthony was unanimously proclaimed archbishop and elector of the electoral archbishopric of Cologne, by the electoral cathedral chapter of Cologne, in a free canonical electoral assembly.

While your excellency will not fail to make the friendly communication of this event to his Prussian majesty's ministry, your excellency will, at the same time, in the most efficacious manner, repeat those declarations which his majesty the emperor and king caused to be made subsequent to the election of Munster.

Your excellency will assure his Prussian majesty's ministry, that with respect to the electorate of Cologne, the election of an archduke may be considered as indifferent, as the natural course of the accomplishing of the indemnities by means of secularization, will not be altered from personal consideration, or secondary views. Hence then the court of his Prussian majesty may rest perfectly convinced, that as the imperial court, from love and regard to the old constitution of Germany, according to its internal conviction, can never forbear insisting on the maintenance of the three spiritual electorates, the personal consideration of the archduke having been elected to the elector of Cologne, cannot have the smallest influence on this conduct of the high imperial court.

On this occasion your excellency will also disclose in confidence to Count Haugwitz, that although the cathedral chapter of Munster earnestly press that his royal highness the Archduke Anthony may repair to Munster, and take upon himself



himself the government, yet his imperial majesty, as the head of the house, has not yet given to his royal highness permission for this purpose, but has rather intimated to the cathedral chapter, to continue the government in the mean time, in all respects in the same manner, as if the see was vacant.—*Sede Impedita.*

His royal highness, beyond all doubt, is in all respects entitled to the formal assumption of the government, and might, without contradiction, put himself in possession of this ecclesiastical electorate, which at this moment has as much right to its existence as other ecclesiastical electorates.

It is also not to be denied, that his imperial majesty, in this moderation which he has shewn, could have no other view, than thereby to give a proof, that in this respect he has been guided by no personal interest.

(Signed) LEWIS COBENTZEL.

*Note of Count Haugwitz to Count Stadion.*

*Berlin, Oct. 26.*

AFTER re-stating the substance of the communications contained in the above letter, Count Haugwitz answers them as follows:—

“ If the elections of Munster and Arensberg are to be considered as mere formalities, the king was obliged on his part to pursue those formalities which the then present circumstances pointed out, to preserve the general rights; and with this view his majesty caused his well-known protestation against the Munster election to be delivered to the states of the empire, which

by anticipation also concerned the election of Arensberg, in case such should take place.

“ His majesty does not the less approve the wise resolution of his imperial majesty, to postpone the further steps which one or both of the chapters might wish to adopt with respect to the introduction of the Archduke Anthony; and if the business on both sides is thus to remain in uncertainty, the king will in like manner abide by the preliminary measures which he has hitherto taken.

“ But even if his majesty were agreed on the last point with the court of Vienna, yet he could not grant his approbation to the principle of the future maintenance of the three ecclesiastical electorates. This principle is in direct contradiction to those which his majesty has at all times expressed in perfect agreement with the French government as one of the contracting powers, and which are founded on the contracts which are now to be put into execution.

“ In these is to be found the express and essential determination, that the losses of the suffering parties are to be made up by means of secularizations, and that in these the losses of the suffering parties must be reckoned.

“ 1. According to the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the hereditary princes who have lost their possessions, either in whole or in part, on the left bank of the Rhine.

“ 2. According to the 5th article of the same treaty, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and

“ 3. The house of Orange, in which Prussia and France had insured a suitable indemnity, by a convention



convention concluded much earlier, on the 5th of August, 1796, which incontestibly makes the rights and pretensions of the house of Orange equal to those of the house of Tuscany. From the obligations contained in those treaties, it follows that the powers interested must endeavour to regulate and to liquidate the mass of the real loss, and to bring it into proportion with the objects which are destined to produce an equivalent for the same. As the indemnification for the claimants, pointed out in the above-mentioned treaties, must be complete, so must it be carefully examined before-hand, how far the mass arising and presenting itself out of the secularization is sufficient to indemnify the parties who have sustained losses. If after a calculation made, funds sufficient were found to raise or to restore one or more of the ecclesiastical sees, to which the electoral dignity is applicable, the king, far from opposing it, would take measures to support in this respect the wishes and views of his imperial majesty; but it would be a contradiction in principle at this time, and before the mass of the losses can be weighed against the mass of the objects of indemnification, to decide before-hand, or to pre-resolve on the maintenance of the present ecclesiastical electorate.

“As the king is accustomed, in all his declarations against the court of Vienna, to be very free, so it is agreeable to him to strengthen anew the principles which he shews in all his transactions, and which he has invariably laid down as the ground of his conduct. His majesty has therefore authorised the undersigned to

lay them again before Count Stadion in the present note. He fulfils this duty, and repeats to the count the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) “HAUGWITZ.”

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*Substance of the Declaration transmitted by the Court of Vienna to that of Berlin.*

*Ratisbon, Dec. 14.*

“HIS imperial majesty learns with pleasure, that the king has done justice to his sentiments. As head of the empire and protector of the church in Germany, he could not act otherwise upon the subject of the elections of Munster and Arensberg. The dignities there conferred upon him have imposed upon him duties from which he will never swerve. The articles 5 and 7 of the treaty of Luneville treat of indemnities—the first of these articles concerns the indemnities of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the second those of the lay princes, whose possessions on the left bank of the Rhine have been ceded to France. These indemnities ought to be effected by means of secularizations, as has been already agreed upon at the congress of Rastadt! but it is just that nobody should receive more than he lost. From this manner, it will not be necessary to generalize the measure of the secularizations. The treaty of Luneville, besides, has made no mention of it. The business may be begun by secularising the small chapters, and thus there will be no need to attack the ecclesiastical electorates, the preservation of which is of the greatest necessity for the maintenance



nance of the equilibrium, and of the Germanic constitution, established by the treaty of Westphalia.

“ The indemnification of the Grand Duke of Tuscany received the assent of the king at the same time with the treaty of Luneville. That of the Prince of Orange is not, in truth, designated in this treaty; but, in consideration of the friendship that exists between his imperial majesty and the king, he offers to contribute with all his power, that that prince, as well as those in favour of whom the king shall interest himself, shall receive suitable indemnities. The emperor flatters himself, that the friendly relations which subsist between his imperial majesty and the king shall give to the present affairs the result desired.”

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*Treaty concluded the 20th of May, 1802. between the French Republic and his Serene Highness the Duke of Wirtemberg.*

**ART. I.** There shall be good understanding and amity between the French republic and his serene highness.

**II.** His majesty the emperor, and the empire of Germany, having consented, by the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, that the French republic should possess, in full sovereignty and property, the countries and territories situate on the left bank of the Rhine, and which made part of the empire of Germany. His serene highness, the Duke of Wirtemberg, renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, in favour of

the French republic, the rights of sovereignty, territorial superiority, property, and all other rights which he exercises, and which belong to him over the countries and territories on the left bank of the Rhine, and in particular,

1. The principality of Montbeliard.

2. The county of Sorburg.

3. The feignories of Riquewir, Oftheim, Aubure, Frangemont, Blamont, Clermont, Stéricourt, Châtelot, Granges, Clerval, and Passavant.

4. The fiefs arising out of the said principalities, counties, and feignories.

5. The feignories, fiefs, and domains possessed by the heirs and successors of the natural children of the duke Leopold Eberhard of Wirtemberg Montbeliard, and which are revertible to the ducal house.

6. The territories, rights and revenues at Spire, Dundenhoven, and in the environs on the left bank of the Rhine.

**III.** His serene highness, in like manner, renounces all claims of restitution, which he might make upon the French republic for arrears and non-enjoyment of rights and revenues, and for all other causes anterior to the present treaty.

**IV.** In pursuance of the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the French republic promises and engages its good offices to obtain for his serene highness those territorial indemnities, which shall be as much as possible suited to the convenience and pleasure of his serene highness, equivalent to the losses of all kinds resulting to his serene



serene highness, from the war, and conformable to the advantages and privileges attached to the ceded possessions.

V. The 8th article of the treaty of Luneville, concerning the debts of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, shall serve as the basis of the regulations to be made respecting the debts of the countries comprised in the cession made by the second article of the present treaty.

VI. The private debts of communes, and other corporations, shall remain charged to them, and by them paid.

VII. On the day of the ratification of the present treaty, all sequestrations, placed on account of the war, on the goods, effects, and revenues of the citizens of the French republic, in the states of his serene highness, shall be taken off, and they shall be at liberty to carry away their goods and effects, and also to sell their property, or receive its revenues, without any hindrance whatever.

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*Proclamation relative to the entrance of the Prussian Troops into Munster.*

WE, grand dean and canon of the cathedral of Munster, vested with the sovereign authority, &c. &c.—The sovereign chapter, in taking the reins of government, has had no other object in view but the happiness of the inhabitants; and it presumes to flatter itself, that every body being convinced of this truth will repose unlimited confidence in the advice and orders of the sovereign chap-

ter. Strong in this conviction, it orders the inhabitants, of whatever rank soever, to comport themselves tranquilly upon the entrance of the Prussian troops, to give a good reception to the soldiers, who shall be billeted upon them, to prevent their wants, to abstain from all political reflections, and not to take the law into their own hands, in cases where any difficulties may arise between the inhabitants and the soldiers; but to carry their complaints, without delay, either before the civil officers, or the military officers, and to refer them to their judgment; and in case they shall not think justice done them by such judgment, to prefer new complaints to a superior officer, and in no case to take the proceedings in their own hands. Upon conforming himself strictly to this proclamation, every inhabitant shall enjoy peace and tranquillity; but on departing from it he may expect to be punished by his superiors. The sovereign chapter, bound by its duty, and the love it bears the inhabitants, to make this proclamation public, will not neglect to use extreme vigilance to procure for them solid and durable happiness. In order that the present proclamation may be made known to all the inhabitants, it shall be printed and read from the pulpit, posted up in every convenient place, and a copy sent to all the authorities.

Given at Munster, July 14, 1802.

(Signed)

“ EGBERT DE WRELDE, and  
“ DE MELOHEDE.”

*Decree*



*Decree of the Imperial Commission,  
relative to the Indemnities.**Vienna, 26 July.*

“ ON the part of his Majesty Francis II. emperor of the Romans, our most gracious sovereign, to the illustrious counsellors, envoys, and ministers of the electors, princes and states of the holy Roman empire at the general diet. The essential object of the conclusum most humbly submitted on the 2d of October to his imperial majesty, and ratified by him on the 7th of November last, was to fix and determine in a precise manner the mode of co-operation of the states of the empire to the fulfilment of the peace. The moment is arrived, when the extraordinary deputation of the empire, appointed constitutionally, and according to the accustomed forms of the deliberations of the diet, and agreed to by his imperial majesty, ought to assemble to attain this important end, and to answer by the scrupulous accomplishment of the important duties imposed upon it, the particular confidence which the emperor and the empire have placed in its enlightened wisdom and its patriotism. In order to this, his imperial majesty, in virtue of the authority vested in him, as supreme chief of the empire, orders that the states, which are to form a part of the said deputation, do send, as soon as possible, their sub-delegates to the imperial city of Ratisbon, which has been considered, in concert with the French government, the most suitable place for holding the congress, and that the full powers furnished by the empire to the said deputation, for the purpose of definitively regula-

ting and terminating the work of peace, be expedited conformably to the conclusum ratified by his majesty, and submitted according to custom to the imperial sanction. In consequence of these dispositions, his imperial majesty has already given the most precise orders to the counsellor *Schraut*, appointed by him in his quality of a state of the empire electoral sub-delegate of Bohemia, to proceed without delay from Paris to Ratisbon; and he has appointed as his minister plenipotentiary, in his quality of supreme chief of the empire, the *Baron de Hugel*, privy counsellor and imperial commissary at the general diet.”

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*Full Powers of the Empire for the Deputation, charged with the Discussion of the Points which remain yet to be regulated for the fulfilment of the Peace.*

“ THE electors, princes, and states of the holy Roman empire having judged it suitable to exercise, by an extraordinary deputation, the right which belongs to them, of discussing those objects which yet remain to be regulated for the fulfilment of the peace, and having for this purpose chosen and appointed in the college of electors, Mayence, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg, and in that of princes, Bavaria, the grand master of the teutonic order, Wurtemberg, and Hesse Cassel; the said states deputed are fully authorised by these presents, in the name of the Germanic body, and with the consent of his imperial majesty, in his quality of supreme chief of the empire, to send forthwith their sub-



sub-delegates to the imperial city of Ratisbon, which has been regarded as the most suitable place, there to examine, discuss, and regulate with the imperial minister plenipotentiary, in concert with the French government (having regard to the *conclusum* of the 2d of October last, ratified by his imperial majesty), the points reserved by the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville, for a particular convention.

“ In consequence, whatever shall be deliberated upon, concluded and signed by the said deputies, either by all of them, or in case of the absence, sickness, or non-appearance of some of them, by those that remain with the said imperial minister, shall be, within a determined period, ratified and agreed to, and shall be inviolably kept by the whole empire.”

*Ratisbon, August 3, 1802.*

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*Plan of Indemnities in Germany, sent to the Diet of Ratisbon by France and Russia, with the previous Proceedings.*

*Report made to the First Consul of France, in the Senate, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs—Sitting of Saturday, the 21st of August.*

THE treaty of Luneville had produced the complete re-establishment of peace between France and Germany. It had, in an express and definitive manner, regulated the general relations between the two countries; and, France being satisfied in every point, the entire execution of the treaty would not have required any ulterior regulation, had it not been acknowledged as just, and stipulated in due form,

that the cession consented to by the empire, for the advantage of the republic, should be borne collectively by the Germanic league; admitting nevertheless the distinction between hereditary laic princes and ecclesiastical princes possessing only a life rent interest.

This principle being once established, it appeared that it belonged to the Germanic body to occupy itself spontaneously, and, without delay, with the mode of its application.

The sincere desire of the French government, solely intent upon its internal affairs, was to take no concern in the adjustment of the promised indemnifications; and it confined its influence merely to repeated declarations that it was anxious to see the treaty of Luneville carried into complete execution by that of the VIIth article. But its exhortations remain without effect, and more than a year elapsed without the least appearance of any plan being even commenced for the repartition of the compensations.

The non-execution of one of the principal stipulations of the treaty of Luneville left all Germany in a state of uncertainty, which became daily more embarrassing, inasmuch as pretensions and intrigues were forming and acquiring strength in proportion as the state of the public mind and public affairs exhibited more indecision. The kind of dissolution which affected the Germanic body, retarded the advantages of the peace to all Europe, and might, in some respects, endanger the general tranquillity. The government of the republic was not the only one impressed with this danger; and whilst it re-

ceived



ceived from all quarters the applications of the parties interested in the repartition of the compensations, the court of Russia testified how urgent it was, in its estimation, that the affairs of Germany should be brought to an adjustment. The Emperor Alexander, on his accession to the throne, felt the noble desire of contributing to maintain the peace which had been re-established; and an intimate concert, a frank and complete association of the most generous views, having promptly taken place between the First Consul and the Emperor, it was felt by them that the pacification of the continent could not be solidly guaranteed, but by carrying the treaty of Luneville into complete execution: and that this execution could not be accomplished but by the initiative and influence of the two powers perfectly disinterested, whose preponderate mediation might remove all the obstacles which had arisen in the course of eighteen months against the definitive repartition of the indemnities.

It was, therefore, solely for the purpose of sealing the pacification of Europe, and guaranteeing its stability, that the First Consul and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia determined, by common consent, to interfere in the affairs of Germany, to effect by their mediation, what would in vain have been expected from the internal deliberations of the Germanic body.

This first point being agreed upon, a discussion was opened, and continued between the two cabinets, to ascertain the ways and means which should lead to the desired result. It was resolved, that a general plan of indemnification

should be presented to the diet; and in digesting this plan the most scrupulous attention was, on both sides, paid to the means of compensating every loss, satisfying every interest, and incessantly conciliating the demands of justice with political expediency.

It was not, in fact, sufficient to ascertain the strict value of the losses sustained, and to proportion the compensations accordingly: the effects of the war having changed the internal equilibrium of Germany, it was necessary to think of the means of re-establishing it. The introduction of new princes into the Germanic system, required new combinations. Nor was the real value of the compensations to arise merely from the extent, but in many cases from their position; and the advantages desirable to some powers from the concentration of their old and new territories, were in themselves an important consideration, and which, therefore, required to be attended to.

The two governments, therefore, applied themselves to examine with scrupulous attention the question of the indemnities in all these relations. They felt that, if policy required the complete satisfaction of the principal houses, strict justice equally required that the states of the second and third rank should obtain a compensation for their losses, and the First Consul made it his particular business to maintain the rights of those who might have found the least support among the parties interested.

The perfect concert which had been formed between France and Russia, the happy result of the direct intercourse which the First Consul



Consul took pleasure in maintaining with his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, having presided in all these discussions, all points were speedily settled, and a general plan of indemnification agreed upon at Paris by the respective plenipotentiaries, it received the approbation of the First Consul, and that of the Emperor.

It was determined that this plan should be presented to the diet of the empire, in the form of a declaration to be made at the same time by ministers appointed for that purpose. On the part of the First Consul, Citizen Laforest, minister of the republic to the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, has received orders to repair to Ratisbon; and on the part of the Emperor of Russia, the Baron de Buhler, likewise his minister at Munich.

This declaration was to have been presented a few days ago, and the First Consul having ordered it to be read to him in the senate, it will display the principles which have directed the two governments, and the particular care which they have taken in their application.

In fact, the examination of the proposed plan will shew, that in the execution of a system which has for its object the consolidation of the peace of Europe, they have above all, applied themselves to diminish the chances of war. On this account, care has been taken to avoid all contiguity of territory between the two powers who have most frequently involved Europe in bloodshed by their quarrels, and who, being seriously reconciled, cannot now have a more ardent desire than that of removing all those grounds of misunderstanding which arise from neighbouring territories, and

which, between rival states, are never unaccompanied with danger.

The same principle adopted, not in all its rigour, but as far as circumstances could admit, has also led to place the indemnities of Prussia beyond the reach of contact with France and Batavia.

From this arrangement Austria will have derived the immense advantage of seeing all her possessions concentrated.

The Palatine house will also have received an organization stronger and more advantageous for the purposes of defence:

And Prussia will continue to form, in the Germanic system, the essential basis of a necessary counterpoise.

The regulation of the secondary indemnities also proceed upon principles of general and individual accommodation, and nothing has been omitted with respect to the consideration of ascertained losses. It will nevertheless appear, that the house of Baden has been more advantageously circumstanced than many others, but it was judged necessary to fortify the circle of Suabia, which lies directly between France and the great German powers. In this instance the First Consul merits applause, as such a line of policy perfectly accords with the disposition of the French government, which with pleasure sees an augmentation of power conferred on a prince, whose virtues have long since obtained the esteem of all Europe, whose alliances so honourably distinguished his family, and whose conduct during the war, has particularly merited the goodwill of the republic.

It is also with real satisfaction that France and Russia obliged to take



take the system of secularization as the basis of indemnities, perceive the possibility of preserving to the empire, one ecclesiastical elector, and that they have proposed to assign him a suitable establishment, in conferring on him the title and functions of arch-chancellor.

It will be necessary farther to present to the diet of the empire some general considerations, as a proper basis for the internal regulations, which the new organization of the Germanic body will require. In this view, the First Consul and his imperial majesty of Russia, impressed with a desire to shew their sincere wishes for the consolidation of the peace of Europe, have not delayed to concert such a plan for the farther indemnities alluded to, as appears to them to include a basis and details as strictly conformable to the spirit as well as to the text, of the treaty of Luneville, as can possibly be framed, as well as analogous to the political interests of Europe, and favourable to the preservation of peace.

The two governments, France and Russia, are firmly persuaded that the time which they have allotted will amply suffice for the discussion of the interests of Germany, and they will reap, in a long duration of peace to that empire, the most agreeable as well as honourable reward for the exertions which they have respectively made to procure it.

(Signed)

C. M. TALLEYRAND.

#### DECLARATION.

THE First Consul of the French republic animated with the desire of contributing to the consolidation

of the repose and tranquillity of the German empire, has thought that no means were more calculated to obtain that effect of his solicitude, than those of fixing, by a plan of indemnity, adapted, as far as circumstances would permit to the respective interests, an arrangement proper to produce this salutary effect; and a concurrence of views having been established upon this subject between the First Consul of the republic and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, he has authorized the minister for foreign affairs, to concert with the minister plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty of Russia, the means best calculated to apply the principles adopted for these indemnities, to the different demands of the parties interested. The result of this work having obtained his approbation, he has ordered the undersigned to make it known to the diet of the empire by the present declaration; a measure to which the First Consul of the republic, as well as his imperial majesty, have been impelled by the following considerations:

The seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, having stipulated that the hereditary princes, whose possessions are comprised in the cession made to the French republic of the countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine, should be indemnified, it has been agreed that, conformably to what had been decided upon at the congress of Rastadt, this indemnity should be effected by means of secularization; but though perfectly agreed upon the basis of the indemnity, the states interested have remained so opposite in views with respect to the distribution, that it has hitherto appeared to be impossible to proceed to the execution



tion of the before-mentioned article of the treaty of Luneville.

And though the diet of the empire has named a special commission to direct its attention to this important business, we see, by the delays which its assembling meets with, what obstacles the opposition of interest, and the jealousy of pretensions place to the making the regulation of the indemnities the spontaneous act of the Germanic body.

It is this that has induced the First Consul and the Emperor of Russia to think that it became two powers perfectly disinterested to afford their mediation, and to offer to the deliberations of the imperial diet a general plan of indemnity, drawn up from the calculations of the greatest impartiality, and in which the attention has been directed both to compensate the losses recognized, and to preserve between the principal houses in Germany the balance that subsisted before the war.

In consequence, after having examined with the most scrupulous care all the memorials, both upon the value of the losses, and upon the demand of indemnities presented by the parties interested, it has been agreed to propose, that the indemnities shall be distributed in the following manner :

To the archduke, grand duke for Tuscany and its dependencies, the archbishopric of Saltzburgh, the provostship of Bertolsgaden, the bishopric of Trent, the bishopric of Brixen, the part of the bishopric of Passau, situated beyond the Iltz, and the Inn on the side of Austria, except the suburbs of Passau, with a radius of 500 toises; the abbeyes, chapters, and convents

situated in the above-mentioned dioceses.

The above principalities shall be possessed by the archduke upon the conditions, engagements, and relations founded upon existing treaties; the said principalities shall be taken out of the circle of Bavaria, and incorporated in the circle of Austria, and their ecclesiastical jurisdictions, both metropolitan and diocesan, shall be also separated by the limits of the two circles; Muhl-dort shall be united to Bavaria, and its equivalent in revenue shall be taken from those of Freisingen.

To the *ci-devant* Duke of Modena, for the Modenese and dependencies, the Brisgaw and the Ortenau.

To the elector palatine of Bavaria, for the duchy of Deux-Ponts, the duchy of Juliers, the palatinate of the Rhine, the marquisate of Bergenopzoom, the seignory of Ravenstein, and others situate in Belgium and Alsace; the bishoprics of Passau, with the reservation of the part of the archduke; of Wurtzbourg, with the reservations hereinafter-mentioned; of Bamberg, of Aughted, of Freisingen, and of Augsburg; the provostship of Kempton; the imperial cities of Rothenbourg, Weissenbourg, Windsheim, Schweinfurt, Gochsheim, Sennefelt, Allthausen, Kempten, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Dinkelsbuhl, Nordlingen, Ulm, Bofsingen, Buchorn, Waagen, Leutkirch, Ravensbourg, and Altschausen; the abbeyes of Saint Ulric, Irsen, Weugen, Sooslingen, Elchingen, Ursberg, Rothenbourg, Weltenhausen, Ottobeuren, and Kaisersheim.

To the king of Prussia, for the duchy of Cleves, upon the left bank of



of the Rhine, and of Gueldres; the principality of Mærs, the territory surrounded by Sevenaer, Huif, and Mahlbouurg, and the tolls of the Rhine and of the Meuse; the bishopric of Hildesheim and that of Paderborn, the territory of Erfort and Untergleichen, Eichfeld, and the Mentz part of Trefort, the part of the bishopric of Munster, situate on the right of the line drawn from Olphen, by Munster to Tecklenbourg, comprising within it the two cities of Olphen and Munster; as also the right bank of the Ems as far as Lingen; the imperial cities of Mulhausen, Northausen, and Goslar; the abbey of Herforden, Quedlinbourg, Eten, Essen, and Werdeu.

To the princes of Nassau; that is to say, Nassau Usingen; for the principality of Saarbruck, the two-thirds of the county of Saarwerden, the seignory of Ostweiler and that of Lahr in the Ortenau; the remainder of the electorate of Mentz on the right of the Mein, with the reservation of the grand bailiwick of Aschaffembourg, and that between the Mein, the county of Darmstadt, and the country of Erbach; Caub, and the remainder of the electorate of Cologne, properly called, with the reservation of the county of Altweid, the convents of Seligenstadt and Bleidenstadt, the county of Sayn Alten-Kirchen, after the death of the margrave of Anspach, the villages of Soden and Soultzbach.

Nassau Weibourg—For the third of Saarwarden and the seignory of Kirchheim-Polauden; the remainder of the electorate of Trèves, with the abbey of Arnstein and that of Marienstadt.

Nassau Dillembourg—For in-

demnity of the stadtholderate and territories in Holland and Belgium; the bishoprics of Fulda and Corwey; the city of Dortmund, the abbey and chapters situate in these territories, with a charge upon him to satisfy claims subsisting and previously acknowledged by France upon certain successions connected with the majority of Nassau Dillembourg, during the course of the last century; the abbey of Weingarten and those of Kappel to the country of Lippe, of Kappembourg, to the countries of Munster and Delkerchen.

To the margrave of Baden—For his part of the county of Sponheim, and the territories and seignories in the Luxembourg, Alsace, &c. the bishopric of Constance, the remainder of the bishopric of Spire, Basle, and Strasburg, the bailiwicks palatine of Ladenbourg, Bretten, and Heidelberg, with the cities of Heidelberg, and Mannheim, the seignory of Lahr, when the prince of Nassau shall be put into possession of the county of Alten-Kirchen, the remainder of the county of Lichtenbourg, upon the right of the Rhine, the imperial cities of d'Offembourg, Zell, Hamersbach, Gengenbach, Uberlingen, Biberach, Pfulendorf, and Wimpfen; the abbey d'Schwarzach, Frauenalb, Aller-Heiligen, Lichtenthal, Gengenbach, Ettenheim-Munster, Peterhausen, and Salmanfweiller.

To the Duke of Wirtemberg—For the principality of Montbe-leard, and his possessions in Alsace, and Franche-Comte; the Provostship of Ellwangen, the abbey of Zwissolten, the imperial cities of Weil, Reutlingen, Esslingen, Rothweal, Giengen, Aulenhall, Gemeindt, and Hailbronn.



To the landgrave of Hesse Cassel—For St. Goar and Rheinfels, and as provision for his charge of the indemnity of Hesse-Rothembourg, the Mentz territories situate within Amenebourg and Fritzlar, with their dependencies, and the village of Holzhausen.

To the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt for the whole of the county of Lichtenberg, and its dependencies; the palatine bailiwicks of Lindenfels and Olzberg, and the remainder of the bailiwick of Oppenheim, the duchy of Westphalia, with the reservation of the indemnity of the prince of Witgenstein, the Mentz bailiwicks of Gernsheim, Bensheim, Hoppenheim, the remainder of the bishopric of Worms, the city of Friedberg.

To the prince of Hohenloë-Bartenstein; to the count of Loewenhaupt; to the heirs of the baron of Dietrich for the allodial parts of the county of Lichtenberg; that is to say, to Hohenloë for Oberbronn, the bailiwick of Yaxtberg, and the portions of Mentz and Wurzburg, to the bailiwick of Knufelschaw; to the others for Raufchenbourg, Niederbronn, Reichsolen, &c. the abbey of Rollen-Munster. To the same count of Loewenhaupt, and to the count of Hillesheim for Reipoltz-Kirchen, the Heclig-Kruenthal.

To the princes and counts of Loewenstein—For the county of Wirmbourg, the feignories of Schartenech, and other territories in the counties united to France; the part of Wurtzburg, as far as the counties of Rhineck, and Wertheim, on the right of the Mein, the abbey of Bronnback.

To the prince of Linange—The Mentz bailiwicks of Mittenberg,

Amorbach, Bischofsheim, Konigshofen, Krautheim, and all the parts of Mentz, comprised between the Mayn, the Tauber, the Neckar, and the county of Erbach, the parcels of Wurtzburg, upon the left of the Tauber, the palatine bailiwicks of Boxburg, of Mosbach, the abbey of Amorbach, and the provostship of Combours, with territorial superiority.

To the count of Linange Gunterblum—The Mentz bailiwick, or Killery of Billigheim.

To the count of Linange-Heidefheim—The Mentz bailiwick, or Kellery of Neydnan.

To the count of Linange-Westerbourg, the elder branch—The convent of Schonthal, upon the Yaxte, with territorial superiority; the youngest branch, the provostship of Wimpfen.

To the princes of Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kirbourg, to the Rhinegraves, to the princes and counts of Salm-Reifersheid, the remainder of the upper bishopric of Munster.

To the prince of Wied-Runkel—For the county of Creange, the county of Altwied, with the reservation of the bailiwicks of Linz and Unkel.

To the duke of Aremberg, to the count de la Marck, to the prince de Ligne—For the principality of Aremberg, the counties of Saffenberg, Schleyden, and Fagnolles, the county of Rucklinghausen, with the bailiwick of Dalmen, as far as the country of Munster.

To the prince and counts of Solms—For Rohrbach, Aichsfeld, the convents of Arnbourg, and of Ilbenstadt.

To the prince of Wilgenstein—For Neumayen, &c. the abbey of Graffschafft, the district of Züsche-



nau, and the forest of Hellenbergerstreit, as far as the duchy of Westphalia.

To the count of Wartemberg—For Worttemberg, the kellery of Necke-Steinack, that of Erenberg, and the farm of Wimpfen, dependant upon Worms and Spires.

To the prince of Stolberg—For the county of Rocheforte, the convents of Engelthal and Rokenberg.

To the prince of Isenberg—The part of the chapter of Jacobsberg as far as the village of Gernheim.

To the prince of Tour-Taxis—For indemnity of revenue of imperial posts in the ceded provinces and domains in Belgium, the abbey of Buchans, with the city, those of Marchthal and Nernheim, the bailiwick of Ostrach, dependant upon Salmanweiler.

To the count of Sickingen—For the county of Landstul, &c. the abbey of Ochsenhausen and of Munchroth.

To the count of Leyen—For Bliescastel, &c. the abbey of Schouffenried, Goutenzell, Heybach, Bamdt, and Bouxheim.

To the prince of Brezenheim—The abbey of Lindau with the city.

To the countess of Colloredo—For Daischthal; the abbey of Sainte Croix de Donawerth.

To the countess of Sternberg—For Mandersheid, Blankenheim, the abbey of Weissenau and Isny, with the city.

To the prince of Dietrichstein—For the feignory of de Trasp, which will be abandoned to the Grisons, the feignory of Neu-Ravensbourg.

To the counts of Westphalia, of Bassenheim—For Ollbruck, of Sinsendorff; for Rhineck, of Straesberg; for Kerpen, of Ostein; for

Millendonck, of Quadt; for Wicktade, of Plettenberg; for Wittem, of Metternich; for Wennebourg, &c. of Aspremont; for Reckheim, of Toring; for Gronseld, of Nefalrade; for Welri, &c. the lower bishopric of Munster.

To the grand prior of Malta—For the commanderies on the left of the Rhine; the abbey of Saint Blaise, with the county of Bondorf and dependencies; the abbey of Saint Trupert, of Schultern, of St. Pierre, and of Tenebach.

The First Consul of the French republic, and his majesty the emperor of Russia, after having proposed to regulate thus the demandable indemnities of the hereditary princes, have acknowledged that it was at once possible and fit to preserve, in the first college of the empire, an ecclesiastical elector.

They propose, in consequence, that the arch-chancellor of the empire should be transferred to the see of Ratisbon, with the abbey of Saint Emeran, Ober Munster, and Heider Munster, keeping of his old possessions the grand bailiwick of Aschaffembourg, on the right of the Mayn, and that there should be united to it besides, a sufficient number of mediate abbey, so as to make up to him with said lands, an annual revenue of a million florins.

And as the best means to consolidate the Germanic body is to place in the first college the princes of the greatest influence of the empire, it is proposed that the electoral title should be granted to the margrave of Baden, to the duke of Wirtemberg, and to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

The king of England, in his quality of elector of Hanover, has raised pretensions to Hildesheim,



Corvey, and Hoexter, and as it would be of interest that he should desist from his pretensions, it is proposed that the bishopric of Osnaburgh, which now belongs alternately to the electoral house of Brunswick, should devolve to him in perpetuity, upon the following conditions: First, That the king of England, elector of Hanover, shall renounce all his rights and pretensions to Hildersheim, Corvey, and Hoexter. Secondly, That he shall likewise give up to the cities of Hamburg and Bremen, the rights and properties which he exercises and possesses in the said cities, and within the extent of their territory. Thirdly, That he shall cede the bailiwick of Wildhausen to the duke of Oldenbourg, and his rights to the eventual succession of the county of Sayn, Altenkirchen—to the prince of Nassau Usingen.

In consideration of the cession of the bailiwick of Windhausen, to the duke of Oldenbourg, and the secularization that shall be made for his advantage of the bishopric, and of the grand chapter of Lubeck, the toll of Elsfleet shall be suppressed, and shall not be re-established under any pretence whatever, and the rights and properties of the said bishopric and chapter in the city of Lubeck shall be united to the domain of the said city.

The propositions made with relation to the indemnities, lead to several general considerations, which ought to occupy the attention of the diet, and on which they will not fail to make the necessary decisions. It appears then,

First, That the ecclesiastical property of the grand chapters and their dignitaries, ought to be in-

corporated with the domains of the bishoprics, and pass with the bishoprics to the princes to whom they are allotted.

Secondly, That the property of the chapters, abbeys, and convents, as well of men as of women, mediate and immediate, which has not been formally disposed of in the present propositions, should be applied to complete the indemnity of the states and hereditary members of the empire, if it should be found that what is already allotted is insufficient, and saving the sovereignty, which remains always to the territorial princes, to the endowing of new cathedrals, which are to be preserved or established, as well as for the support of the bishops and their chapters, and other expences of public worship, and to the pensions of the suppressed clergy.

Thirdly, that the property and revenues belonging to hospitals, manufactures, universities, colleges, and other pious foundations, as also those of the communes of one of the two banks of the Rhine, situate on the other bank, should be placed at the disposal of the respective governments.

Fourthly, that the lands and property assigned to the states of the empire to replace their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, should remain subject to the payment of the debts of the said princes, as well personal as those appertaining to their ancient possessions.

Fifthly, That all the tolls of the Rhine ought to be received, without the power of re-establishment, under any denomination whatever, saving the duties of customs.

Sixthly, That all the fiefs held of feudal courts, established heretofore



on the left bank of the Rhine, and situate on the right bank, should be henceforth held immediately of the emperor and the empire.

Seventhly, That the princes of Nassau Usingen, Nassau Weilburg, Salm-Salm, Salm Kirburg, Linange, and Aremberg, should be maintained or introduced in the college of princes; each with a vote annexed to the possessions which they receive in indemnity for their former immediate possessions; that the votes of the immediate counts of the empire should be in like manner transferred to the lands, which they receive in compensation, and that the ecclesiastical votes should be exercised by the princes and counts, who, by virtue of the treaty of Luneville, are in possession of the capitals.

Eighthly, That the colleges of cities ought to remain composed of the free and imperial cities of Lubec, Hamburg, Bremen, Wetzlar, Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Augsberg, and Ratisbon, and that the means ought to be provided, in the event of future wars in the empire, that the said cities shall not be compelled to take any part, and that their neutrality should be assured by the empire, and also that it should be recognized by the other belligerent powers.

Ninthly, That the secularization of the convents of recluse women ought not to be effected, but with the consent of the diocesan bishop; but the convents of men should be at the disposition of the territorial princes, who may suppress or preserve them, at their pleasure.

Such is the whole of the arrangements and considerations which the undersigned is ordered to present to the imperial diet, and

on which he thinks it his duty to call for its most prompt and most serious deliberation, declaring to it, in the name of his government, that the interest of Germany, the consolidation of the peace, and the general tranquillity of Europe, exact that all that concerns the regulation of the indemnities must be terminated in the space of two months.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, August, 1802.

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*Aulic Rescript received by the Electoral Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, 20th August, and delivered to the Diet on the 26th.*

HIS royal and imperial majesty has been but just informed by the imperial court of Russia of the contents of the subjoined declaration, which that court and the French government intend to lay before the extraordinary deputation, convened for the purpose of regulating the points which have not been settled in the treaty of peace of the empire. His majesty does not lose a moment to give to the sub-delegate of Bohemia the instructions which, in this unforeseen case, he judges most fit, in conformity with his solicitude and cares constantly directed to the good of the empire. No reproach can be made against his majesty or the Germanic empire, founded upon the delay of the meeting of the extraordinary deputation of the empire. More than nine months have passed since the nomination of that deputation has been notified on the part of his imperial majesty and the empire to the French government, and since that govern-



ment has been invited to appoint plenipotentiaries to co-operate in its name, and declare its opinion upon the fittest time for the meeting. So far from the convening of the deputation being urged upon the part of France, a satisfactory answer never has been given upon the subject. Neither has the ambassador of his imperial and royal majesty been able to obtain from the French government to engage in a preparatory negotiation with the imperial court, as had been promised by that government before and after the nomination of the extraordinary deputation of the empire. Very far from it, it has always answered in an evasive and dilatory manner to the reiterated request made to it, verbal and written, on the part of the imperial and royal court. As to the new negotiation proposed, at the end of last year, by his majesty, the emperor of Russia, to take place in concert at Paris, his majesty has adhered, in the most friendly manner, to that proposition; but, notwithstanding that, his ambassador has neither been called to that negotiation, nor been in any way informed of its progress and result. After such proceedings his majesty thinks that the meeting of the deputation of the empire, whether more or less tardy, cannot be a founded motive to restrain the right which the emperor and the empire, as principal contracting parties in the treaty of peace of Luneville possess, and have formally reserved to themselves to immediately treat upon and regulate the business of indemnities, as also all the other points which go to the completion of the said treaty of peace. His majesty, on the

contrary, is perfectly assured, that the two powers above-mentioned, entertaining a just respect for the inviolable rights of an independent state, such as is the Germanic body, will not disavow in practice this first and principal attribution of independence. That it may be seen how well his majesty is founded in reckoning upon the justice of the two powers, he will give to the empire a consoling explanation, by communicating to it the official assurance which was given to his ambassador at Paris, by M. Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs. The following is word for word that assurance as the ambassador has reported it:—"You may be assured that we have only agreed with Russia what propositions to make to you. We cannot even call this a plan. It is but a simple projet, which we submit to the deliberation of the Diet, as the means which appeared to us as the best calculated to satisfy all parties as much as that is possible. That will be proposed as a counsel, and by no means with a tone of authority, or with an air of a disposition to force the thing."

He is confirmed, therefore, by this, that when even these powers may deem their counsels and friendly interference necessary for the arrangement of such a complicated business, they do not, therefore, in any wise intend to dispute the power and right of the Germanic empire to regulate by itself the claims to indemnities, as well as so many other points which nearly concern its constitution, and on which depends its welfare or its decline.

In this assurance his majesty charges his electoral sub-delegate



of Bohemia to interfere, as far as he is competent, in order that the extraordinary deputation already assembled, open, without delay, its sittings in the constitutional form; that it enter into a negotiation conformable to treaties with the French plenipotentiary, and with the intervention and co-operation of the minister of Russia; and that it declare to these two plenipotentiaries, in the name of the empire, the confidence which the Germanic body has in the equitable views of the two powers, adding thereunto the assurance that the deputation will take their friendly propositions into serious consideration. The electoral sub-delegate of Bohemia is also charged to communicate those sentiments of his majesty to the plenipotentiaries of France and Russia, adding, that though according to the law of nations, and also according to the laws of the empire, the deputation cannot be restrained even by the head of the empire within a peremptory term, yet that his majesty, in his quality of king and elector of Bohemia, will accelerate, as much as possible, the termination of the points which are to constitute the completion of the peace.

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*Note of the Bohemian Minister, Mr. Scharnt, delivered to the Diet at Ratisbon on the 26th of August, on the Convention and Declaration of France and Russia, which were delivered on the 24th.*

“ WHEN his imperial majesty proceeded to the opening of the deputation of the empire, he hoped, by means of that measure, to pre-

serve the Germanic empire from the extremity equally prejudicial to its constitution as to its independence, of seeing the important changes in its territorial and constitutional relations executed by unilateral military occupations without the participation of the emperor and of the empire, a participation competent to them however, according to the treaty of Luneville and the law of nations. But his imperial majesty had not the happiness to attain his paternal and patriotic object. Within the time when the projects concerning these changes were still mysteriously concealed from the emperor, and from the Germanic body, military operations were executed in the northern circles. The dispositions made at the same instant, with the greatest publicity in another country, in the centre of Germany, were relative to so great a mass of states, that not only a great part of the countries, assured by anterior negotiations to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were comprised in them, but to replace them by other states, was rendered impossible by other arrangements. His majesty learned at the same time, that considerable assemblages of Palatine troops had taken place along the Inn, and upon the frontiers of the territory of Passau. The Prince Bishop of Passau apprised him of the urgent danger to which he saw himself exposed, and of the approaching invasion of his residence and possessions with which he was threatened. He invoked the protection of his majesty, the emperor and king. His majesty resolved, in consequence, to prevent these enterprises, contrary to the authority and the interest of the



imperial court, by sending his co-commissioner to the Diet, and plenipotentiary to the deputation of the empire at Munich, with the most preventive instructions.

“ He was ordered to make the most friendly representations against these measures, which gave the signal of general confusion, and example of violence, and which obliged the imperial court to take energetic measures of precaution to secure for his Royal Highness the Grand Duke, the indemnities which had been solemnly promised to him by France and the empire. M. De Hugel was, in consequence, authorised to propose a convention, by which the two courts were to abstain from all the occupations until the deputation of the empire had entirely terminated its deliberations. He was at the same time authorised to open negotiations with the Palatine electoral court, or arrange and combine the respective claims of indemnity, promising, on the part of the imperial court, the most sincere and greatest respect for the interest of his electoral Highness. But all these representations and propositions were thrown aside. The Palatine electoral court refused to conclude an arrangement of non occupation even for three weeks. At the same moment the Palatine troops attempted, by passing the Austrian territory, to take the city of Passau by surprise. The court of Munich did not even chuse to bind itself to desist in future from such measures. All these events confirmed and augmented the fears of his imperial majesty, and, as he learned at the same time, that the entry of the Palatine troops in the city and bishopric of Passau was to take

place immediately, his majesty could no longer abstain to take the necessary precautions to occupy the city and principality of Passau, and to extend these measures to the neighbouring territories of Saltzburg and of Berchtolsgaden.

“ His majesty hastens to make known these events to his co-estates assembled at the Diet, and principally to those which make part of the deputation of the empire; adding at the same time, that the most strict orders have been given to the imperial troops in the three principalities, not to interfere in the smallest degree, in the internal government of these states, or in the collection of their revenues; his majesty conceiving himself justified by the above events to protect the indemnities of his highness the grand duke of Tuscany, yet, without conceiving himself authorised to take possession of them before the entire completion of the business of the indemnities, in a manner conformable to treaties, and the Germanic constitution.”

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*Note delivered into the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 28th of August, by the Ministers of France and Russia.*

“ THE undersigned minister extraordinary of the French republic, to the Diet of the empire, has just received from M. the sub-delegate of Bohemia, in the official form, the manuscript extract of a rescript from his court, dated the 20th of August, which was read in the extraordinary sitting of the deputation, of the 24th of the same month, and appeared in print yesterday morning. This rescript contains the order to M. the sub-delegate,



delegate, to make known the contents to the undersigned.

“ The undersigned is under the necessity of observing upon this subject, that the government of the French republic, since the exchange of the treaty of the peace of Luneville, has had it much at heart to arrive at the accomplishment of all the dispositions conformable to that treaty, that the justice due to the Princes who are to be indemnified, has required that so many and various interests should be viewed collectively ; and that finally the declarations communicated on the one part, in the name of the First Consul of the French republic ; and on the other, in the name of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and signed on both sides, in consequence of their formal order, have a character, and contain observations, which are a proof of their constant solicitude for the welfare of the German empire.

“ The undersigned does not think that it is necessary to make detailed remarks upon the state of things which are so generally known. He refers, with full confidence, to the declaration of his government, and adds to it the demand, that this note be read, and inserted in the protocol in the next sitting of the deputation.

(Signed) “ *Laforet.*”

“ *Ratisbon, Aug. 28th.*”

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*Treaty between the French Republic,  
Prussia, and Bavaria.*

THE First Consul of the French republic and the emperor of Russia having offered their mediation for the arrangement of the affairs of

Germany, and having made known to the imperial diet, by their declaration of the 18th of August 1802, the indemnities which they thought should be adjudged to each Prince in consequence of the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the king of Prussia hastened to conform to the plan presented, and, in taking possession of the states adjudged to him, confined himself scrupulously within the limits assigned in the declaration.

The emperor of Germany having, on his side, announced the intention of causing its different possessions to be occupied, the king of Prussia, the first consul, and the emperor of Russia, have spontaneously hastened to make known to him, that it was not at all becoming that his troops should pass the limits assigned by the declaration, or that they should occupy any territory but that appointed for the indemnification of the Archduke Ferdinand.

Yet, without regard either to this declaration, made collectively at Paris to the imperial ambassador by the minister of the three powers, nor to that which has been made at Berlin by the count de Haugwitz to M. de Stadion, the Austrian troops have taken possession of Passau, and his imperial majesty has informed the diet, by his plenipotentiary, that he would not withdraw his troops, unless the countries occupied by the other Princes were in like manner evacuated, which is an indication that his imperial majesty sets no value on the declaration of the mediating powers, and that he regards it as void.

In consequence, the king of Prussia and the first consul engage themselves



themselves to reiterate in concert, at Ratibon and Vienna, their efforts to cause the plan presented to be adopted by the Germanic body, and to be ratified in its whole extent, but particularly so far as it guarantees to the elector of Bavaria the preservation of his possessions on the right bank of the Inn, and as far as it secures to him the town of Passau.

And if, contrary to their hopes and their united interposition, the emperor, taking advantage of the possession of Passau, should refuse to evacuate it within the period of sixty days appointed for the deliberation of the imperial diet, the governments of Prussia and France pledge themselves to combine their efforts with those of Bavaria, to secure the latter the preservation of her ancient domains on the right of the Inn, as well as the possession of Passau, and the entire indemnity which has been adjudged to her.

Done at Paris, Sept. 5, 1802.

(Signed) TALLEYRAND,

MARQUIS DE LUCCHESINI.

CETTO.

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*Decree of the Imperial Commission, addressed to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, at Ratibon, Sept. 13, 1802.*

THE imperial commission has seen, by the advice of the extra-deputation of the 9th instant, and by the votes emitted in the two last sittings, which served as the basis of it, that by their unanimous conviction and judgment, there exist well-founded claims against the plan of indemnities proposed by the ministers of the

mediating powers; that the deputation have also reserved to themselves all the observations which they deem it their duty to make, and that fully convinced of the good intentions of those powers towards the German empire, they promise the admission in common of these claims and observations.—The imperial commission thinks it its duty to set out with the supposition, that it is the intention of the deputation to make all the observations to which they are bound by their instructions, and by the duties which result from the direct principles established in the treaty of Luneville; that the idea of modifications reserved, includes all the amplifications and instructions which a legal discussion of all the parts of the plan cannot fail to give rise to; and that at the regulating of these observations and founded claims we may expect with confidence, both from the justice of the mediating powers and their regard for the inviolable rights of an independent state, an arrangement conformable to the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville. The imperial commission cannot reconcile at all this point of view and this mode of deliberation, with the declaration to be made at present to the minister of the mediating powers, that the deputation accept previously the plan of indemnities in general.—Such an adoption makes us foresee, that each party, whom it would be necessary to indemnify by the plan, would think that he had acquired a right to insist upon the share that should be adjudged to him, and to check and impede the changes and modifications, which well founded claims might render necessary. It would



would be equally incompatible to reserve expressly observations of this nature, and yet to deprive ourselves at the same time of the means of satisfying them for the indemnities already fixed in the plan once adopted, exhaust the mass of indemnity to such a degree, that nothing or very little remains to do justice in the end to claims founded upon the clearest principles of justice.—In short, the nature of the affair requires, before the plan in general be adopted, that the deputation should previously occupy itself with the examination of the observations made against several of its parts, and to infer from the examination of each of those parts, what it will be proper to do upon the whole.—In this state of affairs the imperial commission has been glad to find in the second advice of the deputation an opportunity of acceding to the opinion contained in it. Always disposed to concur in every thing that can serve to accelerate the task of the deputation, the commission declares that it is ready to transmit, without delay, the three claims mentioned to the ministers of the mediating powers, and it thinks that this communication ought to be accompanied with the following declaration:—"It is acknowledged with sensibility, that the two powers have wished to take upon themselves the mediation in an affair so complicated and important, and to cause to be submitted to the deputation by their ministers, declarations relative to the regulating of the objects reserved for a particular convention in the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville.—Fully convinced of the

"good intentions of the two powers towards the empire, and of their justice, care will be taken to communicate to the ministers, the pressing representations made against the plan proposed, as well as the observations which the deputation themselves may deem necessary, and to concert with the said ministers, after having obtained the requisite information, in order to procure with impartial justice for each the indemnity due to him in virtue of the treaty of Luneville, and to come to a resolution as soon as possible, which shall be submitted to his imperial majesty and to the empire."—The imperial commission expects to receive soon an ulterior advice from the deputation; it recommends it to them at the same time to take into consideration, as soon as possible, the fresh claims that may be made; for the rest, it cannot dispense with making known the full assent of his imperial majesty to the principles of equity and justice established by common consent in the first advice of the deputation with respect to those who, without any fault on their side, shall be the victims of the peace.—(Signed)—*Baron De Hugel.*

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*Notes of the Ministers of France and Russia, addressed to the Extraordinary Deputation, at Ratisbon, and dated Sept. 15, 1802.*

*Note of the French Minister.*

THE undersigned minister extraordinary of the French republic to the diet of the Germanic empire, has taken the earliest opportunity of



of transmitting to his government the rescript communicated by the sub-delegate of Bohemia to the extraordinary deputation of the empire, in the sitting of the 24th of August, and communicated also to the undersigned on the 28th of the said month. He is charged to transmit to the deputation the following observations:—The first consul has been much affected to see that his intentions for securing the peace and prosperity of the Germanic body have been misunderstood, since they reproach him with not having answered the overtures made by his imperial and royal majesty since the conclusion of the treaty of Luneville, and having thus retarded to Germany, that interesting portion of Europe, the advantages of the peace, he must declare that the overtures which, though confidential and secret, are at present publicly alluded to by the court of Vienna, far from being calculated to procure the execution of the 9th article of the treaty of Luneville, could tend only to remove, not to promote, the means of providing for the indemnification of so many secular princes, who had sustained such considerable losses; their only object was to regulate the indemnification of the archduke Ferdinand, by employing lay and hereditary dominions. The projects of the court of Vienna tended to extend its territory beyond the Lech, and their effect consequently would have been to erase Bavaria from the number of the powers.—Justice and generosity, which are always the first heard in the heart of the first consul, made it a law with him to forget what wrongs the elector might have done to the

republic, and not to suffer to perish a state weakened and threatened, but however hitherto secured by the policy of the governments interested in maintaining a just equilibrium in Germany; for, if the equilibrium of Europe requires that Austria should be great and powerful, that of Germany requires that Bavaria should be preserved entire and protected from all further invasion. What would become of the Germanic body, if the principal states which compose it should see their independence every moment endangered? And would not the honour even of that ancient federation suffer, by weakening a prince whose house has concurred in so honourable a manner to the establishment and support of the Germanic constitution? It is not then at Paris that the insinuations of the court of Vienna, in regard to the affairs of Germany, could be received, and, though it has since renewed them at Petersburg, they could not meet with better success. The great and generous soul of the emperor Alexander could not permit him to neglect the interests of Bavaria, which were recommended to him also by the ties of blood and by every consideration of sound policy. Having been unable to succeed either at Petersburg or Paris, the court of Vienna nevertheless pursued at Munich the execution of its projects, and it was the communication of his uneasiness made by the elector to the French and Russian governments, which contributed above all to make them feel the necessity of uniting their influence to protect the hereditary princes, secure the execution of the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, and not



to suffer to fall to the lowest rank one of the oldest, and not long ago one of the most powerful houses of Germany.—The undersigned, therefore, is charged to declare to the deputation, that the states of his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, as well as the possessions destined for him as indemnities, and as necessary for re-establishing the equilibrium of Germany, are naturally and indispensably placed under the protection of the mediating powers; that the first consul, personally, will not suffer the important place of Passau to remain in the hands of Austria, nor allow it to obtain any part of the territories which Bavaria possesses on the right of the Inn; for he considers that there would be no independence for Bavaria, the moment when the troops of Austria should be near its capital. It remains to the undersigned, to express to the deputation, the regret which the first consul feels for divulging negotiations which took place only under the seal of confidence, and the secrecy of which ought consequently to have remained sacred; but he has been constrained to it by just reprisals, and by the value which he attaches to the opinion and esteem of the brave and upright German people.—(Signed)—*Laforêt*.

*Note of the Russian Minister.*

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, to the Germanic diet, has seen a note, dated the same day, which was transmitted to the extraordinary diet of the empire, in the name of the French republic, in consequence of the rescript communicated by the sub-delegate of

Bohemia to the deputation, in its sitting of the 24th of August, and communicated also to the undersigned on the 28th of the same month. At present he can only refer to the contents of his note delivered to the deputation next day, August 29, without dwelling on the facts which preceded and rendered necessary the concert between Russia and France. But he must again declare, that his imperial majesty has manifested the sentiments of justice by which he is distinguished, and the interests he takes in the happiness and equilibrium of the Germanic empire, in the declaration which he caused to be transmitted on the 18th of August last, conjointly with the first consul. His imperial majesty cannot then but expect its speedy accomplishment. He particularly considers the hereditary states of his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, as well as the possessions assigned to him as an indemnity, as indispensably placed under the protection of the mediation; and has no doubt that the town of Passau will be immediately given up to its destination.—*Baron de Buhler*.

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*The following Votes were also delivered in the same Sitting at which these Notes were read.*

**BOHEMIA.**—Before the result of the votes respecting the declarations of the two mediating powers had been converted into a *conclusum*, in the sitting of the 8th, the sub-delegate entered into an exposition of the reasons which did not permit him to accede to the plan contained in



in these declarations. But now that the *conclusum* has been come to, fresh orders from his court impose it upon him as a duty to confirm his first refusal, by a second still more formal. In one view of the question, and in that which should be considered before all others, the acceptance of the plan in its *ensemble*, is incompatible with that justice which it was the object of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, and of the mediating powers, to attain. It cannot, therefore, be looked upon by the present generation, nor by posterity, as the result of a mature examination, in which every right, and every bearing and relation have been duly weighed and considered; on the contrary, it must rather appear to be the work of precipitation and of an exclusive premeditation.—The importance of the business entrusted to our charge, and the desire, that after its being brought to a close, every thing may be established upon a durable basis, ought equally to suspend both of these decisions. In another point of view, this acceptance raises against the best grounded remonstrances, an adversary in each of the persons, who by the tendency of the plan have been favoured beyond all measure. From this instant the latter will look upon themselves as completely secure against the best grounded remonstrances; and will regard the share assigned to them, as an inviolable property, into the possession of which they have just entered. The deputation of the empire must raise by this circumstance a new obstacle between the accomplishment of its own views, and the assistance which it owes to those

who have been injured.—The justness of this observation cannot escape the eye of any impartial person; and whosoever hesitates openly to assent to it, must at least secretly yield to the conviction of his own mind, and to the judgment of the public at large. If hereafter a matter of such weighty importance should come reasonably under discussion (and indeed since the treaty of Westphalia, no more important matter has been agitated) the first step will not necessarily lead into labyrinths without an out-let. It seems, however, to be adopting a step of that nature, to follow a plan which, on its first blush and developement, leaves in a great measure unexecuted the most precise obligations of the 5th article of the treaty of Luneville, which establishes indemnities for a third, on the very same basis which was to complete the indemnity which the empire had bound itself to ensure to the grand duke of Tuscany, and which thus gradually breaks in upon a fourth and a fifth; a plan, in a word, which proceeds to rest upon new principles, upon new bases; which have nothing in common with either the letter or the spirit of the treaty of peace with the empire. Is not such, however, the step taken by the deputation of the empire; when, instead of exploring and of ascertaining a fixed point to guide it amidst this complicated mass of confused object, it appears, on the contrary, to yield to them in the most passive manner?—It is the interest of all parties, and even the interest of the two mediating powers, that such occurrences should not take place; and that what is necessarily called for by the



the exigency of circumstances, should not appear under the seal and sanction (which must have destructive consequences) of an absolute omission of all spontaneous judgment.—To the end, therefore, that the affair may assume a better aspect, and that this change may take place in the least possible delay, his majesty, the emperor and king, has already made new overtures to the two powers—overtures which unequivocally evince the most moderate and the most conciliating dispositions.—His majesty may naturally look to a happy issue from this his proceeding. In the mean time, his imperial majesty ought to reserve to himself, upon this occasion, the decision of the deputation, in order the more solemnly to avail and strengthen himself against every premature adoption of the plan that has been submitted to him. As to the notes on the part of the ministers of France and of Russia, which have just been read, the contents of these notes, more particularly those of the former, were on the one hand unexpected; and, on the other, they appear of so strange a nature, that the sub-delegate cannot venture to anticipate the opinion or the declarations of his court.—The character, however, of veracity, to which he professes to aspire, and of which he will afford the most convincing proofs as often as an opportunity shall offer, imposes it upon him as a duty to affirm, that as long as he took a part in the negotiations at Paris, nothing came to his knowledge from which could be drawn an inference that there existed any pretensions to the Bavarian possessions of the electoral house of

the Palatine as far as the Lech, or any project of infringing on his actual possessions: that, on the contrary, the fullest equivalent was uniformly offered whenever the subject of cession or exchange was agitated; and that in general there never was conceived or harboured any project of change which was not perfectly in accord with the interests and the expressed acquiescence of that house.

*Saxony.*—The minister of Saxony requires that the directory shall address to the imperial plenipotentiary suitable representations to induce him to accede to the conclusion of the diet. He protests against the expression of the decree of the imperial commission, which is at the head of the declaration of the minister of Bohemia, an expression which would change the nature of the relations of the diet of the empire.

*Brandenburgh.*—After the example of Saxony, the sub-delegate of Brandenburgh likewise objects to the title of *decree of the imperial commission*. He declares that he does not recognize, in the most distant manner, in the sub-delegate of Bohemia, the quality of imperial commissioner, and that such a designation is inconsistent with the usages applicable to an extraordinary diet, formed to treat with foreign powers. Passing then to the object of the deliberation, he expresses his surprize and grief, that under circumstances so urgent as the present, the imperial plenipotentiary not only refuses to accede to a resolution required by the general interests of the empire, but did not make known his refusal to the diet till after an interval of six days.—He thinks that notwithstanding



standing this refusal, the resolution ought to be maintained in all its force, and that the diet ought to continue tranquilly and without interruption, to deliberate and to treat with the ministers of the mediating powers. “ Extraordinary circumstances, says he, require extraordinary measures; formalities established for ordinary occasions, cannot be rigorously adhered to in circumstances of peculiar emergency. The sub-delegate would think that he failed in his duty to Germany, and to Europe; to his contemporaries, as well as to posterity, if he did not unequivocally declare his opinion, that the diet ought not to interrupt their functions through any defect of formality, resulting from the refusal of the emperor to accède to their decision. He is convinced that in order to provide against any subsequent delay, the diet, in case of any new difficulty started by the imperial plenipotentiary, is from that moment obliged to enter into an immediate communication with the ministers of the mediating powers.”

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*Note, dated Ratisbon, Sept. 17, 1802, given in to the Austrian Plenipotentiary, and also to the Extraordinary Deputation of the Empire, by the French Minister at Ratisbon.—A similar Note was given in by the Russian Minister.*

THE undersigned envoy extraordinary from the French republic to the German diet, has seen from the printed protocol of the sittings of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, that the said deputation has passed several *conclusums* which

have been transmitted to his excellency the Austrian plenipotentiary, in order that they all, without exception, and especially the principal *conclusums* of the sitting of the 8th of September, may be communicated by him to the ministers of the mediating powers; he therefore requests the Austrian plenipotentiary, at length, to make this communication, which in the present state of things cannot longer be deferred without great inconvenience, unless his excellency wishes to depart from the established custom, and would rather chuse that the undersigned should apply to the directory.—The undersigned renews to his excellency the Baron Von Hugel the assurance of his high esteem.

*Laforêt.*

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*Note of M. the Baron De Hugel, Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty, addressed, the 26th Sept. 1802, to C. Laforet, Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic.*

“ THE declaration delivered at Ratisbon, in the name of the intervening powers, contained an heavy and unmerited imputation upon the delays which attended the meeting of the deputation of the empire. His majesty owed it to himself, as well as to the Germanic empire, to prove by facts, that nothing had been neglected on his part to abridge these details. Far from wishing to inculpate any body, the faithful exposition of what is passing had only for its object to evince the purity of the conduct of the emperor.

“ Such is also the motive which obliges



obliges his majesty to call to mind here other facts relative to anterior conferences which had taken place upon the indemnity of Tuscany, for the purpose of opposing them to assertions contained in the note transmitted the 13th of this month to the undersigned, by C. Laforet, minister extraordinary of the French republic. His majesty willingly submits it to the judgment of all Europe, whether he can be charged with injustice or ambition, for having insisted upon the full and entire indemnity which the treaty of Luneville assures to his august Brother. As to the means which he has employed to obtain the execution of so formal a stipulation, far from entertaining a fear of exposing them in full day, he can only feel a desire for their publicity, inasmuch as all his efforts have had exclusively for their object to combine the strict execution of the peace of Luneville with the maintenance of the Germanic constitution. Some indirect insinuations made at Vienna, by a distinguished person in the service of the court of Munich, have given reason to think, that the elector palatine himself wished to settle with the grand duke of Tuscany upon the exchanges for their mutual convenience; nobody then doubting but that the indemnity of his royal highness would be such as the treaty imported. In the supposition that the complement of the indemnity of Tuscany could not be found, except in the ecclesiastical properties of Suabia, it was in question to concentrate the respective possessions by an exchange of the part of Bavaria, in the neighbourhood of the bishop of Salzburg.

“ His majesty, having no  
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motive to object to such an arrangement, did not shew himself disinclined to give effect to these overtures. Insinuations of the same kind took place at Paris at the time of the ratification of the treaty of Luneville, and they went even so far as to put in doubt what had been said to the Austrian plenipotentiary, whether the elector would be able to preserve the city of Munich; but it never had been, nor could be, a question, in these different conferences, to carry so far as the Lech the indemnity of the grand duke of Tuscany.

“ Upon what title could the elector be deprived of the whole of Bavaria? Where could the means be found to indemnify him? And though his majesty should have had views so foreign from his sentiments, how could he conceive the idea solely to engage the French government to adopt them? He appeals, in this, to the testimony which he has himself furnished, to that of the court of Munich, and to that of the imperial court of Russia, to which every thing was communicated upon this subject. All those who had a knowledge of the subject, which was then in treaty, know that the only question was, that of the Iser, with the addition of the proposition made by Austria to leave to the elector a suitable extent of country, for the purpose of removing the city of Munich from the frontier: and that this projet, which surely was not exaggerated in the supposition of a full and entire indemnity for Tuscany, at the same time that his palatine highness should have obtained in Suabia a complete equivalent of cessions, to which it would be willingly carried, was  
\* E e entirely



entirely abandoned by the emperor the moment it was perceived that the elector was not inclined to put his hand to it. Since that time the views of his majesty for a supplementary portion to be given to his august brother have been solely fixed upon ecclesiastical properties and free cities, situate in the circle of Suabia. The plan of it has been drawn up in Paris, and afterwards proposed by his imperial majesty of Russia, who in his wisdom adopted it in full. In confining himself to this faithful statement of every thing that passed upon the subject, he may dispense with noticing the inductions contained in the note of Citizen Laforet. Never could the emperor have entertained a thought of procuring for his august brother any part whatsoever of Bavaria in any other manner than by an arrangement of mutual consent, to the perfect convenience of the elector palatine. His majesty has already given, relative to the city of Passau, every assurance that could be expected from his justice and moderation. He is ready to surrender that city to the person who, by the legal and definitive arrangement of the indemnities, shall be acknowledged its lawful owner. It is not until then, that the present possessor shall cease to be so, and that his majesty will be disengaged from the obligation which he has contracted, at the request of the Prince Bishop, to provide for his safety until the decision of his fate. The emperor would not willingly renounce the hope, that the moderate and equitable propositions with which he has recently charged his ambassador to the French republic, shall put an end to all

differences of opinion between him and the first consul; but should it be otherwise, his august brother, without having any pretensions to make to any part of Bavaria, which he never entertained an idea of acquiring, except by the way of exchange with mutual consent, will not the less retain the incontestable right, secured to him by the treaty of Luneville, to a full and entire indemnity in Tuscany; a right, of which the empire and France have solemnly bound themselves to put him in possession.

“ The undersigned eagerly embraces this opportunity to repeat to C. Laforet, minister extraordinary of the French republic, the assurance of his high consideration.”

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*Note addressed the same Day to the Minister of Russia by the imperial Plenipotentiary.*

“ THE undersigned has not failed to make his august master acquainted with the note which M. the baron de Buhler transmitted to him the 13th of September. He is charged to inform him, in answer, that the welfare of the Germanic empire, and the most prompt arrangement of what still remains to be regulated in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, form equally the object of the most ardent wishes of his imperial and apostolic majesty and king.

“ In claiming the accomplishment of what the treaty of Luneville secures to the grand duke of Tuscany, as his majesty cannot dispense with it, the means of conciliation which he has himself proposed in that respect, the moderation of his demands, notwithstanding



ing the incontestable rights of his royal highness to a full and entire indemnity, every thing unites to prove, that it is not his majesty's fault that the issue of important affairs, which are at this moment treating of, should not be as prompt as all those interested in them might desire. The emperor is convinced of the sentiments of equity entertained by his imperial majesty of all the Russias: he relies with confidence upon his friendship; he cannot doubt but that august sovereign appreciates, at once, both the justice of his demands, and the spirit of conciliation that directs his whole conduct.

“ His imperial majesty shall be, no doubt, immediately informed of all the circumstances which have rendered necessary the occupation of the city of Passau by the imperial troops. He will acknowledge in his wisdom, that this occupation having taken place at the instance of him, who is still its lawful possessor, his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty, has satisfied every thing that could be required of him, in declaring, that this city should be delivered up, without any obstacle on his part, to the person to whom it should be legally adjudged by the definitive arrangement.”

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*Note given in to the Deputation of the Empire by the French Legation, relative to the new general Plan of Indemnities.*

THE undersigned minister extraordinary from the French republic to the German diet, has received

of the Austrian plenipotentiary the *conclusum* which the extraordinary deputation of the empire voted in their sitting of the 8th of September, with the reserve of further modifications which might be adopted in the plan of indemnities contained in the declaration of the mediating powers of the 30th Thermidor, (18th August). He has likewise received the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, which, by subsequent *conclusa*, have been transmitted by the deputation to the ministers of the mediating powers for their consideration. The undersigned, in concert with the imperial Russian minister, has carefully examined these, and having now received the final instructions of the mediating powers in consequence of the reclamations, remarks, and petitions, that have been transmitted to them either immediately or by their ministers, he has the honour to present to the extraordinary deputation of the empire, for its immediate and definitive acceptance, the additions made to the declaration of the 18th of August, as now modified, completed, and amended; additions conformable to the fulfilment of the treaty of Luneville, and the principles by which the two powers have been guided in their interference and mediation. He flatters himself that the deputation will acknowledge with gratitude this new proof of the attention of the mediating powers to the welfare of the German empire. It will likewise see how useful have been the representations which its members have made with equal zeal and patriotism. The undersigned, however, cannot with sufficient



force remind the deputation, how great is the pressure of circumstances, and of how much importance it is, that, by a speedy and final decision, the German empire may enjoy the effects of the friendly sentiments of the mediating powers. The deputation will certainly not forget that the term (of two months) prescribed by the said powers for the fulfilment of the public hopes, is nearly expired.—Ratisbon, 16th of Vendémiaire, (8th of October).—*La Forêt.*

[*A note exactly similar was delivered in at the same time by baron Buhler for the Russian legation.*]

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*Extract from the amended Plan of Indemnities, delivered at the 13th Sitting of the Diet of Ratisbon, 9th October, 1802.*

IT was said and expected that this would be merely a supplementary plan to that given in on the 18th of August, but the supplementary matter is inserted in the former plan, so as to form an enlarged general plan of indemnities. It contains thirty-four sections, and is printed in four sheets. It will be seen from the following extracts that the grand duke of Tuscany receives by it no further indemnification. Sect. 1. contains the indemnifications of the grand duke of Tuscany, which are the same as in the former plan, only that it is determined that the county of Neuberg, on the left side of the Inn, with all its territorial and feignorial rights, shall be united to Bavaria. Sect. 2. Bavaria shall receive the town and suburbs of Passau, together with all that appertains to it

beyond the Inn and the Iltz, and a circle of 500 klafters from the extreme end of the said suburbs; as also the abbey of Waldsassen and Eberach, with exception of all rights, properties, and ecclesiastical revenues, which lie in the city and territory of Augsburg. Sect. 3. Prussia receives all the rights and property of Mentz, in Thuringia, as also the abbey of Kappenberg. The rest of the bishopric of Munster, which is not given to Prussia, is allotted to several princes. Sect. 4. To the king of England and elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, for his claims to the county of Sayn Altenkirchen, Hildersheim, Corvey, and Hoster, and his rights and property in the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, and in the territory of the latter, as shall be hereafter particularly stipulated, and for the cession of the district of Wilsnhausen—the bishopric of Osnabruck. To the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele, the abbey of Gandersheim and Helmstadt, under condition of paying a constant rent of 2000 florins to the princess Amelia of Dessau. Sect. 5. The margrave of Baden receives likewise the Nassian districts Lichtenau and Wildstadt; the abbey of Reichenau, Oeheningen, the provostship and chapter of Odenheim, and the immediate and mediate rights and possessions which depend on the public establishments and corporations on the left bank of the Rhine, and to the south of the Necker. Sect. 6. The duke of Wirtemburgh receives likewise Schonthal, Camburg, with their sovereignties, as also Rothminster, Heiligenthal, Obristenfeld, Holzhausen, Margareth-hausen, and all the abbey, convents, and chapters in



in the same, on paying certain constant rents to different princes. Sect. 7. The landgrave of Hesse Cassel receives for his claims to Corvey, the Mentz districts of Naumburg and Neustadt, and the town of Geirhausen, under condition of paying a constant rent of 22,500 florins to the landgrave of Hesse-Rothenburg. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, for surrendering certain rights on the cities of Wetzlar and Frankfort, and some Hessian districts, receives the duchy of Westphalia and different districts of Mentz, subject to a constant rent, &c. Sect. 12. Nassau Dillenburg, the late hereditary stadtholder, receives the abbeys and provostships of Hossen, St. Gerold, Banderen, and all the chapters, provostships, and convents situate in the territory assigned him. Sect. 25. The seat of Mentz shall be transferred to the cathedral of Ratisbon, and the dignity of elector, arch-chancellor and primate of Germany, shall be perpetually united to it. His metropolitan jurisdiction shall extend over the old ecclesiastical provinces of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, as far as they extend on the right bank of the Rhine, and excepting the territory of the king of Prussia. The elector of Mentz receives the principality and city of Ratisbon, and Wetzlar, with the title of a county. Sect. 27. The college of imperial cities shall for the future consist of the free and independent cities of Augsburgh, Lubeck, Nuremburgh, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburgh. They shall possess their respective territories in full sovereignty and jurisdiction. They shall also enjoy a perfect neutrality in all wars of the empire, and shall be always exempt

from any military contribution, ordinary or extraordinary; and in all questions of war or peace, shall be entirely and necessarily dispensed from acceding to the resolutions of the empire; they shall also separately receive the following indemnities, &c.

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*Letter of the French and Russian Ministers to the Directorial Minister at Ratisbon: Dated Ratisbon, 15th October, 1802.*

AS the principles inseparably connected with the distribution of the indemnities in the declarations made in the name of the mediating powers, on the 18th of August last, and reproduced with modifications, which they consented to in the general plan of the 8th of October, ought to be entirely comprehended in the *conclusum*, which the extraordinary deputation is about to form immediately: in regard to the whole, the undersigned (minister extraordinary of the French republic, and the minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of Russia) take the earliest opportunity of proposing, after the enlightened reflections made to them by several of the sub-delegates, that the eleventh of these principles be announced in the following manner: Eleventhly, the preceding dispositions render of no avail the pretensions which existed, both to the territories become French, and to those which existing to property given in the room of others on the left bank of the Rhine, shall not be produced, examined, and settled in an amicable manner within the course of a year. This mode of expression, which at first seemed sufficiently explicit,



plicit, according to the term fixed in the twelfth principle, for every transaction whatever, expresses better indeed the provident intention of the mediating powers, and corresponds better to the solicitude of the deputation for the general good.

(Signed)

LAFORÉ.

BARON DE BUHLER.

*Note addressed by the Imperial Plenipotentiary to the Deputation, informing them of his Accession to the Conclusum of the 16th.*

THE minister plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty discovers, in the two conclusums that have been communicated to him on the part of the deputation of the empire, propositions well calculated to prepare the speedy and definitive arrangement of the objects reserved by the treaty of Luneville for a particular convention. Always ready to contribute, on his part, with a sincere zeal to that speedy arrangement, he has in pursuance of these propositions, under a restriction, however, conformable, no doubt, to the intentions of the deputation, respecting the administration of the objects assigned as indemnities to the counts of the empire, addressed without delay a letter, a copy of which is annexed, to the duke of Wirtemberg and the margrave of Baden; as likewise the two notes, copies of which are annexed, to the ministers of the mediating powers.

(Signed)

BARON DE HUGEL.

*Ratisbon, 18th Oct. 1802.*

*Definitive Conclusum adopted by the Deputation of the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 21st of October, and the Opinion of Austria on the General Plan of Indemnities.*

IT shall be declared to the ministers of the mediating powers, that the deputation have maturely weighed, according to its importance, the new general plan which was transmitted to them under the date of the 8th of this month. They acknowledge, in the first place, the benevolent regard which the mediating powers and their ministers have had for the representations and remarks which the deputation have made upon the first declaration. They acknowledge besides, with the warmest gratitude, not only the benevolent views and efforts by which the mediating powers have sought to accelerate the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the empire, but also the indefatigable zeal with which their ministers have sought, hitherto, to fulfil this task. And as the doubt which the deputation still had, upon the subject of the new plan, is done away by the illustration given in the notes of the 13th and 19th of this month, they make no more difficulty in accepting, in all its extent, the general plan of the 8th. In consequence they will adopt, without delay, conformably to that plan, the necessary decisions upon the regulations to be made; they will unite the whole in one act, in order to be able to communicate it to the ministers of the mediating powers. The present conclusum shall be delivered, in the accustomed forms, to the imperial plenipotentiary, with the request that he will adhere to it, and communicate



municate it to the mediating powers. The minister of the Teutonic order lamented that the conclusum was drawn up, without waiting for the instructions he expected to receive. In the same sitting in which the conclusum was passed, the minister of Austria gave his vote upon the general plan of the indemnities; it is as follows;—

“ In conformity with the instructions of his court, the sub-delegate considers the object of the deliberation under two points of view; that is, under that of the justice of the claims made to the deputation of the empire for his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany, and next under that of the conciliatory dispositions and measures of the imperial and royal court. The sub-delegate establishes, that France, as a contracting party at the peace of Luneville, cannot conclude any convention with others, nor prescribe plans of indemnities which attack any stipulations whatever of that treaty; on the other hand, the part of mediator does not give the faculty of injuring the rights of a party interested, and the deputation cannot accede to a plan which injures the treaty of Luneville, considered as the basis and motive of their being convoked. By the treaty of Luneville, the grand duke of Tuscany is to be indemnified completely; and that indemnity is neither to be found in the first nor the second plan of indemnities; and to the surprise of the imperial royal court, no regard has been had in the modified plan to the representations made upon the subject, though measures have been taken to answer all other claims. In equity no one can put a false interpretation upon the dispositions of his imperial ma-

jesty, if he sees himself under the necessity of protecting, in the most solemn manner, the rights of his august brother, and of *protesting against the adoption of the modified plan of the mediating powers*. The legitimacy of this protest cannot be invalidated by any essential reason founded upon the public law of Germany; neither by the majority of votes of the deputation, because that majority has not authorised the deputation to outstep the limits and end of its full powers; neither by the invariability of the mediating powers, because these regulations ought to be guided by the legitimacy of the demand, and not by determinations which have their source in dispositions, friendly, but not emanating from any strength of right. It could not be opposed to this demand, that the mass of the indemnities is not equal to the mass of claims; for in that case, the number ought to be restricted to that which is expressed in the treaty, and then the restriction arising from the insufficiency of the mass of indemnities should be applied not to one single part, but to all. Nevertheless, these principles are often departed from in the plan of indemnities. The sub-delegate then states, that the negotiations are still in train at Paris; that his court has lately made, by its ambassador, propositions to the French government, which prove its extreme moderation as well as its conciliatory dispositions and just regards for the parties interested, and from which it has just ground to expect a happy result. The imperial royal court flatters itself with having by such equitable propositions evidently manifested the nature of its conciliatory dispositions, and the price



which it attaches to the interference and to the friendly propositions of the mediating powers. After this it has so much the more reason to hope that these powers will have, by reciprocity, just regards for his royal highness the grand duke, and that they will please to make in their plan of indemnities such modifications as the imperial royal court can agree to. It must be seen from this statement, that the imperial and royal court cannot incur the least reproach of delay; far from it, the sub-delegate must regret that the best intentions and conciliatory measures have not been received on the part of the mediating powers, nor by any of the co-estates to the deputation, with that eagerness, which would have removed, and still may remove by some means or other, all the difficulties. The general state of things is not besides sufficiently pressing to cause apprehension of danger in a more mature discussion. All Europe is tranquil, and wishes to maintain the peace. Germany awaits the decision of its fate with patience and firmness. France has every reason to be content with the advantages which she has obtained from the peace, and has no reason to envy the royal and imperial court the execution of the stipulations which concern it, and still less to refuse it. The emperor Alexander I. is a monarch friendly to peace and justice; he will see in this extreme moderation of a faithful friend of his empire this new proof of her good intentions. Austria, far from envying any body his just pretensions, is ready to sacrifice more than half of her just claims to facilitate her settlement of the business of the indemnities.

As to Passau, the imperial and royal court is disposed to consent to the abstraction of the part of that bishopric situate beyond the Inn and the Danube, provided there be given to the archduke some other advantage in exchange. She is also disposed to make her troops evacuate that part of Passau, if the elector palatine, on his part, shall undertake not to occupy it, until, by some arrangement of indemnity, his royal highness the grand duke, shall be secured according to the sentiments of moderation above expressed."

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*Note presented at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 25th of October, by Baron Bild, the Swedish Deputy for Anterior Pomerania.*

THE under-signed minister plenipotentiary from his Swedish majesty to the diet of the empire, conceives that the time is arrived which requires him to break silence, since the German empire is threatened with new dangers and divisions, which render it necessary for all the members of the empire to unite with their head, to maintain their independence, without which there can be no durable tranquillity or security. The king of Sweden, who is so fortunate as to have lost no territory during the war, is too generous to wish any augmentation of his possessions in Germany, and therefore can have no other object than the true welfare of the German empire and its legal rights and independence. Actuated by these sentiments, his majesty would have hesitated to take any part in the affairs of the empire, had he not found that foreign powers have inter-  
fered



terfered in the present important transactions. His majesty, therefore, as a prince of the empire, and a guarantee of its constitution, is certainly justified in taking a part in the deliberations. His majesty acknowledges the necessity of changes in the German empire, on the equitable principles already admitted, in order to indemnify those princes of the empire who, by the mutable fortune of the war lately concluded, have lost their territories; but such changes, according to these same principles, must be made with all possible propriety and justice, so that those only may receive indemnifications who have suffered actual losses. In conclusion, his majesty considers it as a duty again to remind the diet of the empire, that an improper and dangerous example has been given, by the occupation of territories with an armed force, before the right to them has been legally acknowledged, and that it is necessary, by an express declaration, to prevent the same in future.

BILD.

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*Communication from the Imperial Plenipotentiary at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 26th of October.*

HIS imperial majesty has been pleased to announce, by his sub-delegate, to the deputation extraordinary of the empire, that having, agreeably to his anxiety for the maintenance of tranquillity, removed every obstacle which opposed the success of his negotiations at Paris, and having taken for the basis of the conclusive arrangement the supplement of indemnity offered by the French government itself,

for his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany, his majesty hopes to see instantly established an amicable understanding, which will have for its immediate consequence, the most satisfactory regulation of the business with which the deputation is charged. Since, from the nature of this affair, his imperial majesty must reserve to himself a final approbation, he has no doubt but that the co-estates which form a part of the deputation will content themselves with this preliminary declaration, and will repose in him, on that head, the confidence which he thinks he merits, after having given so many proofs of the sincerity of his views, and the moderation of his sentiments.

[*After the perusal of the above communication, a declaration to the same effect was made by the minister of Bohemia.*]

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*Note addressed by the French Minister at the Diet of Ratisbon to the Imperial Plenipotentiary, and to the Sub-Delegate for Bohemia, and which had been communicated to him by the said Minister, and afterwards by the Russian Minister.*

THE undersigned received on the 26th instant, a note of the imperial plenipotentiary and the sub-delegate of Bohemia, containing the communication of the same wishes which they made at the opening of the extraordinary deputation of the empire: he finds with confidence, and with the most lively interest, the hope of the approaching co-operation of his imperial majesty, in the intention of the mediating powers, and is very far from doubting that his majesty has



has not made propositions the most proper, to remove every difficulty. That object may, however, be accomplished, without the deputation suspending its labours, which are too necessary for the tranquillity of Germany, and which at the same time will actuate the moment so much desired by his imperial majesty himself. The undersigned seizes with true pleasure, this opportunity of renewing, as well to his excellency the imperial plenipotentiary as to the sub-delegate of Bohemia, the insurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

LAFORÉ.

Ratisbon, Oct. 30, 1802.

*Proclamation issued by the King of Prussia at Hildesheim.*

HIS majesty the king of Prussia, &c. our most gracious sovereign, after an examination of the accusations spread against the order of La Trappe, in obedience to an order from the cabinet, of the 18th ult. has been pleased to allow the monks of La Trappe to remain in the country for the present, and till their further destination shall be arranged, but on condition that they shall neither take novices, nor bring into the country members of any other establishment of monks of La Trappe. They are also commanded, under the severest penalties, immediately to give up their establishment, for the education of children, and to restore all their pupils to their parents. All parents, and guardians, whose residence is not known, are hereby required immediately to take back their children, and to apply for

that purpose to the magistracy at Paderborn, who are commanded to lend them all possible assistance in claiming their children.

Done at Paderborn, Nov. 1, 1802,  
by his majesty's special command,

SCHULENBERG.

*Royal Patent Ordinance relative to the Occupation of the Bishopric of Osnaburg, has been published in that Bishopric: it is dated Hanover, Nov. 4, 1802.*

WE, George the third, &c. signify to the canons and other clergy, to the knights, vassals, burgers, inhabitants, and subjects of the late bishopric of Osnaburg, our royal favour and good will. Forasmuch as by the late relation of the indemnities in Germany, in pursuance of the peace of Luneville, adopted by the deputation of the empire at Ratisbon, the late bishopric of Osnaburg, with all its dependencies, is secularized and assigned to us and our house, as an hereditary principality; and as such has been accepted by us, and as we have agreed with respect to its cession and evacuation, with its sovereign, our beloved prince Frederick duke of York and Albany, we have thought good, and resolved to take possession of the said principality of Osnaburg, with all its dependencies, and the government of the same for us and our house; and for that purpose, have appointed our state and cabinet-minister, Christian-Louis-Augustus Von Arnswaldt, our commissioner plenipotentiary, and have ordered our troops to march. We, therefore, by this patent, take on ourselves



selves the government of the principality of Osnaburg, and require the canons and other clergy, the knights, vassals, burgers, and other inhabitants and subjects, to acknowledge us as their only sovereign, and to be true and faithful to us, our heirs and successors. We cannot doubt but they will deport themselves peaceably on this occasion, and render obedience to all orders which may be signified to them in our name, by our minister plenipotentiary, and that they will transfer to us, the fidelity and duty they shewed to their former sovereign, in which case they may rely with full confidence on our unwearied care for their welfare, and paternal protection and favour. —*Ad Mandatum Regis et Electoris Speciale.*

KIELMANNSEGGE,  
AENWALDT,  
DOCKEN.

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*Substance of the Declaration made by the Sub-Delegate of Bohemia, in the 32d Sitting of the Deputation at Ratisbon, held on the 8th of December, 1802.*

HIS imperial majesty has seen with pleasure, the laudable zeal with which the deputation has sought to provide for the support of all those who will suffer by the secularizations, and he accedes with all his heart, to the arrangements made in that respect. His imperial majesty declares, that the archduke Anthony renounces formally, and without reserve, all his rights respecting Cologne and Munster; he declares besides, that on the subject of the occupation of Passau, he has given assurances the most tranqui-

lizing, and invested his ambassador at Paris, with full powers and definitive instructions, in such a manner, that in order to terminate the business, every thing depends at present on the dispositions of the mediating powers. If, however, the deputation, contrary to all expectation, do not wish to wait the issue of that negotiation, it will be necessary to insert in the recess, a clause in favour of the changes which may yet take place in the actual allotment of the indemnities at the conclusion of the said negotiation; and it is only in reserving a similar clause, that the sub-delegate can accede to the recess. His imperial majesty still thinks it is his duty to make the proposition conferring upon the grand duke of Tuscany and the grand master of the Teutonic order, the electoral dignity, and also to propose the establishment in the college of princes, composed, according to the new arrangements, for the most part of protestant states, a certain number of new catholic votes, such a measure being necessary to preserve the equilibrium, and a just proportion between the two religions.

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*Manifesto of Count Mocenigo, Minister Plenipotentiary, on his Arrival at Corfu.*

“ THE emperor of all the Russias, my august master, informed of the troubles which have disorganized the republic, and being deeply affected by learning the evils to which you have been abandoned by anarchy, has formed the generous resolution of re-establishing among you order and tranquillity. My august sovereign,  
faithful



faithful to the treaties by which he has engaged to guarantee your political existence, has sent me to co-operate with you in his name, and to restore peace among you. I therefore invite all the inhabitants in general, and individually, to second me, with all their power, in this enterprize. The land and naval forces which you see assembled, will unite their means to your's. They are destined to promote the reign of public tranquillity, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to the government, and to protect the inviolability of its members, and that of all property, both public and private. I am furnished with sufficient instructions and full powers. Manifest dispositions favourable to the establishment of public order, by abjuring all hatred; range yourselves under the protecting ægis of his imperial majesty, and you will obtain an assurance, by means of his powerful intervention, of maintaining your independence, your safety, and general felicity. This is the only price that my august sovereign requires for all his beneficent intentions; and for myself I seek for no other reward for the care which I shall constantly employ, than that of having contributed to this end with all the fervour of my zeal.

(Signed)

“COUNT GEORGE MOCENIGO,  
Plenipotentiary.”

August 24, 1802.

*Ukase of the Emperor of Russia.*

I HAVE learned, to my extreme sorrow, that on occasion of the frequent fires in the city of Casan, a citizen of that place, on

whom suspicions had fallen, was arrested and examined, and as he did not confess, a confession was extorted from him by the rack, and he was delivered over to justice. During the course of the legal investigation, where it was possible he retracted the confession so extorted, and asserted his innocence, cruelty and prejudice did not listen to his voice, but condemned him to public punishment. During the execution of the sentence, when he could no longer save himself by a false declaration, he appealed to God to witness his innocence, in the presence of all the people, and died in asserting it. So crying an act of cruelty, so oppressive an abuse of confided power, and the violation of the laws in so essential and important an object, induced me to wish to be satisfied of the truth of this occurrence, by a circumstantial examination on the spot, and for that purpose I dispatched express to Casan my adjutant, colonel Aldedyhl, with instructions minutely to examine all the circumstances of the case with his known impartiality. His report, grounded on ocular demonstration, has, to my extreme grief, not only confirmed the accounts I had received, but assures me, that such inhuman and illegal measures have been frequently adopted by that government. I lay this report, and all the proofs on which it is founded, in the original, before the directing senate, and recommend to them immediately to enter upon the examination of them, and to try with the utmost severity of the laws all those who, upon this occasion, shall be found guilty of an abuse of power, either in giving such orders, or in the execution of them,



them, or of manifest partiality, to have no respect to the person of any man, and to proceed to the suspension of the parties from their offices: to propose candidates for the places which depend upon our confirmation, and to fill the remainder according to the established order, with deserving persons of rank. The directing senate, sensible of the importance of this abuse, and to what degree it violates the first principles of the administration of justice, and is subversive of all civil rights, will not neglect to inculcate generally, in the strictest manner, that no one, in any respect, either among the inferior or superior officers of justice, shall order, permit, or put in execution, punishments under threats, or the terrors of an insupportable and cruel infliction; that the ministers of justice, to whom the revision of criminal proceedings lawfully belongs, shall take the personal examinations of the accused according to legal principles; that there be no partial infliction during the examination; and lastly, that all punishments by torture shall be for ever rooted out of the minds of the people, as a disgrace and a reproach to mankind.

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*Russian Ukase, published by the Senate on the 22d of September.*

1st. THE senate is the supreme tribunal of the empire, to which all other courts of justice are subject. The senate, as conservator of the laws, watches over the observation of justice in all courts, has the superintendence of all the imposts and expences of the state, provides means to alleviate the

wants of the people for the preservation of the general peace and tranquillity, and for remedying all illegal proceedings in inferior judicatories. The supreme revision of all civil and criminal affairs belongs to its impartial justice.

2d. The power of the senate is limited only by that of the emperor; it has no other superior.

3d. The emperor alone, in person, presides in the senate.

4th. An ukase of the senate must be executed as well as one of the emperor's. The sovereign alone, or his ukase, can stop the orders of the senate.

5th. Every ukase in the emperor's name, except those which demand particular secrecy, must be delivered to the senate by those to whom they are addressed.

6th. The senate appoints to offices, and bestows promotions, according to the ukases of Dec. 16, 1790, and Aug. 1, 1801.

7th. All colleges, governors, tribunals, immediately dependent on the senate, are to apply to it by means of reports, in all cases of doubt or difficulty, as the procurators or intendants to the procurator-general.

8th. The ukases, designed as reprimands, are to be published by the senate only after complaints have been made of the government courts. The senate itself cannot interfere in any law-suit till it is submitted to it in the regular order of things.

9th. Should an ukase appear, the execution of which presents great difficulties, which is contrary to the laws, or not clearly expressed, the senate is at liberty to make



make representations on it to the emperor; but should no change take place in consequence, the ukase remains in force.

10th. The senators have a right to make the express ukases public.

11th. A senator is bound to make remonstrances concerning such mischievous events in the empire, or violation of the laws, as may come under his knowledge. When in the course of a process he perceives a deviation from the legal order, be it even in the chancery of the senate itself, he is bound to lay it before the senate, that the full power and efficacy of the laws may be employed against the guilty.

12th. We do not expect that any member of the venerable assembly of the senate will allow himself to go beyond the duty of a senator; should such, contrary to expectation, be the case, the senator can be judged only in the general assembly of the senate.

13th. In the general assembly of the senate the final decision is regulated by a majority of votes, consisting of two-thirds; but in the separate divisions, or committees, unanimously.

14th. When there are various opinions in the divisions, should only one senator be against the opinion of all the rest, and the procurator-general cannot bring them to unanimity, the affair shall be brought before a general meeting of the senate.

15th. The registered vote of the senator who differed from the rest, suspends the decision in the division, though he shall in the mean time have left his office or have died. The affair must be brought before the general meeting,

and the opinion of the said senator then heard.

16th. Affairs decided in the division, by the unanimous concurrence of all the senators, without opposition from the procurator-general, shall be regarded and executed as finally decided, without being brought before the general assembly.

17th. In the division, when the procurator-general, or chief procurator, do not agree with the senators, they must lay their reasons before the senate in eight days. If the senate does not then agree, and if the procurator persists in his opinion, the business must be laid before the general assembly of the senate. Should the procurator-general, after the affair has been heard, agree with the opinion of the general assembly, it is considered as finally settled. If not, he must give his reasons in writing; and if he and the senators still persist in their several opinions, it must be referred to the emperor, one or two senators being chosen to explain the grounds which hinder them from renouncing their opinions.

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*Manifesto published the 22d inst. concerning the new Formation of the Department of Administration.*

WE, by the grace of God, Alexander the First, emperor of all the Russias, &c. &c. The welfare of the people, whom an all-wise providence has entrusted to our care, was the first and most sacred aim we proposed to ourselves, when we took upon us the burden of governing the immense extent of the Russian empire.—An empire as va-  
rious



rious in its climates, local advantages, and natural productions, as its inhabitants in religion, privileges, languages, and manners.

Inflamed by the most ardent wish to discover, and to employ all means that can contribute to the easier and more speedy attainment of this object so dear to our heart, we have directed our attention to all the causes and circumstances which may obstruct or promote it; and after a scrupulous examination and comparison of each other, we have fully convinced ourselves that the happiness of the people rests upon a solid and durable foundation, only when the administration has in its hand the means not only to correct all such evils as are evident, and shew themselves by their destructive consequences, but more especially to extirpate them by the root, at their very origin; to remove all causes that might give occasion to the disturbance of public or private tranquillity, to discover and remedy the wants of the people, and with prudence, zeal, and activity, to promote in all things the observation of uninterrupted order, and also the increase of the riches of nature and productions of art, which serve for the foundation of cities, and for the strength of the empire.

The examples of ancient and modern times convince every one that the more suitable the means applied, and the more the maxims of the administration are in consonance, the more harmonious, solid, and perfect will be the whole body politic, and the more content and happy every member of it.

We, therefore, in pursuance of this rule, and the emotions of our heart, following the great genius

of Peter the First, who gave Russia a new face, and bequeathed to us the traces of his wise plans, which his worthy successors have strove to continue; have thought fit to divide the affairs of the empire into several parts, according to their natural relation to each other; and for their better administration, to intrust the superintendence of them to the ministers whom we have appointed; having given them the leading rules by which they are to be guided in the execution of every thing that their duty requires from them, and what we expect from their fidelity, activity, and zeal for the public good. On the directorial senate, whose duties and supreme power we have confirmed by our ukase of this day, we impose the important duty peculiar to this supreme tribunal; to superintend the conduct of the ministers in all the branches intrusted to their administration, and after comparing them with the ordinances of the empire, and the reports delivered directly to the senate from the court, to form their conclusion and make their report to us.

Having established the administration according to these rules, we cherish the flattering hope that it will assist us in establishing the public tranquillity, the solid and indestructible bulwark of the sovereign and the empire, to the maintenance and increase of the general welfare, and in giving to every one his just due; in animating labour, industry, and commerce, in the encouragement of arts and sciences, so absolutely necessary to the happiness of nations; in short to bring all branches of the government into a regular durable order adapted to the end we have in view.

All



All these branches, in their natural connections with each other, all objects appertaining to them, and the first duties of the ministers to whose care we have intrusted them, are accordingly defined and laid down in the following articles.

I. The administration of the affairs of the empire is divided into eight branches, each of which comprehends every thing which by its nature appertains to it, and constitutes that particular department, under the direction of its peculiar minister, whom we now appoint or shall appoint in future. The branches are, 1. The land forces; 2. The marine; 3. Foreign affairs; 4. Administration of justice; 5. Internal affairs; 6. The finances; 7. Commerce; 8. Public instruction.

II. The three chief imperial colleges, i. e. of war, of the admiralty, and of foreign affairs, are each under the direction of its minister, who superintends all courts, and all business dependant thereon; with the last is also united the office for the regulation of ceremonies.

III. As the duties of the ministers of justice will be particularly defined in the code of laws which is now preparing, we hereby command him to be guided, till that shall be published, by the instruction of the attorney-general (procurator-general.)

IV. The minister of the interior is bound to watch over the universal good of the people, the security, tranquillity, and good order of the whole empire.

Under his direction are all the branches of public industry, except the mines; farther the erection and keeping in repair of all public

buildings in the empire. It is also his duty to use his utmost efforts to prevent all scarcity of provisions, and of all the more absolute necessities of life.

And in order to furnish him with all the means and occasions to attain this end, which we proposed in the erection of this department, we do hereby command,

1. All governors, military and civil, to instruct this our minister respecting all affairs touching the administration, police, &c. of their departments, and in the same manner to transmit to us, through his hands, as well the usual reports as those relating to extraordinary occurrences.

2. The chamber of the finance to report to him, through the governors, on every thing relative to the public buildings and their support, and also give him information respecting the amount of the population.

3. All marshals of the nobility and government to make representations concerning the general wants and general good, not only to the governors, but also immediately to this our minister.

4. We confide to his immediate superintendence, 1st. the college of manufactures, excepting the office for the preparation and preservation of paper for bills of exchange and stamped paper;

2d. The college of physicians;

3d. The chief salt office, with all places depending on it;

4th. The general post-office; and

5th. What relates to the economy of the empire.

The college for the administration of foreign colonies, and of agriculture, what concerns matters of



of finance, and the printing of bills of exchange, are excepted.

With respect to the minister of finances, the administration of the revenues must be on such principles as may at the same time prevent the oppression of the people, and be advantageous for the crown, tend to augment the riches of the empire, and provide that the sources of public wealth may never be dried up; but, if possible, rendered more productive. To the jurisdiction of the minister of finance are subordinate—the mines, the mint, the forests, the imperial banks, &c. At the end of every year, the minister must draw up a statement of the public expences for the year following, and present it, together with a general view of the revenue of the ensuing year, to the emperor for confirmation.

The functions of the imperial treasurer remain as before, till further notice.

Those of the minister of commerce, who is at the head of all officers of the customs, remain upon the basis of preceding regulations.

Under the jurisdiction of the minister for public instruction, are the academy of sciences, the universities, all schools and similar establishments, except those which are particularly under the care of the empress mother; also the censure, the publication of the newspapers, and

all periodical works, the public libraries, &c.

Five of these ministers have a colleague, or adjunct minister.

All places and departments send in weekly, to their minister, memoirs concerning the things in course.

In all difficult points the minister makes a report to the emperor, who lays these reports before the senate. Every minister must, at the end of the year, deliver to the emperor a memoir in writing, concerning his administration.

The senate examines this memoir in the presence of the minister, and then delivers it to the emperor, with its opinion concerning his administration, and the state of the affairs intrusted to the minister.

If the senate discovers any abuses, it demands an explanation from the minister, and, in case of need, presents a remonstrance to the emperor.

All ministers are members of the council, and have a seat and vote in the senate.

The ministers must each, on appointed days, give audience to all those who have any representations to make them. The ministers enter upon their offices immediately. The colleague of the minister takes his place on all occasions, but is only answerable for what he has himself signed.









# CHARACTERS.

*Memoirs of the Life and Character of James Harris, Esq. From the new Edition of his Works by the Earl of Malmesbury.*

A new edition of my Father's works having been for some time expected by the public, I have been induced to prefix to it the following short memoirs of his life and character.

THERE are few readers, I believe, who do not desire to know something more of an author than is commonly to be learned merely from his own writings. What he has been in private life, and in his domestic retirement; what appear to have been his habits of study, and of relaxation; how he has conducted himself as a member of society, so as to deserve either praise or blame;—all these are natural topics of enquiry concerning every writer who has attained considerable literary eminence. To gratify a curiosity so reasonable, is one motive which has engaged me in the present undertaking, but I will confess it is not the only one.

The pride which I feel in being the son of such a father, and the gratitude and affection with which I

must ever recollect him, have also powerfully induced me to pay this public tribute of respect to his memory. To his early care of my education, to his judicious introduction of me to respectable friends and patrons, to his constant good advice and excellent example, I am fond of attributing whatever credit I may have acquired in the various active employments that have fallen to my share.

I reflect with the highest pleasure on his having seen me, during many years, engaged in the service of my country; and I can with truth say, that such advantages of rank or distinction as I have been fortunate enough to acquire, which he did not live to witness, have, from that very circumstance, lost much of their value in my estimation.

James Harris, Esq. the writer of these volumes, was the eldest son of James Harris, Esq. of the Close of Salisbury, by his second wife, the Lady Elizabeth Ashley, who was third daughter of Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury, and sister to the celebrated author of the *Characteristics*, as well as to the Hon. Maurice Ashley Cooper, the elegant translator of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. He was born



upon the 20th of July, 1709. The early part of his education was received at Salisbury, under the Rev. Mr. Hele, master of the grammar-school, in the Close, who was long known and respected in the West of England as an instructor of youth.

From Mr. Hele's school, at the age of sixteen, he was removed to Oxford, where he passed the usual number of years as a gentleman commoner of Wadham College. His father, as soon as he had finished his academical studies, entered him at Lincoln's-inn, not intending him for the bar, but, as was then a common practice, meaning to make the study of the law a part of his education.

When he had attained his twenty-fourth year, his father died. This event, by rendering him independent in fortune, and freeing him from all controul, enabled him to exchange the study of the law for other pursuits that accorded better with his inclination.

The strong and decided bent of his mind had always been towards the Greek and Latin classics. These he preferred to every other sort of reading, and to his favourite authors he now applied himself with avidity, retiring from London to the house in which his family had very long resided, in the Close of Salisbury, for the sake of enjoying, without interruption, his own mode of living.

His application, during fourteen or fifteen years, to the best writers of antiquity, continued to be almost unremitting, and his industry was such as is not often exceeded. He rose always very early, frequently at four or five o'clock in the morning, especially during winter.

because he could then most effectually insure a command of time to himself. By these means he was enabled to mix occasionally in the society of Salisbury and its neighbourhood, without too great a sacrifice of his main object, the acquisition of ancient literature.

I have heard my father say, that it was not until many years after his retirement from London that he began to read Aristotle and his commentators, or to enquire so deeply, as he afterwards did, into the Greek philosophy. He had imbibed a prejudice, very common at that time, even among scholars, that Aristotle was an obscure and unprofitable author, whose philosophy had been deservedly superseded by that of Mr. Locke; a notion which my father's own writings have since contributed to correct, with no small evidence and authority.

In the midst, however, of his literary labours, he was not inattentive to the public good, but acted regularly and assiduously as a magistrate for the county of Wilts; giving, in that capacity, occasional proofs of a manly spirit and firmness, without which the mere formal discharge of magisterial duty is often useless and inefficient.

The first fruit which appeared to the world of so many years spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and in habits of deep speculation, was a volume published in 1744, containing three treatises. The first concerning Art—The second concerning Music, Painting, and Poetry—The third concerning Happiness. These treatises, in addition to their merit as original compositions, are illustrated by a variety of learned notes and observations, elucidating



elucidating many difficult passages of ancient writers, the study and examination of whom it was my father's earnest wish to promote and to facilitate. Lord Monboddo, speaking of the dialogue upon Art, praises it, as containing "the best specimen of the dividing, or diæretic manner, as the ancients called it, that is to be found in any modern books with which he is acquainted."

In the month of July, 1745, my father was married to Miss Elizabeth Clarke, daughter and eventually heiress of John Clarke, Esq. of Sandford, near Bridgewater, in the county of Somerset. Five children were the issue of this marriage; two of whom died young; myself and two daughters only having survived my father.

This change in his state of life by no means withdrew his attention from those studies in which he had been used to take so great delight, and which he had cultivated with such advantage and reputation; for in 1751 he published another work, called "Hermes," or a philosophical enquiry concerning universal grammar.—An eulogium so honourable to this publication has been made on it by the learned Dr. Lowth, late bishop of London, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of here inserting it, as of indisputable weight and authority. "Those," says the bishop, in the preface to his English Grammar, "who would enter deeply into the subject, (of universal grammar) will find it fully and accurately handled, with the greatest acuteness of investigation, perspicuity of explication, and elegance of method, in a treatise entitled,

"Hermes, by James Harris, Esq. the most beautiful example of analysis that has been exhibited since the days of Aristotle."

What first led my father to a deep and accurate consideration of the principles of universal grammar, was a book which he held in high estimation, and has frequently quoted in his Hermes, the Minerva of Sanctius. To that writer he confessed himself indebted for abundance of valuable information, of which it appears that he knew well how to profit, and to push his researches on the subject of grammar to a much greater length, by the help of his various and extensive erudition.

From the period of his marriage until the year 1761, my father continued to live entirely at Salisbury, except in the summer, when he sometimes retired to his house at Durnford, near that city. It was there that he found himself most free from the interruption of business, and of company, and at leisure to compose the chief part of those works which were the result of his study at other seasons. His time was divided between the care of his family, in which he placed his chief happiness, his literary pursuits, and the society of his friends and neighbours, with whom he kept up a constant and cheerful intercourse. The superior taste and skill which he possessed in music, and his extreme fondness for hearing it, led him to attend to its cultivation in his native place, with uncommon pains and success; insomuch that, under his auspices, not only the annual musical festival in Salisbury flourished beyond most institutions of the kind, but even the ordinary subscription



Subscription concerts were carried on, by his assistance and directions, with a spirit and effect seldom equalled out of the metropolis. Many of the beautiful selections made from the best Italian and German composers, for these festivals and concerts, and adapted by my father, sometimes to words selected from Scripture, or from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, sometimes to compositions of his own, have survived the occasions on which they were first produced, and are still in great estimation. Two volumes of these selections have been lately published by Mr. Corfe, organist of Salisbury cathedral; the rest remain in manuscript, in possession of my family. His own house, in the mean time, was the frequent scene of social and musical meetings; and I think I do not hazard too much in saying, that he contributed, both by his own conversation, and by the company which he often assembled at his house from various parts, to refine and improve the taste and manners of the place in which he resided.

In 1761, by the interest of his near relation, and very respectable friend, the late Edward Hooper, Esq. of Hum-court in Hampshire, my father was chosen one of the representatives in parliament for the borough of Christ-church, which seat he retained to the day of his death. The year following he accepted the office of one of the lords of the admiralty, from whence he was promoted, in 1763, to be a lord of the treasury. He remained in that situation until the ministry with which he was connected went out of office in 1765; and after that time he did not hold any employment until 1774, when he be-

came secretary and comptroller to the queen. This appointment was always valued by him exceedingly; not only by reason of the handsome and flattering manner in which it was conferred upon him by her majesty, but also on account of the frequent occasions it afforded him of experiencing her majesty's gracious kindness and condescension, of which he had a very high sense, and which were continued to him, without interruption, to the end of his life; for in her service he died.

Although assiduous in the discharge of his parliamentary duty, and occasionally taking a share in debates, my father never contracted any violent spirit of party. He abhorred faction of every kind; nor did he ever relinquish for public business, those still more interesting pursuits which had made the delight and occupation of his earlier years. If they were somewhat intermitted during the sitting of parliament, he renewed them with increased relish and satisfaction on his return into the country. Those who saw him in London, partaking with cheerfulness and enjoyment of a varied and extensive society, and frequenting dramatic and musical entertainments, while, during his stay in Salisbury, he always exercised a respectable but well-regulated hospitality, were surprised that he could have found time to compose and publish, in 1775, another learned work. It contains, under the title of *Philosophical Arrangements*, a part only of a larger work that he had meditated, but did not finish, upon the *Peripatetic Logic*. So far as relates to the *arrangement* of ideas, it is complete; but it has other ob-

jects



jects also in view. It combats, with great force and ability, the atheistical doctrines of chance and materialism, doctrines which have lately been received in France, under the specious garb of modern philosophy, and, issuing from thence, have overspread a great part of Europe; destroying the happiness of mankind, by subverting, in every part of their progress, the foundations of morality and religion.

The last of my father's literary productions was printed in 1780, by the name of *Philological Inquiries*, but not published sooner than 1781. It is a more popular work than any of his former ones; and contains rather a summary of the conclusions to which the philosophy of the ancients had conducted them in their critical inquiries, than a regular and perfect system. The principles on which those conclusions depend are therefore admitted, as being of a more abstruse nature than was agreeable to his design, which was to teach by illustration and example, not by strict demonstration. Indeed this publication appears to have been meant, not only as a retrospective view of those studies which exercised his mind in the full vigour of his life, but likewise as a monument of his affection towards many of his intimate friends. I cannot, therefore, but consider it as a pleasing proof of a mind retaining, at an advanced age, a considerable degree of its former energy and activity, together with, what is still more rarely to be found, an undiminished portion of its candour and benevolence.

Before this last volume was entirely concluded, my father's health

had evidently begun to be very much impaired. He never enjoyed a robust constitution, but for sometime, towards the end of his life, the infirmities under which he laboured had gradually increased. His family at length became apprehensive of a decline, symptoms of which were very apparent, and by none more clearly perceived than himself. This was evident from a variety of little circumstances, but by no means from any impatience or fretfulness, nor yet from any dejection of spirits, such as are frequently incident to extreme weakness of body, especially when it proves to be the forerunner of approaching dissolution. On the contrary, the same equable and placid temper which had distinguished him throughout his whole life, the same tender and affectionate attention to his surrounding family, which he had unceasingly manifested while in health, continued, without the smallest change or abatement to the very last; displaying a mind thoroughly at peace with itself, and able, without disturbance or dismay, to contemplate the awful prospect of futurity.

After his strength had been quite exhausted by illness, he expired calmly on the 22d of December, 1780, in the 72d year of his age.

His remains were deposited in the north aisle of the cathedral church of Salisbury, near those of his ancestors; and I cannot forbear to record tokens of unsolicited respect, honourable to my father's memory, and soothing to the recollection of his family, which were shewn from various quarters upon that melancholy occasion. Six gentlemen, his friends and  
B 3 neighbours,



neighbours, supported the pall. At the western door of the cathedral the corpse was met by the whole choir, and a funeral anthem was performed while the procession moved towards the grave. On the ensuing Sunday, the Rev. Mr. Chaffy, who preached at the cathedral, adverted in his sermon to the recent event of my father's death with such apposite and judi-

cious commendation as at once to mark his own sincere respect for a deceased neighbour, and strongly to excite the sympathy of his audience by the truths delivered concerning him.

A monument was soon after erected to the memory of my father, near the spot where he was interred, on which is the following inscription:

M. S.  
Jacobi Harris Sarisburiensis  
Viri boni, et docti,  
Græcarum Literarum præcipuè periti,  
Cujus Opera accuratissima  
De Artibus elegantioribus  
De Gramaticâ, de Logicâ, de Ethicâ,  
Stylo brevi, limato, simplici,  
Sui More Aristotelis  
Conscripta,  
Posterì laudabunt ultimi.  
Studiis severioribus addictus,  
Communis tamen vitæ officia,  
Et omnia Patris, Mariti,  
Civis, Senatoris munia,  
Et implevit et ornavit.  
Obiit XXII. die Decembris, M,DCC,LXXX.  
Anno Ætatis LXXII.

Above this inscription, a female figure of Philosophy is represented holding, over a medallion of my father, a scroll, with the following inscription:

Τὸ Φερονεῖν  
Μόνον αγαθόν  
Τὸ δ' ἀφερονεῖν  
Κακόν.

It remains for me to add some farther particulars concerning my father, which, I think, are requisite to make his character completely understood.

The distinction by which he was most generally known while living, and by which he is likely to survive to posterity, is that of a man of learning. His profound knowledge of Greek, which he applied more successfully perhaps than any modern writer has done to the study and explanation of ancient philosophy, arose from an early and in-

timate acquaintance with the excellent poets and historians in that language. They, and the best writers of the Augustan age, were his constant and never-failing recreation. By his familiarity with them, he was enabled to enliven and to illustrate his deeper and more abstruse speculations, as every page almost of these volumes will abundantly testify. But his attainments were not confined to ancient philosophy and classical learning. He possessed likewise a general knowledge of modern history, with



## CHARACTERS.

a very distinguishing taste in the fine arts, in one of which, as before observed, he was an eminent proficient. His singular industry empowered him to make these various acquisitions, without neglecting any of the duties which he owed to his family, his friends, or his country. I am in possession of such proofs, besides those already given to the public, of my father's laborious study and reflection, as I apprehend, are very rarely to be met with. Not only was he accustomed, through a long series of years, to make copious extracts from the different books which he read, and to write critical remarks and conjectures on many of the passages extracted, but he was also in the habit of regularly committing to writing such reflections as arose out of his study, which evince a mind carefully disciplined, and anxiously bent on the attainment of self-knowledge, and self-government. And yet, though habituated to deep thinking and laborious reading, he was generally cheerful even to playfulness. There was no pedantry in his manners or conversation, nor was he ever seen either to display his learning with ostentation, or to treat with slight or superciliousness those less informed than himself. He rather sought to make them appear partakers of what he knew, than to mortify them by a parade of his own superiority. Nor had he any of that miserable fastidiousness about him which too often disgraces men of learning, and prevents their being amused or interested, at least their choosing to appear so, by common performances or common events.

It was with him a maxim, that

the most difficult, and infinitely the preferable, sort of criticism, both in literature and in the arts, was that which consists in finding out beauties rather than defects; and although he certainly wanted not judgment to distinguish and to prefer superior excellence of any kind, he was too reasonable to expect it should very often occur, and too wise to allow himself to be disgusted at common weakness or imperfection. He thought, indeed, that the very attempt to please, however it might fall short of its aim, deserved some return of thanks, some degree of approbation: and that to endeavour at being pleased by such efforts, was due to justice, to good nature, and good sense.

Far at the same time, from that presumptuous conceit which is solicitous about mending others, and that moroseness which feeds its own pride by dealing in general censure, he cultivated to the utmost that great moral wisdom, by which we are made humane, gentle, and forgiving; thankful for the blessings of life, acquiescent in the afflictions we endure, and submissive to all the dispensations of providence. He detested the gloom of superstition, and the persecuting spirit by which it is so often accompanied; but he abhorred still more the baneful and destructive system of modern philosophy; and from his early solicitude to inspire me with a hatred of it, it would almost seem that he foresaw its alarming approach and fatal progress. There is no obligation which Jacknowledge with more thankfulness; none that I shall more anxiously endeavour to confer upon my own children, from

a thorough



a thorough conviction of its value and importance.

My father's affection to every part of his family was exemplary and uniform. As a husband, a parent, a master, he was ever kind and indulgent; and it deserves to be mentioned, to his honour, that he thought it no interruption of his graver occupations, himself to instruct his daughters by exercising them daily, both in reading and composition, and writing essays for their improvement, during many of their younger years. No man was a better judge of what belonged to female education, and the elegant accomplishments of the sex, or more disposed to set a high value upon them. But he had infinitely more at heart, that his children should be early habituated to the practice of religion and morality, and deeply impressed with their true principles. To promote this desirable end, he was assiduous, both by instruction and example; being himself a constant attendant upon public worship, and enforcing that great duty upon every part of his family. The deep sense of moral and religious obligation, which was habitual to him, and those benevolent feelings, which were so great a happiness to his family and friends, had the same powerful influence over his public, as his private life. He had an ardent zeal for the prosperity of his country, whose real interests he well understood; and, in his parliamentary conduct, he proved himself a warm friend to the genuine principles of religious and civil liberty, as well as a firm supporter of every branch of our admirable constitution.

*Life of William Gifford, Esq.  
written by Himself.*

From his Translation of Juvenal.

I AM about to enter on a very uninteresting subject: but all my friends tell me that it is necessary to account for the long delay of the following work; and I can only do it by adverting to the circumstances of my life. Will this be accepted as an apology?

I know but little of my family, and that little is not very precise. My great grandfather, (the most remote of it, that I ever recollect to have heard mentioned,) possessed considerable property at Half-worthy, a parish in the neighbourhood of Ashburton; but whether acquired or inherited, I never thought of asking, and do not know.

He was probably a native of Devonshire, for there he spent the last years of his life; spent them too, in some sort of consideration, for Mr. T. (a very respectable surgeon of Ashburton,) loved to repeat to me, when I first grew into notice, that he had frequently hunted with his hounds.

My grandfather was on ill terms with him. I believe, not without sufficient reason, for he was extravagant and dissipated. My father never mentioned his name, but my mother would sometimes tell me that he had ruined the family. That he spent much, I know; but I am inclined to think that his undutiful conduct occasioned my great grandfather to bequeath a part of his property from him.

My father, I fear, revenged in some measure the cause of my great grandfather. He was, as I have heard my mother say, "a  
very



very wild young man, who could be kept to nothing." He was sent to the grammar school at Exeter; from which he made his escape, and entered on board a man of war. He was soon reclaimed from this situation by my grandfather, and left his school a second time, to wander in some vagabond society\*. He was now probably given up, for he was, on his return from this notable adventure, reduced to article himself to a plumber and glazier, with whom he luckily staid long enough to learn the business. I suppose his father was now dead, for he became possessed of two small estates, married my mother, (the daughter of a carpenter at Ashburton,) and thought himself rich enough to set up for himself; which he did, with some credit, at South Molton. Why he chose to fix there, I never inquired; but I learned from my mother, that, after a residence of four or five years, he was again thoughtless enough to engage in a dangerous frolic, which drove him once more to sea. This was an attempt to excite a riot in a methodist chapel; for which his companions were prosecuted, and he fled, as I have mentioned.

My father was a good seaman, and was soon made second in command in the *Lyon*, a large armed transport in the service of government: while my mother (then with child of me) returned to her native place, Ashburton, where I was born, in April, 1757.

The resources of my mother were very scanty. They arose from the rent of three or four small fields, which yet remained unfold. With these, however, she did what she

could for me; and as soon as I was old enough to be trusted out of her sight, sent me to a school-mistress of the name of Parret, from whom I learned in due time to read. I cannot boast much of my acquisitions at this school; they consisted merely of the contents of the "Child's Spelling Book:" but from my mother, who had stored up the literature of a country town, which, about half a century ago, amounted to little more than what was disseminated by itinerant ballad-fingers, or rather, readers, I had acquired much curious knowledge of *Cats-skin*, and the *Golden Bull*, and the *bloody Gardener*, and many other histories equally instructive and amusing.

My father returned from sea in 1764. He had been at the siege of the *Havannah*; and though he received more than a hundred pounds for prize money, and his wages were considerable; yet, as he had not acquired any strict habits of economy, he brought home but a trifling sum. The little property yet left was, therefore, turned into money; a trifle more was got by agreeing to renounce all future pretensions to an estate at *Totness*; and with this, my father set up a second time as a glazier and house-painter. I was now about eight years old, and was put to the free school (kept by *Hugh Smerdon*,) to learn to read and write, and cypher. Here I continued about three years, making a most wretched progress, when my father fell sick and died. He had not acquired wisdom from his misfortunes, but continued wasting his time in unprofitable pursuits, to the great detriment of

\* He had gone with *Bamfylde Moore Carew*, then an old man.



his business. He loved drink for the sake of society, and to this love he fell a martyr; dying of a decayed and ruined constitution, before he was forty. The town's people thought him a shrewd and sensible man, and regretted his death. As for me, I never greatly loved him; I had not grown up with him; and he was too prone to repulse my little advances to familiarity, with coldness or anger. He had certainly some reason to be displeased with me, for I learned little at school, and nothing at home, though he would now and then attempt to give me some insight into the business. As impressions of any kind are not very strong at the age of eleven or twelve, I did not long feel his loss; nor was it a subject of much sorrow to me, that my mother was doubtful of her ability to continue me at school, though I had by this time acquired a love for reading.

I never knew in what circumstances my mother was left: most probably they were inadequate to her support, without some kind of exertion, especially as she was now burthened with a second child, about six or eight months old. Unfortunately she determined to prosecute my father's business; for which purpose she engaged a couple of journeymen, who, finding her ignorant of every part of it, wasted her property and embezzled her money; what the consequence of this double fraud would have been, there was no opportunity of knowing, as in somewhat less than a twelvemonth, my poor mother followed my father to the grave. She was an excellent woman; bore my father's infirmities with patience and good humour, loved her children dearly, and died at last ex-

hausted with anxiety and grief, more on their account than on her own.

I was not quite thirteen when this happened; my little brother was hardly two; and we had not a relation nor a friend in the world. Every thing that was left was seized by a person of the name of C——, for money advanced to my mother. It may be supposed that I could not dispute the justice of his claims; and, as no one else interfered, he was suffered to do as he liked. My little brother was sent to the almshouse, whither his nurse followed him out of pure affection; and I was taken to the house of the person I have just mentioned, who was also my godfather. Respect for the opinion of the town, (which, whether correct or not, was, that he had repaid himself by the sale of my mother's effects,) induced him to send me again to school, where I was more diligent than before, and more successful. I grew fond of arithmetic, and my master began to distinguish me: but these golden days were over in less than three months. C—— sickened at the expence; and, as the people were now indifferent to my fate, he looked round for an opportunity of ridding himself of a useless charge. He had previously attempted to engage me in the drudgery of husbandry. I drove the plough for one day to gratify him, but I left it with a firm resolution to do so no more, and, in despite of his threats and promises, adhered to my determination. In this, I was guided no less by necessity than will. During my father's life, in attempting to clamber up a table, I had fallen backward, and drawn it after me: its edge fell upon my breast, and I never



never recovered the effects of the blow; of which I was made extremely sensible on any extraordinary exertion. Ploughing, therefore, was out of the question, and, as I have already said, I utterly refused to follow it.

As I could write and cypher, (as the phrase is,) C—— next thought of sending me to Newfoundland, to assist in a store-house. For this purpose he negociated with a Mr. Holdsworthy of Dartmouth, who agreed to fit me out. I left Ashburton with little expectation of seeing it again, and, indeed, with little care, and rode with my godfather to the dwelling of Mr. Holdsworthy. On seeing me, this great man observed with a look of pity and contempt, that I was “too small,” and sent me away sufficiently mortified. I expected to be very ill received by my godfather, but he said nothing. He did not, however, choose to take me back himself, but sent me in the passage boat to Totness, from whence I was to walk home. On the passage, the boat was driven by a midnight storm on the rocks, and I escaped with life almost by miracle.

My godfather had now humbler views for me, and I had little heart to resist any thing. He proposed to send me on board one of the Torbay fishing-boats; I ventured, however, to remonstrate against this, and the matter was compromised by my consenting to go on board a coaster. A coaster was speedily found for me at Brixham, and thither I went when little more than thirteen.

My master, whose name was Full, though a gross and ignorant, was not an ill-natured man, at

least, not to me; and my mistress used me with unvarying kindness; moved, perhaps, by my weakness and tender years. In return, I did what I could to requite her, and my good-will was not overlooked.

Our vessel was not very large, nor our crew very numerous. On ordinary occasions, such as short trips to Dartmouth, Plymouth, &c. it consisted only of my master, an apprentice nearly out of his time, and myself: when we had to go farther, to Portsmouth, for example, an additional hand was hired for the voyage.

In this vessel, (the Two Brothers) I continued nearly a twelvemonth; and here I got acquainted with nautical terms, and contracted a love for the sea, which a lapse of thirty years has but little diminished.

It will be easily conceived, that my life was a life of hardship. I was not only a “ship boy on the high and giddy mast,” but also in the cabin, where every menial office fell to my lot: yet, if I was restless and discontented, I can safely say, it was not so much on account of this, as of my being precluded from all possibility of reading; as my master did not possess, nor do I recollect seeing, during the whole time of my abode with him, a single book of any description, except the Coasting Pilot.

As my lot seemed to be cast, however, I was not negligent in seeking such information, as promised to be useful; and I therefore frequented, at my leisure hours, such vessels as dropt into Torbay. On attempting to get on board one of these, which I did at mid-

night,



night, I missed my footing, and fell into the sea. The floating away of the boat, alarmed the man on deck, who came to the ship's side, just in time to see me sink. He immediately threw out several ropes, one of which providentially (for I was unconscious of it) intangled itself about me, and I was drawn up to the surface, till a boat could be got round. The usual methods were taken to recover me, and I awoke in bed the next morning, remembering nothing but the horror I felt, when I first found myself unable to cry out for assistance.

This was not my only escape, but I forbear to speak of them. An escape of another kind was now preparing for me, which deserves all my notice, as it was decisive of my future fate.

On Christmas-day, (1770) I was surprised by a message from my godfather, saying, that he had sent a man and horse to bring me to Ashburton; and desiring me to set out without delay. My master, as well as myself, supposed it was to spend the holydays there; and he, therefore, made no objection to my going. We were, however, both mistaken.

Since I had lived at Brixham, I had broken off all connection with Ashburton. I had no relation there but my poor brother, who was yet too young for any kind of correspondence; and the conduct of my godfather towards me did not intitle him to any portion of my gratitude, or kind remembrance. I lived, therefore, in a sort of fullen independence on all I had formerly known, and thought without regret of being abandoned by every one to my fate. But I

had not been overlooked. The women of Brixham, who travelled to Ashburton twice a week with fish, and who had known my parents, did not see me, without kind concern, running about the beach in a ragged jacket and trowsers. They mentioned this to the people of Ashburton, and never without commiserating my change of condition. This tale, often repeated, awakened at length the pity of their auditors, and, as the next step, their resentment against the man who had reduced me to such a state of wretchedness. In a large town, this would have had little effect, but in a place like Ashburton, where every report speedily becomes the common property of all the inhabitants, it raised a murmur which my godfather found himself either unable or unwilling to withstand: he therefore determined, as I have just observed, to recall me; which he could easily do, as I wanted some months of fourteen, and consequently was not yet bound.

All this I learned on my arrival; and my heart, which had been cruelly shut up, now opened to kinder sentiments and fairer views.

After the holydays, I returned to my darling pursuit, arithmetic: my progress was now so rapid, that in a few months I was at the head of the school, and qualified to assist my master (Mr. E. Furlong) on any extraordinary emergency. As he usually gave me a trifle on those occasions, it raised a thought in me, that by engaging with him as a regular assistant, and undertaking the instruction of a few evening scholars, I might, with a little additional aid, be enabled to support myself. God knows, my ideas of support



support at this time were of no very extravagant nature. I had, besides, another object in view. Mr. Hugh Smerdon (my first master) was now grown old and infirm; it seemed unlikely that he should hold out above three or four years; and I fondly flattered myself, that notwithstanding my youth, I might possibly be appointed to succeed him. I was in my fifteenth year, when I built these castles: a storm, however, was collecting, which unexpectedly burst upon me, and swept them all away.

On mentioning my little plan to C——, he treated it with the utmost contempt; and told me, in his turn, that as I had learned enough, and more than enough, at school, he must be considered as having fairly discharged his duty, (so indeed he had;) he added, that he had been negotiating with his cousin, a shoe-maker of some respectability, who had liberally agreed to take me without a fee, as an apprentice. I was so shocked at this intelligence, that I did not remonstrate; but went in fullness and silence to my new master, to whom I was soon after bound, till I should attain the age of twenty-one.

The family consisted of four journeymen, two sons about my own age, and an apprentice somewhat older. In these, there was nothing remarkable; but my master himself was the strangest creature! He was a presbyterian, whose reading was entirely confined to the small tracts published on the Exeter controversy. As these (at least his portion of them) were all on one side, he entertained no doubt of their infallibility, and being noisy and disputatious, was

sure to silence his opponents; and became, in consequence of it, intolerably arrogant and conceited. He was not, however, indebted solely to his knowledge of the subject for his triumph: he was possessed of Fenning's dictionary, and he made a most singular use of it. His custom was to fix on any word in common use, and then to get by heart the synonym, or periphrasis by which it was explained in the book; this he constantly substituted for the other, and as his opponents were commonly ignorant of his meaning, his victory was complete.

With such a man I was not likely to add much to my stock of knowledge, small as it was; and, indeed, nothing could well be smaller. At this period I had read nothing but a black letter romance called *Parismus* and *Parismenus*, and a few loose magazines, which my mother had brought from South Molton. The Bible, indeed, I was well acquainted with; it was the favourite study of my grandmother, and reading it frequently with her had impressed it strongly on my mind; these then with the imitation of *Thomas à Kempis*, which I used to read to my mother on her death bed, constituted the whole of my literary acquisitions.

As I hated my new profession with a perfect hatred, I made no progress in it; and was consequently little regarded in the family, of which I sunk by degrees into the common drudge: this did not much disquiet me, for my spirits were now humbled. I did not, however, quite resign the hope of one day succeeding to Mr. Hugh Smerdon, and, therefore, secretly prosecuted



profecuted my favourite study, at every interval of leisure.

These intervals were not very frequent; and when the use I made of them was found out, they were rendered still less so. I could not guess the motives for this at first; but at length, I discovered that my master destined his youngest son for the situation to which I aspired.

I possessed at this time but one book in the world: it was a treatise on Algebra, given to me by a young woman, who had found it in a lodging house. I considered it as a treasure; but it was a treasure locked up: for it supposed the reader to be well acquainted with simple equation, and I knew nothing of the matter. My master's son had purchased Fenning's Introduction: this was precisely what I wanted, but he carefully concealed it from me, and I was indebted to chance alone for stumbling upon his hiding place. I set up for the greatest part of several nights successively, and before he suspected that his treatise was discovered, had completely mastered it; I could now enter upon my own; and, that carried me pretty far into the science.

This was not done without difficulty. I had not a farthing on earth, nor a friend to give me one: pen, ink and paper, therefore, (in despite of the flippant remark of Lord Orford,) were, for the most part, as completely out of my reach, as a crown and sceptre. There was, indeed, a resource, but the utmost caution and secrecy were necessary in applying to it. I beat out pieces of leather as smooth as possible, and

wrought my problems upon them with a blunted awl: for the rest, my memory was tenacious, and I could multiply and divide by it to a great extent.

Hitherto I had not so much as dreamt of poetry: indeed, I scarce knew it by name; and, whatever may be said of the force of nature, I certainly never "lisp'd in numbers." I recollect the occasion of my first attempt: it is, like all the rest of my non-adventures, of so unimportant a nature, that I should blush to call the attention of the idlest reader to it, but for the reason alledged in the introductory paragraph. A person, whose name escapes me, had undertaken to paint a sign for an ale-house: it was to be a lion, but the unfortunate artist produced a dog. On this awkward affair, one of my acquaintance wrote a copy of what he called verse: I liked it, but fancied I could compose something more to the purpose: I tried, and by the unanimous suffrages of my shop-mates was allowed to have succeeded. Notwithstanding this encouragement, I thought no more of verse, till another occurrence, as trifling as the former, furnished me with a fresh subject: and so I went on, till I had got together about a dozen of them. Certainly nothing on earth was ever so deplorable: such as they were, however, they were talked of in my little circle, and I was sometimes invited to repeat them, even out of it. I never committed a line to paper for two reasons; first, because I had no paper; and secondly, perhaps I might be excused from going farther; but in truth I was afraid, for my master had



had already threatened me for inadvertently hitching the name of one of his customers into a rhyme.

The repetitions of which I speak were always attended with applause, and sometimes with favours more substantial: little collections were now and then made, and I have received sixpence in an evening. To one who had long lived in the absolute want of money, such a resource seemed like a Peruvian mine. I furnished myself by degrees with paper, and, what was of more importance, with books of Geometry, and of the higher branches of Algebra, which I cautiously concealed. Poetry, even at this time, was no amusement of mine: it was subservient to other purposes; and I only had recourse to it, when I wanted money for my mathematical pursuits.

But the clouds were gathering fast. My master's anger was raised to a terrible pitch by my indifference to his concerns, and still more by the reports which were daily brought to him of my presumptuous attempts at versification. I was required to give up my papers, and when I refused, my garret was searched, my little hoard of books discovered, and removed, and all future repetitions prohibited in the strictest manner.

This was a very severe stroke, and I felt it most sensibly; it was followed by another severer still; a stroke which crushed the hopes I had so long, and so fondly cherished, and resigned me at once to despair. Mr. Hugh Smerdon, on whose succession I had calculated, died, and was succeeded by a person not much older than myself, and certainly not so well qualified for the situation.

I look back to that part of my life, which immediately followed this event, with little satisfaction; it was a period of gloom, and savage unsociability: by degrees I sunk into a kind of corporeal torpor; or, if roused into activity by the spirit of youth, wasted the exertion in splenetic and vexatious tricks, which alienated the few acquaintances compassion, had yet left me. So I crept on in silent discontent; unfriended and unpitied; indignant at the present, careless of the future, an object at once of apprehension and dislike.

From this state of abjectness, I was raised by a young woman of my own class. She was a neighbour; and, whenever I took my solitary walk, with my Wolfius in my pocket, she usually came to the door, and by a smile, or a short question put in the friendliest manner, endeavoured to solicit my attention. My heart had been long shut to kindness, but the sentiment was not dead in me: it revived at the first encouraging word; and the gratitude I felt for it was the first pleasing sensation I had ventured to entertain for many dreary months.

Together with gratitude, hope, and other passions still more enlivening, took place of that uncomfortable gloominess, which so lately possessed me: I returned to my companions, and, by every winning art in my power, strove to make them forget my former repulsive ways. In this, I was not unsuccessful; I recovered their good will, and by degrees, grew to be somewhat of a favourite.

My master still murmured; for the business of the shop went on



no better than before : I comforted myself, however, with the reflection that my apprenticeship was drawing to a conclusion, when I determined to renounce the employment for ever, and to open a private school.

In this humble and obscure state, poor beyond the common lot, yet flattering my ambition with day dreams, which, perhaps, would never have been realized, I was found in the twentieth year of my age, by Mr. William Cookeſley, a name never to be pronounced by me without veneration. The lamentable doggerel, which I have already mentioned, and which had passed from mouth to mouth among people of my own degree, had by some accident or other reached his ear, and given him a curiosity to inquire after the author.

It was my good fortune to interest his benevolence. My little history was not untinged with melancholy, and I laid it fairly before him : his first care was to console, his second, which he cherished to the last moment of his existence, was to relieve and support me.

Mr. Cookeſley was not rich : his eminence in his profession, which was that of a surgeon, procured him, indeed, much employment ; but, in a country town, men of science are not the most liberally rewarded ; he had besides, a very numerous family, which left him little for the purposes of general benevolence : that little, however, was cheerfully bestowed, and his activity and zeal, were always at hand to supply the deficiencies of his fortune.

On examining into the nature of my literary attainments, he found

them absolutely nothing : he heard, however, with equal surprise and pleasure, that amidst the grossest ignorance of books, I had made a very considerable progress in the mathematics. He engaged me to enter into the details of this affair ; and, when he learned that I had made it in circumstances of discouragement and danger, he became more warmly interested in my favour, as he now saw a possibility of serving me.

The plan that occurred to him, was naturally that which had so often suggested itself to me. There were, indeed, several obstacles to be overcome : I had eighteen months yet to serve ; my hand-writing was bad, and my language very incorrect ; but nothing could slacken the zeal of this excellent man ; he procured a few of my poor attempts at rhyme, dispersed them amongst his friends and acquaintance, and when my name was become somewhat familiar to them, set on foot a subscription for my relief. I still preserve the original paper ; its title was not very magnificent, though it exceeded the most sanguine wishes of my heart : it ran thus, “ a subscription for purchasing the remainder of the time of William Gifford, and for enabling him to improve himself in writing and English Grammar.” Few contributed more than five shillings, and none went beyond ten and sixpence : enough, however, was collected to free me from my apprenticeship, (the sum my master received was six pounds,) and to maintain me for a few months, during which I assiduously attended the Rev. Thomas Smerdon.

At the expiration of this period,  
it



it was found, that my progress (for I will speak the truth in modesty,) had been more considerable than my patrons expected: I had also written in the interim several little pieces of poetry, less rugged, I suppose, than my former ones, and certainly with fewer anomalies of language. My preceptor, too, spoke favourably of me; and my benefactor, who was now become my father and my friend, had little difficulty in persuading my patrons to renew their donations, and continue me at school for another year. Such liberality was not lost upon me; I grew anxious to make the best return in my power, and I redoubled my diligence. Now, that I am sunk into indolence, I look back with some degree of scepticism to the exertions of that period.

In two years and two months from the day of my emancipation, I was pronounced by Mr. Smerdon, fit for the University. The plan of opening a writing school had been abandoned almost from the first; and, Mr. Cookeley looked round for some one who had interest enough to procure me some little office at Oxford. This person, who was soon found, was Thomas Taylor, Esq. of Denbury, a gentleman to whom I had already been indebted for much liberal and friendly support. He procured me the place of Bib. Lect. at Exeter college; and this, with such occasional assistance from the country, as Mr. Cookeley undertook to provide, was thought sufficient to enable me to live, at least, till I had taken a degree.

During my attendance on Mr. Smerdon, I had written, as I had observed before, several tuneful

trifles, some as exercises, others voluntarily, (for poetry was now become my delight,) and, not a few at the desire of my friends. When I became capable, however, of reading Latin and Greek with some degree of facility, that gentleman employed all my leisure hours in translations from the Classics; and, indeed, I do not know a single school book, of which I did not render some portion into English verse. Among others, Juvenal engaged my attention, or rather my master's, and I translated the tenth satire for a holiday task. Mr. Smerdon was much pleased with this, (I was not undelighted with it myself;) and, as I was now become fond of the author, he easily persuaded me to proceed with him, and I translated in succession the third, the fourth, the twelfth, and I think the eighth Satires. As I had no end in view, but that of giving a temporary satisfaction to my benefactors, I thought little more of these, than of many other things of the same nature, which I wrote from time to time, and, of which I never copied a single line.

On my removing to Exeter College, however, my friend, ever attentive to my concerns, advised me to copy my translation of the Tenth Satire, and present it, on my arrival, to the Rev. Dr. Stinton, (afterwards Rector) to whom Mr. Taylor had given me an introductory letter: I did so, and it was kindly received. Thus encouraged, I took up the first and second satires, (I mention them in the order they were translated,) when my friend, who had sedulously watched my progress, first started the idea of my going



through the whole, and publishing it by subscription, as a means of increasing my means of subsistence. To this I readily acceded, and finished the thirteenth, eleventh, and fifteenth satires: the remainder were the work of a much later period.

When I had got thus far, we thought it a fit time to mention our design; it was very generally approved of by my friends; and, on the first of January, 1781, the subscription was opened by Mr. Cookesley at Ashburton, and by myself at Exeter College.

So bold an undertaking, so precipitately announced, will give the reader, I fear, a higher opinion of my conceit than of my talents: neither the one nor the other, however, had the smallest concern with the business, which originated solely in ignorance: I wrote verses with great facility, and I was simple enough to imagine, that little more was necessary for a translator of Juvenal! I was not, indeed, unconscious of my inaccuracies: I knew that they were numerous, and, that I had need of some friendly eye to point them out, and some judicious hand to rectify or remove them: but for these as well as for every thing else, I looked to Mr. Cookesley, and that worthy man, with his usual alacrity of kindness; undertook the laborious task of revising the whole translation. My friend was no great Latinist, perhaps I was the better of the two; but he had taste and judgment, which I wanted. What advantages might have been ultimately derived from them, there was unhappily no opportunity of ascertaining, as it pleased the Almighty to call him

to himself, by a sudden death, before we had quite finished the first satire. He died with a letter of mine unopened in his hands.

This event, which took place on the 15th of January, 1781, afflicted me beyond measure. I was not only deprived of a most faithful and affectionate friend, but of a zealous and ever active protector, on whom I confidently relied for support: the sums that were still necessary for me, he always collected; and it was to be feared, that the assistance which was not solicited with warmth, would insensibly cease to be afforded.

In many instances, this was actually the case: the desertion, however, was not general; and I was encouraged to hope, by the unexpected friendship of Servington Savery, a gentleman who voluntarily stood forward as my patron, and watched over my interests with kindness and attention.

Some time before Mr. Cookesley's death, we had agreed, that it would be proper to deliver out with the terms of subscription, a specimen of the manner in which the translation was executed: to obviate any idea of selection, a sheet was accordingly taken from the beginning of the first satire. My friend died while it was in the press.

After a few melancholy weeks, I resumed the translation; but found myself utterly incapable of proceeding. I had been so accustomed to connect Mr. Cookesley's name with every part of it, and I laboured with such delight in the hope of giving him pleasure, that now, when he appeared to have left me in the midst of my enter-



enterprize, and I was abandoned to my own efforts, I seemed to be engaged in a hopeless struggle, without motive or end: and his idea, which was perpetually recurring to me, brought such bitter anguish with it, that I shut up the work with feelings bordering on distraction.

To relieve my mind I had recourse to other pursuits. I endeavoured to become more intimately acquainted with the classics, and to acquire some of the modern languages; by permission too, or rather recommendation, of the rector and fellows, I also undertook the care of a few pupils: this removed much of my anxiety respecting my future means of support. I have a heart-felt pleasure in mentioning this indulgence of my college: it could arise from nothing but the liberal desire inherent, I think, in the members of both our universities, to encourage every thing that bears the most distant resemblance to talents: for I had no claims on them from any particular exertions.

The lapse of many months had now soothed, and tranquilized my mind, and I once more returned to the translation, to which a wish to serve a young man surrounded with difficulties, had induced a number of respectable characters to set their names: but alas, what a mortification! I now discovered, for the first time, that my own inexperience, and the advice of my too, too partial friend had engaged me in a work, for the due execution of which, my literary attainments were by no means sufficient. Errors and misconceptions appeared in every page. I had, indeed, caught something of the spirit of

Juvenal, but his meaning had frequently escaped me, and I saw the necessity of a long and painful revision, which would carry me far beyond the period fixed for the appearance of the work. Alarmed at the prospect, I instantly resolved (if not wisely, yet I trust honestly) to renounce the publication for the present.

In pursuance of this resolution, I wrote to my friend in the country, (Rev. Servington Savery), requesting him to return the subscription money in his hands to the subscribers. He did not approve of my plan; nevertheless he promised, in a letter which now lies before me, to comply with it; and, in a subsequent one, added, that he had already begun to do so.

For myself, I also made several repayments; and trusted a sum of money to make others, with a fellow collegian, who, not long after, fell by his own hands in the presence of his father. But there were still some whose abode could not be discovered, and others, on whom to press the taking back of eight shillings would neither be decent nor respectful: even from these I ventured to flatter myself that I should find pardon, when on some future day I presented them with the work, (which I was still secretly determined to complete) rendered more worthy of their patronage, and increased, by notes, which I now perceived to be absolutely necessary, to more than double its proposed size.

In the leisure of a country residence, I fancied this might be done in two years; perhaps I was not too sanguine: the experiment, however, was not made, for about this time a circumstance happened which



changed my views, and indeed my whole system of life.

I had contracted an acquaintance with a person of the name of ———, recommended to my particular notice by a gentleman of Devonshire, whom I was proud of an opportunity to oblige. This person's residence at Oxford was not long, and when he returned to town, I maintained a correspondence with him by letters. At his particular request, these were inclosed in a cover, and sent to Lord Grosvenor: one day I inadvertently omitted the direction, and his lordship, necessarily supposing it to be meant for himself, opened and read it. There was something in it which attracted his notice; and when he gave the letter to my friend, he had the curiosity to enquire about his correspondent at Oxford; and, upon the answer he received, the kindness to desire he might be brought to see him upon his coming to town: to this circumstance, purely accidental on all sides, and to this alone, I owe my introduction to that nobleman.

On my first visit, he asked me what friends I had, and what were my prospects in life; and I told him I had no friends, and no prospects of any kind. He said no more: but when I called to take leave, previous to returning to college, I found that this simple exposure of my circumstances had sunk deep into his mind. At parting, he informed me that he charged himself with my present support, and future establishment; and that till this last could be effected to my wish, I should come and reside with him. These were not words of course: they were more than fulfilled in every point. I did go and

reside with him; and I experienced a warm and cordial reception, a kind and affectionate esteem, that has known neither diminution nor interruption, from that hour to this, a period of twenty years!

In his lordship's house I proceeded with Juvenal, till I was called upon to accompany his son, (one of the most amiable and accomplished young noblemen that this country, fertile in such characters, could ever boast), to the continent. With him, in two successive tours, I spent many years: years of which the remembrance will always be dear to me, from the recollection that a friendship was then contracted, which time, and a more intimate knowledge of each other, have mellowed into a regard that forms at once the pride and happiness of my life.

It is long since I have been returned and settled in the bosom of competence and peace: my translation frequently engaged my thoughts; but I had lost the ardour and confidence of youth, and was seriously doubtful of my abilities to do it justice. I have wished a thousand times that I could decline it altogether; but the ever recurring idea that there were people of the description I have already mentioned, who had just and forcible claims on me for the due performance of my engagement, forbade the thought; and I slowly proceeded towards the completion of a work in which, I should never have engaged, had my friend's inexperience, or my own suffered us to suspect for a moment the labour, and talents of more than one kind, absolutely necessary to its success in any tolerable degree. Such as I  
could



could make it, it is now before the public.

——— *Majora canamus.*

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*The Life of Juvenal.*

*From the same.*

**DECIMUS** Junius Juvenalis, was born at Aquinum, a considerable town of the Volsci, about the year of Christ 38. He was either the son or the foster son, of a wealthy freedman, who gave him a liberal education. From the period of his birth, till he had attained the age of forty, nothing more is known of him than that he continued to perfect himself in the study of eloquence, by declaiming according to the practice of those days: yet more for his own amusement than for any intention to prepare himself, either for the schools or courts of law. About this time, he seems to have discovered his true bent, and betaken himself to poetry. Domitian was now at the head of the government, and shewed symptoms of reviving that system of favouritism, which had nearly ruined the empire under Claudius, by his unbounded partiality for a young pantomime dancer of the name of Paris. Against this minion, Juvenal seems to have directed the first shafts of that satire which was destined to make the most powerful vices tremble, and shake the masters of the world on their thrones. He composed a few lines on the influence of Paris, with considerable success, which encouraged him to cultivate this kind of poetry: he had the prudence, however, not to trust himself to an auditory, in a reign which

swarmed with informers; and his compositions were, therefore, secretly handed about amongst his friends. By degrees, he grew bolder; and, having made many large additions to his first sketch, or perhaps recast it, produced what is now called his Seventh Satire, which he recited to a numerous audience. The consequences were such as he had probably anticipated: Paris, informed of the part he bore in it, was seriously offended, and complained to the emperor, who, as the old account has it, sent the author, by an easy kind of punishment, into Egypt with a military command. To remove such a man from his court, must undoubtedly have been desirable to Domitian; and, as he was spoken of with kindness in the same satire, which is entirely free from political allusions, the “facetiousness” of the punishment (though Domitian’s was not a facetious reign) renders the fact not altogether improbable. Yet, when we consider that these reflections on Paris could scarcely have been published before 84, and that the favourite was disgraced and put to death almost immediately after, we shall be inclined to doubt whether his banishment actually took place; or, if it did, whether it was of any long duration. That Juvenal was in Egypt is certain; but he might have gone there from motives of personal safety, or, as Salmasius had it, of curiosity. However this may be, it does not appear that he was ever long absent from Rome, where a thousand internal marks clearly shew that all his satires were written. But whatever punishment might have followed the complaint of Paris, it had no other effect on



our author, than increasing his hatred of tyranny, and turning his indignation upon the emperor himself, whose hypocrisy, cruelty, and licentiousness, became, from that period, the object of his keenest reprobation. He profited, indeed, so far by his danger or his punishment, as to recite no more in public; but he continued to write during Domitian's reign, in which he finished as I conceive, his second, third, fifth, sixth, and perhaps thirteenth satires; the eighth I have always looked upon as his first.

In 95, when Juvenal was in his 54th year, Domitian banished the philosophers from Rome, and soon after from Italy, with many circumstances of cruelty; an action, for which I am sorry to observe, he is covertly praised by Quintilian. Though Juvenal, strictly speaking, did not come under the description of a philosopher, yet he might not unreasonably entertain some apprehensions for his safety, and, with many other persons eminent for learning and virtue, judged it prudent to withdraw from the city. To this period I have always inclined to fix his journey to Egypt. Two years afterwards the world was happily delivered from the tyranny of Domitian; and Nerva, who succeeded, recalled the exiles. From this time, there remains little doubt of his being at Rome, where he continued his studies in tranquillity.

His first satire, after the death of Domitian, seems to have been what is here called the fourth. About this time, too, he probably thought of revising and publishing those he had already written; and composed that introductory piece, which now stands at the head of his

works. As the order is every where broken in upon, it is utterly impossible to arrange them chronologically; but I am inclined to think that the eleventh satire closed his poetical career. All else is conjecture; but in this he speaks of himself as an old man.

*"Nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem."*

And indeed he had now passed his grand climacteric.

This is all that can be collected of the life of Juvenal; and how much of this is built upon uncertainties! I hope, however, it bears the stamp of probability; which is all I contend for; and which indeed, if I do not deceive myself, is somewhat more than can be affirmed of what has been hitherto delivered on the subject.

Little is known of his circumstances; but, happily, that little is authentic, as it comes from himself. He had a competence. The dignity of poetry is never disgraced in him, as it is in some of his contemporaries, by fretful complaints of poverty, or clamorous whinings for meat and clothes:—the little patrimony his fosterfather left him, he never diminished, and probably never increased. It seems to have equalled all his wants, and, as far as appears, all his wishes. Once only he regrets the narrowness of his fortune: but the occasion does him honour; it is solely because he cannot afford a more costly sacrifice to express his pious gratitude for the preservation of his friend: yet "two lambs and a youthful steer," bespeak the affluence of a philosopher; which is not belied by the entertainment provided for his friend Persicus, in that beautiful satire which I have called the last of his



his works. Farther it is useless to seek; from pride or modesty, he has left no other notices of himself; or they have perished. Horacè and Persius, his immediate predecessors, are never weary of speaking of themselves. The life of the former might be written, from his own materials, with the minuteness of a contemporary history: and the latter, who attained to little more than a third of Juvenal's age, has left nothing to be desired on the only topics which could interest posterity,—his parent, his preceptor, and his studies.

*Account of Archbishop Laud.*

*From Coates's History of Reading.*

**WILLIAM** Laud was born at Reading, October 7, 1573; he was the son of William Laud, a native of Wokingham, who was a clothier in Reading; and of Lucia, his wife, the widow of John Robinson, of the same place. She was the daughter of John Webbe, and sister to Sir William Webbe, falter, lord mayor of London, in 1591. William Laud was churchwarden of St. Lawrence's parish in 1587, and died in 1594. He left his son, after his mother's decease, the house which he inhabited in Broad-street, and two others in Swallowfield; 1200*l.* in money, and the stock in trade. His widow was to have the interest of half the estate during her life. She died in 1600.

The house, in which tradition tells us that the archbishop was born, is situated on the north-side of Broad-street, and is distinguished by a semicircular termination of the brick front in the upper story. Prynne affirms that the archbishop was born of poor and obscure pa-

rents, in a cottage just over against the cage; and that when he was advanced to the see of Canterbury, the cage was removed to some other place, the cottage pulled down and new built. But the prison, called the Grate, and sometimes the Compter, near St. Lawrence's Church, was a common prison for the town, so early as the fourth year of Edward VI. In 1546, the Cage, now the Compter Prison, stood in the market place; and, in the churchwarden's accounts of 1551, the Cage is still described to be in the market place; and the Grate, the other place of confinement, near St. Lawrence's church, is likewise mentioned.

This assertion of Prynne scarcely deserves refutation; but the same sort of abuse was repeated by Lord Say, in his speech respecting the liturgy, and thus answered by the archbishop. “ I see his lordship  
“ resolves to rake me up from my  
“ very birth. It is true, I am a  
“ man of ordinary, but very honest, birth: and the memory of  
“ my parents favours very well to  
“ this day, in the town of Reading  
“ where I was born. Nor was I  
“ so meanly born, as perhaps my  
“ lord would insinuate; for my  
“ father had borne all offices in the  
“ town, save the mayoralty. And  
“ my immediate predecessor whom  
“ I am sure my lord himself accounted very worthy of his  
“ place, was as meanly born as  
“ myself, his father being of the  
“ same trade in Guildford that  
“ mine was of in Reading.”

Laud was educated at the free school in Reading, where he continued till July, 1589, when he was admitted of St. John's college in Oxford, chosen a scholar on Sir



Thomas White's foundation, the following year; and fellow in June, 1593. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1594; M. A. in 1598, in which year he was chosen grammar lecturer; and being ordained deacon, January 4, 1600, and priest in 1601, he read, in the following year, a divinity lecture in the college, which was then maintained by a Mrs. May. He was the last who read it. In some of these exercises he defended the perpetual visibility of the church of Rome, as a part of the church of Christ, till the reformation: by which he incurred the displeasure of the vice-chancellor, Dr. Abbot, who maintained that the church of Christ might be traced through other channels to the time of the reformation.

In 1603, Laud was one of the proctors of the university, and, in the same year, became chaplain to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, whom he married, in 1605, to Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, the wife of Robert Lord Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick. This he did, very inadvertently, when the parties were in a state of separation only: and it exposed him to much censure, as well as to the reproaches of his own mind; for he kept the anniversary as a day of fasting and humiliation during the remainder of his life. He proceeded B. D. in 1604, and, in his exercise for this degree, maintained the necessity of baptism and episcopal government, by which he displeased the puritans: and, in a sermon before the university, in 1606, he gave great offence to the Calvinists.

In 1607, he obtained the vicarage of Stanford, in Northampton-

shire; and in 1608, the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire. He put the parsonage houses of these livings into good repair, and gave twelve poor people a constant allowance out of them, which was his settled practice in all his subsequent preferments. The following year, being D. D. and chaplain to Richard Neile, Bishop of Rochester, he preached his first sermon before King James, at Theobalds, September 17, 1609. In May following, he was presented to Cuckstone, in Kent, by the Bishop of Rochester; and, in October, resigned his fellowship. Cuckstone proving an unhealthy aguish situation, he exchanged it for Norton; a living of less value, but in a better air.

In May, 1611, he was chosen president of St. John's, in the room of Dr. Buckeridge, promoted to the see of Rochester. At the time of the election, he was sick in London; and there was a strong opposition to his being chosen, partly occasioned by Archbishop Abbot's complaint of him to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, then chancellor of the university. Dr. Baylie, afterwards president, was very violent against him. His election was disputed, and brought before King James; who confirmed it after an attentive hearing of three hours at Tichbourn; and in November following, appointed him one of his chaplains. In 1614, Neile then Bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden; and, in 1615, the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. The next year, he was promoted by the king to the deanery of Gloucester, and attended him into Scotland; at his return, he was inducted into the rectory of Ibstock, in Leicestershire,



shire, when he resigned Norton and West Tilbury. In 1620, he succeeded to a prebend of Westminster: and it was thought he would have had the deanery of that church, but Dr. Williams obtained permission to hold it, in commendam, with his bishoprick of Lincoln; and Laud, being appointed Bishop of St. David's, had leave to hold Ibstock and the presidency of St. John's. The king likewise gave him the rectory of Creeke, in Northamptonshire; but he resigned St. John's, in conformity to the college statutes, before his consecration. In 1622, was held the famous conference of Bishop Laud, with Fisher the Jesuit, in presence of the Marquis of Buckingham and his mother, to confirm them in the Protestant religion, in which they both were wavering.

By the contrivance of Bishop Williams, the lordkeeper, and Archbishop Abbot, Laud was left out of the high commission; but his name was inserted afterwards, on his complaint to the Duke of Buckingham, with whom he was now a considerable favourite, although he opposed the duke's design of appropriating the endowment of the Charter-house to the maintenance of an army.

On Candlemas day, 1625, he officiated at the coronation of Charles I. in the place of Bishop Williams, the dean of Westminster, who was not in favour with the king. The bishop was permitted to make choice of any prebendary; but, to avoid all exceptions, he sent the names of all the prebendaries to the king, who made choice of Laud. The coronation oath was said to have been altered by Laud; and in that part where the

king swears "to maintain the laws," that this addition was made, "so far forth as it stands with the prerogative:" or, as it appears in Mr. H. Wharton's preface, "saving the king's prerogative royal." This accusation was renewed by Lord Chief Baron Atkins, in his speech to the Lord Mayor, October, 1693, with a hint that Archbishop Sancroft had struck out much more from the coronation oath of James II. Archbishop Laud vindicated himself at his trial, by having the books of the coronation of King James and King Charles compared, which were found to agree. He was translated to Bath and Wells in 1626, and appointed dean of the chapel royal; in 1627, he was made a privy counsellor, and one of the commissioners of Archbishop Abbot's sequestration on account of accidental homicide; and in 1628, he was translated to the see of London. In April, 1630, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford.

After the Duke of Buckingham's murder, Laud became a great favourite with the king, which only increased the ill-will and jealousy raised against him by the severe prosecutions of several libellous preachers and writers, in the star-chamber, and high commissioned courts. His prosecuting the king's printers, for leaving out the word *not*, in the seventh commandment, was highly commendable. In 1633, he attended the king to his coronation in Scotland, where he was appointed a privy counsellor of that kingdom. During his stay there, he formed the resolution of bringing that church to a conformity with the Church of England; a mea-



a measure highly unpopular, and, in some degree, productive of the violent death of himself and his royal master.

Upon the death of Archbishop Abbot, whom he had long wished to supplant, as his enemies affirmed, he was translated to the see of Canterbury. That very morning, August 4, 1633, one came to him to Greenwich, with a serious offer of a cardinal's hat, and an avowed ability to procure it. The offer was repeated on the 17th of the same month; but the archbishop's answer, on both occasions was the same, "that somewhat dwelt within him, which would not suffer *that*, till Rome were other than it is."

One of his first acts after his advancement to the archbishoprick, was an injunction, October 18, pursuant to the king's letter, that no clergyman should be ordained without a title. This was one of the charges upon his trial, as designed "to suppress preaching, by discouraging conscientious young scholars and divines from entering into the ministry, by putting divers clogs and difficulties upon them." At the same time, was published the king's declaration concerning lawful sports on Sundays, which the archbishop was supposed to have revised and enlarged. This declaration, with the prosecution of such clergymen as refused to read it in their churches, brought upon him the hatred of the puritans, and of the more conscientious observers of the sabbath. Equally offensive was the removal of the communion table to the east end of the church; and its being surrounded with rails, to prevent indecent accidents: in

some places, it was also thought a vexatious innovation, that the communicants were obliged to receive the elements at the communion table and not in their own pews.

This year, the archbishop improved and settled the revenues of the London clergy, and obtained for those of Ireland a grant of all impropriations then remaining in the crown; which was called "robbing of the crown;" and both these acts were part of the charges against him at his trial. In 1634, he was appointed one of the committee of trade and revenue, and, on the death of Weston, Earl of Portland, he was made a commissioner of the treasury and exchequer: in which situation he had an opportunity of ordering all the records of the Tower concerning the clergy to be collected, and transcribed on vellum at his own expence. "This book," says A. Wood, "was brought to him finished, curiously written, and richly bound, on June 10, 1637. It commences with the 20th of Edward I. and reaches to the 14th of Edward IV. and is at this time reserved as a choice rarity in the library at Lambeth." After continuing commissioner of the treasury for a year, the archbishop procured the lord treasurer's staff for Dr. William Juxon, who, through his interest had been successively advanced to be president of St. John's college, Dean of Worcester, clerk of the closet, and Bishop of London.

During this year, the canons for the Scottish liturgy, which had been published in 1635, were brought into use, and occasioned most violent tumults in Edinburgh, with



with great abuse of the archbishop, who was the compiler of them; and the chief promoter of the liturgy. The severe prosecution of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, in the star-chamber, about this time, added much to his unpopularity; together with the prosecution of Bishop Williams and Lambert Ordeley, the master of Westminster school. Equally offensive to the public was a decree of the same court, reducing the number of master printers, and ordering that no books should be printed without licence from the archbishop, or the bishop of London, their chaplains, the chancellors, or vice-chancellors of the universities. The archbishop fell under the queen's displeasure this year, by speaking with some warmth, at the council table, against the increase of papists, their resort to Denmark house, and some endeavours to convert the king to popery. The queen was acquainted with all that he had said that very night, and continued much displeased; but the archbishop had an opportunity of obtaining some particular request of the queen from king Charles in 1639, when he was marching into Scotland against the covenanters, which restored him to her majesty's favour. All these circumstances were highly censured, and made part of the charges at his trial; as was the letter which he wrote, exhorting the bishops and clergy to contribute liberally towards raising an army against the Scots.

In 1639, the archbishop employed Mr. Petley to translate the liturgy into Greek; and, at his request, Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, composed his learned treatise of "Episcopacy by divine right,

"asserted." On December 9, he was one of the three privy counsellors who advised the king to call a parliament on account of the Scottish rebellion; at which time, a resolution was taken to assist the king in extraordinary ways, if the parliament should "prove peevish, and refuse supplies," which design and expression, was particularly censured at his trial. The new parliament met on April 13, 1640, and the convocation on the day following; but, the commons insisting on a redress of grievances, the parliament was dissolved: yet the convocation continued sitting, according to an opinion of the judges that it might legally do so; and some canons made in it gave great offence. The blame of causing the dissolution was charged on the archbishop; though, by a mistake of the messenger, he came too late to the council board, and found the resolution already taken. On June 4, by the contrivance of John Lilburn, then a prisoner in the Fleet, two papers were fixed up at the old Exchange signed by him, exciting the apprentices to assault Lambeth palace on the Monday following; when above 5000 assembled there. The archbishop had secured the palace as well as he could, and retired to Whitehall. One of the ringleaders was executed; another, says his constant adversary Prynne, the archbishop caused to be racked. Among other outrages, the mob broke into the prisons, and released all who were confined there.

On December 4, the archbishop was examined in the Earl of Strafford's case; and when the commons came to debate on the late canons voted by the convocation,



tion, he was represented to be the author, and a committee was appointed to prepare a charge against him, and the same morning he was stiled an incendiary by the Scottish commissioners.

On December 18, Mr. Denzill Holles, second son to John Earl of Clare, by order of the commons, came up to the lords, and accused the archbishop of high treason, telling them that the Commons would bring their proofs at a convenient time; desiring that he might be committed to safe custody, until the articles of impeachment were fully prepared. He was then conveyed to the custody of the black rod; and, after ten weeks, on February 16, Sir H. Vane produced fourteen articles against him, so that on March 1, 1640, he was committed to the Tower amidst the insults of the mob.

The archbishop's enemies now gave full vent to all their passions and prejudices, previous to his trial. He was ordered, with all who had been concerned in the sentence against Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, to make them reparation; and to pay 500*l.* to Sir Robert Howard, for false imprisonment\*. His arms were carried with great parade in carts to Guildhall, and maliciously represented as sufficient for 2000 men; his house was plundered of what money could be found, and none of the wood or coal was allowed him at the Tower. His goods and books were seized, and the goods sold; likewise an ordinance of parliament was passed, prohibiting his disposal of any benefice without the

permission of both houses. On May 31, by the authority of a warrant from the committee who were managers of the trial, Prynne went very early to the Tower, while the archbishop was in his bed, and robbed him of all his papers, particularly his diary; every passage of which, that could possibly be misinterpreted, was turned against him upon his trial.

The House of Commons had endeavoured to compel the archbishop to give the rectory of Chartham, in Kent, to one of their appointment; and, on his refusal, sequestered all his temporalities, by an ordinance of June 10, suspended him from his office and benefice, and from all jurisdiction whatsoever. In order to inflame the populace, Prynne published his "Rome's Master Piece;" and those who preached in the Tower reviled the archbishop to his face, in their sermons.

On October 24, an order was brought to the archbishop, from the lords, with ten additional articles of impeachment from the Commons, adding to the charge of treason "other high crimes and misdemeanours." He petitioned for his papers, but the committee of sequestrations would not grant them, nor permit any copies, but at his own expence; and as to any allowance for the charges of his trial, it was insultingly said by Mr. Glyn, "that he might plead *in forma pauperis*." At length Mr. Dall, his secretary, was appointed his solicitor, and Mr. Herne, of Lincoln's Inn, his counsel; and two more servants were sent to him for his assistance.

\* He was living in open adultery with the lady Purbeck; and both were imprisoned by an order of the High Commission Court, at the King's particular command.



After nearly three years imprisonment, on November 13, the archbishop was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and put in his answer in writing, in this form; "all advantages of law against this impeachment saved and reserved to this defendant, he pleads not guilty, to all and every part of the impeachment, in manner and form, as it is charged in the articles;" and to this answer the archbishop then set his hand.

He petitioned that his counsel might be heard, and might advise him, both with regard to law and fact; which was allowed in things not charged as treason. On January the 8th, there was an order for the archbishop's appearance, but, at his request, it was postponed to the 16th; when the committee began with the former general articles, to which the archbishop had put in no answer, nor ever joined issue; therefore he was peremptorily commanded to put in his answer both to the original and additional articles in writing, which he did, pleading, in general, not guilty.

On Tuesday, March the 12th, 1643, the trial was opened in form; the original and additional articles of impeachment were read, and, after that, the archbishop's answer, plea, and demurrer to them. He requested that the charge and evidence to all the articles might be given together; and the articles of misdemeanor separated from those of treason; to which Mr. Maynard answered, that, in the Earl of Strafford's trial, he was put to answer every day the particular evidence given that day: that they were now only to try matters of fact, not of law, and that all the ar-

ticles collectively, not any one separately, made up the charge of treason. Serjeant Wilde then made a long speech, upon the charge of high treason, "in the highest pitch and altitude," insisting chiefly on the archbishop's attachment to popery, and his intended introduction of it into England: concluding with these words, that "Naaman was a great man, but he was a leper;" and that the archbishop's leprosy had so infected all, "as there remained no other cure but the sword of justice." The archbishop replied to the several charges, and mentioned various persons whom he had brought back from the Romish religion, particularly Sir William Webbe, his kinsman, and two of his daughters: his son he took from him; and, his father being utterly decayed, bred him at his own charge, and educated him in the protestant religion. At the conclusion, while they were withdrawing, Hugh Peters, who stood near the archbishop, demanded of him "whether he was not ashamed to make so bold a challenge, as he had made in the close of his speech, in bidding any clergyman of the church of England come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the church, and conversion of Papists:" adding, that "he himself could produce a catalogue of 120 converts."

The trial lasted above twenty days, and, on September 2, 1644, the archbishop made a recapitulation of the whole cause: but, as soon as he came into the house, he saw every lord present with a new thin book in folio, in a blue cover; which was his diary, printed by Prynne, with notes of his own, to disgrace



disgrace the archbishop. On Sept. 11, Mr. Brown delivered in the House of Lords, a summary of the whole charge, with a few observations on the archbishop's answer. The queries of his counsel on the law of treason, were referred to a committee; which ordered his counsel to be heard on October 11, when Mr. Herne delivered his argument with great firmness and resolution. The Lord Chancellor Finch told Archbishop Sancroft that the argument was Sir Matthew Hale's, afterwards Lord Chief Justice; and that, being then a young lawyer, he, Mr. Finch, stood behind Mr. Herne, at the bar of the Lord's house, and took notes of it, which he intended to publish in his reports.

The archbishop's counsel were confined to this point, "Whether in all, or any of the articles charged against him, there was any treason by the established laws of this kingdom." Mr. Herne pleaded that these three articles to which the charges were reducible, "an endeavour to subvert the laws; an endeavour to subvert religion; or, a labouring to subvert the rights of parliaments, were not treasons within the statute of 25th Edward III. or by any other particular statute." This he argued at large, and afterwards made an answer to the particular articles insisted upon in the indictment; and pleaded "that if they were but crimes and misdemeanours apart," to prove which he recited various cases, they could not make a treason by putting them together." With respect to any declaration of law upon the statute, Mr. Herne observed, "if such declaration

"look only forward, then the law making it treason, precedes the offence, and is no more than an enacting law. If it look backward to the offence past, then it appears by the very law itself of 25 Edward III. *it should be at the least a felony by the common law.*" He added, that in the case of the Earl of Strafford, there was a treason within this law charged, and declared by the bill of his attainder to have been proved."

Here the trial ended for that day; but, after this, a petition was sent about London, "for bringing delinquents to justice," and the preachers exhorted the people to sign it: so that, with a multitude of hands, it was delivered to the House of Commons, October 8. The archbishop was summoned on November 2, to the House of Commons to hear the whole charge, and to make his defence, which he did at large, November 11. On the following Wednesday, Mr. Brown replied; and after the archbishop was dismissed, the House called for the ordinance, and without hearing his counsel voted him guilty of high treason. After various delays, the Lords had a conference with the Commons, on December 24, in which they declared, "that they had diligently weighed all things charged against the archbishop, but could not, by any one of them, or all, find him guilty of treason." The judges had unanimously made the same declaration. At a second conference, on January 2, the reasons of the commons for the attainder of the archbishop were communicated to the Lords; who, in a very thin House, passed the ordinance



nance that he should suffer death by hanging; which was fixed for Friday the 10th. He pleaded the king's pardon, under the great seal, which was over-ruled; and rejected, without being read. He likewise petitioned to have Dr. Stern, Dr. Heywood, and Dr. Martin, with him, before and at his death, and that the manner of his execution might be altered to beheading. To this the lords agreed, but the commons refused both; and ordered that Dr. Stern, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Palmer, should go to him, and one of the two latter persons be constantly present while Dr. Stern was with him. But, the next day, upon another petition from him, praying not to be exposed to so ignominious a death as hanging, the commons consented that he should suffer death by being beheaded.

The archbishop continued a journal of all the circumstances of his trial and imprisonment, to January 3; but, on hearing the news that the bill of attainder had passed the House of Lords, he broke off his history, and prepared himself for death. He received the notice with great composure, and passed the time, between his sentence and execution, in prayer and devout exercises. He slept soundly the night before his death, till the time came when his servants were appointed to attend his rising: and then he applied himself to his private prayers, and so continued, until Sir John Pennington, the lieutenant of the Tower, came to conduct him to the scaffold; which he ascended with a cheerful countenance.

Before a copy of the archbishop of Canterbury's speech, or his funeral sermon, a quarto pamphlet, in

1644, is written: "This book I will and give unto my son Michael Fostere, after my deathe." On two blank pages, next to the title page, the same hand has written thus;

"At the beheading of the Right  
 "Rev. Father in God, William  
 "Laud, Archbishop of Canter-  
 "bury; I. S. F. (Simon Foster)  
 "was present with him, and ob-  
 "served these circumstances fol-  
 "lowing: About 11 o'clock, he  
 "was brought to the scaffold,  
 "strongly guarded. He was in  
 "his ordinary hat, faced with taf-  
 "fety; a velvet cap, a narrow  
 "band and cuffs, a cloath gowne  
 "new and plaine, a grogerome  
 "cassock, a broad priestly girdle,  
 "a new sute, like serge, made  
 "after an old fashion, the doublet  
 "with twelve small skirts, a pair  
 "of trunke breeches streighted  
 "above the knee, a pair of gar-  
 "ters, a red waistcoate tied with  
 "green strings, and edged in like  
 "manner, a cleane shirt, of ordi-  
 "nary whiteness and finenes.  
 "Soon after he came to the former  
 "part of the scaffold, he read this  
 "speech, or rather spake this ser-  
 "mon, looking on his paper at the  
 "beginning of every sentence,  
 "standing all that while leaning  
 "upon the greate crosse barre of the  
 "scaffold. Before he began,  
 "when signes for silence were  
 "made, he put off his hatt, but  
 "presently putt it on againe, and  
 "after he had done reciting this to  
 "the people, he kneeled downe  
 "and prayed with his eyes for  
 "the most part on the same paper,  
 "which was folded in quarto  
 "length, but doubled againe in  
 "the breadth. Assoone as he had  
 "ended the Lord's prayer, rising  
 "up



“ up he putt on his hatt, looked  
 “ often on each side, and downe to  
 “ those before the stage. He did  
 “ not so much as seeme once fear-  
 “ full all the while he was on the  
 “ scaffold, eyther in his counte-  
 “ nance, voice, or gesture. He  
 “ read without spectacles. He  
 “ spake divers times to some on  
 “ the scaffold; he gave money and  
 “ other things (I thinke, for then  
 “ his back was to me ward) out of  
 “ his pocket. Dr. Sterne and Dr.  
 “ Gauge spake to him whilst he  
 “ pulled of his things. He pulled  
 “ off first his cuffs, then his silken  
 “ girdle, his hatt, band, gowne,  
 “ cassock, doublet, and instead of  
 “ his black, put on a plaine, wide,  
 “ white, cleane linen cap; and so  
 “ kneeling downe againe in his  
 “ red waistcoate on the further side  
 “ of the blocke, with his face the  
 “ same way it was at the first, he  
 “ prayed over the same, with his  
 “ eyes and hands lifted up, with-  
 “ out any booke (for he before  
 “ this had given his forementioned  
 “ papers to Dr. Sterne) and then  
 “ plucking down his cap over his  
 “ eyes, he laid his head upon the  
 “ block, which was after a little  
 “ pause (in which an officer stand-  
 “ ing by, drew his knife, cut open  
 “ the archbishop’s waistcoate and  
 “ shirt from the hinder part of the  
 “ neck downward, and turned  
 “ the same backward because of the  
 “ shortnes of his neck, and that  
 “ nothing might dull or hinder the  
 “ axe) cut of at one blow. The  
 “ executioner presently tooke up the  
 “ head and shewed the face to the  
 “ people (which in bothe the Ho-  
 “ thams\* was to my knowledge

“ omitted) I saw it plainly whilst  
 “ in his hand, it looked still even  
 “ as before, very fresh. It was  
 “ somewhat past twelve o’clock  
 “ when the blow was given.  
 “ There was a servant of the arch-  
 “ bishop’s (whose name I thinke  
 “ was Mr. Dell) that took and  
 “ held there on his arme all the  
 “ things his lord putt of. He  
 “ neyther had nor desired any  
 “ psalm to be sung. Few mourn-  
 “ ed there, one upon the scaffold,  
 “ hard by my lord, laughed audi-  
 “ bly, whilst the archbishop look-  
 “ ed about after his first prayer:  
 “ about the same time a poore rude  
 “ fellow, that stood on the ground  
 “ before the scaffold, called to the  
 “ archbishop, and praied him to  
 “ give him his hatt, or change  
 “ with him for his old one, which,  
 “ he said, would serve his turne as  
 “ well for what he had to do.  
 “ He spake nothing at all expressly  
 “ concerning the Scots, Irish, or  
 “ the present warre, or any private  
 “ person as was expected. His  
 “ countenance did not once alter  
 “ all the while he was upon the  
 “ scaffold.”

At the beginning of the printed  
 copy of the speech is written as  
 follows; “ I, S. F. noted the dif-  
 “ ferences between the paper the  
 “ archbishop had in his hand, and  
 “ which was printed, twice at  
 “ Oxford, in Mercurius Aulicus,  
 “ and in the brief account of his  
 “ life and death; and this, printed  
 “ at London, amidst his enemyes  
 “ that murdered and martyred  
 “ him.”

The printed account says, “ when  
 “ the archbishop had finished his

\* Beheaded on Tower Hill, on January 1 and 2, 1644.



“ first prayer, he gave his paper to  
 “ Dr. Sterne, saying, doctor, I  
 “ give you this, that you may shew  
 “ it to your fellow chaplains, that  
 “ they may see how I am gone  
 “ out of the world; and God’s  
 “ blessing and his mercy be upon  
 “ them.” Then, turning to mas-  
 “ ter Hinde, he said, “ Friend, I be-  
 “ seech you hear me. I cannot  
 “ say I have spoken every word  
 “ as it is in my paper, but I have  
 “ gone very neere it, to help my  
 “ memory as I could, but I be-  
 “ seech you to let me have no  
 “ wrong done me.”

Hinde. “ Sir, you shall not. If  
 “ I do any wrong, let it fall on  
 “ my own head. I pray God  
 “ have mercy on your soul.”

Cant. “ I thank you: I did not  
 “ speak with any jealousy as if  
 “ you would doe so; but I spake  
 “ it only as a poore man going  
 “ out of the world. It is not pos-  
 “ sible for me to keep to the  
 “ words in my paper; and a phrase  
 “ may do me wrong. I did think  
 “ here would have been an empty  
 “ scaffold, that I might have had  
 “ room to die; I beseech you let  
 “ me have an end of this misery,  
 “ for I have endured it long.”

When room was made, he spake  
 thus; “ I’ll pull of my doublet,  
 “ and God’s will be done; I am  
 “ willing to go out of this world;  
 “ no man can be more willing to  
 “ send me out, than I am willing  
 “ to be gone.”

Seeing through the chinks of the  
 boards, that some people were un-  
 der the scaffold, about the very  
 place where the block was fixed,  
 he called for the officer to stop  
 them, or to remove the people, say-  
 ing, “ it was no part of his desires

“ that his blood should fall upon  
 “ the heads of the people.”

Sir John Clotworthy, stepping  
 to him, near the block, would  
 needs propose some questions to  
 him; and said, “ What special  
 “ text of Scripture now is com-  
 “ fortable to a man in his depar-  
 “ ture?”

Cant. “ *Cupio dissolvi, et esse cum*  
 “ *Christo.*”

Sir J. C. “ That is a good de-  
 “ sire; but there must be a founda-  
 “ tion for that desire, as assu-  
 “ rance.”

Cant. “ No man can expresse it;  
 “ it is to be found within.”

Sir J. C. “ It is founded upon  
 “ a word though, and that word  
 “ would be known.”

Cant. “ That word is the know-  
 “ ledge of Christ, and that alone.”  
 Then, turning to the executioner, he  
 gave him money, saying, “ Here,  
 “ honest friend, God forgive thee,  
 “ and do thy office upon me in  
 “ mercy.” The executioner de-  
 siring him to give some sign when  
 he should strike, he answered,  
 “ Yes, I will, but let me fit my-  
 “ self first.” Then, kneeling  
 down on his knees, he repeated a  
 short prayer, and when he said  
 “ Lord receive my soul,” which  
 was his signe, the executioner did  
 his office.

On the coffin was a small brasse  
 plate, with his arms, and this in-  
 scription:

“ In hac cistula conduntur Exu-  
 “ viæ Gulielmi Laud, Archiepif-  
 “ copi Cantuariensis; qui, securi  
 “ percussus, Immortalitatem adiit  
 “ die x Januarii, ætatis sue lxxii.  
 “ Archiepiscopatus XII.”

The body was buried in the  
 church of All-hallows, Barking;



and was removed to St. John's college, in 1663, where it was placed in a vault near the altar.

Soon after his death were published the following pamphlets.  
 " The Archbishop of Canterbury's  
 " speech, or his funeral sermon  
 " preached by himself on the scaffold on Tower-hill, on Friday  
 " the 10th of January, 1644, upon  
 " Hebrew xii. 1, 2. Also, the  
 " prayers which he used at the  
 " same time and place before his  
 " execution. All faithfully written by *John Hinde*, whom the  
 " archbishop beseeched that he  
 " would not let any wrong be  
 " done him by any phrase in false  
 " copies. Licensed and entered  
 " according to order. London,  
 " 1644;" small 4to. " A full  
 " and satisfactorie answer to the  
 " Archbishop of Canterburies  
 " speech or funeral sermon preached  
 " ed by himself, &c. Wherein is  
 " a full and plenary discourse to  
 " satisfy all those who have been  
 " startled with his futtle and  
 " jesuitical fallacies and evasions  
 " in the said speech, small 4to.  
 " London, printed by Jane Cobb,  
 " 1645." " A Briefe Exposition,  
 " Paraphrase, or interpretation upon the Lord of Canterbury's sermon or speech; also  
 " upon the prayer which he used.  
 " Written by William Starbuck,  
 " gentleman, to give the people a  
 " glimmering of the bishop's hypocrisie. London, 1645," 16  
 " pages small 4to. " The grand  
 " Impostor unmasked. By Henry  
 " Burton." Small 4to. London,  
 " 1644. " The life and death of  
 " William Laud, late archbishop  
 " of Canterbury. By E. W.  
 " London, 1645."

The archbishop left by his will, written in the Tower, to St. Paul's church, 800*l.* to King Charles, 1000*l.* and forgave his majesty a debt of 2000*l.* To St. John's college, all his chapel plate, and furniture; what books they had not in their library; and 500*l.* in money, to purchase lands, the rent to be divided between every scholar and fellow on the 17th of October, every year. To the young duke of Buckingham, his chalice and paten of gold. He left several legacies to his brother Dr. Robinson's children; and, to his chaplains, rings, or watches. To the poor of several places 5*l.* each; to Canterbury, Lambeth, and Croydon, 10*l.* each.

He then directs the remainder of his estate to be laid out in land, and settled to such uses, and under such conditions, as his land at Bray was settled on the town of Reading. Of which he gives 50*l.* to Wokingham, Henley, Wallingford, and Windsor, for ever; and all above these 200*l.* per annum, to Dr. Baily, his son William, and his heirs, for ever. He had a lease of a farm near Winchester, in his servant Richard Cobb's name, the rent of 370*l.* per annum, of which he gives 50*l.* yearly to the city of Winchester, during the lease, for the purpose of binding out apprentices; the rest to several nephews and servants; with the power of renewing the lease to Dr. Baily, he paying R. Cobb, 100*l.* for his pains in obtaining the purchase; and to R. Cobb he left 50*l.* more.

Dr. Baily was appointed executor; with a bequest of 200*l.* the bishops Juxon, Curle, Wren, and Duppa,



Duppa, overseers of the will, and 10*l.* to each.

The will was dated January 13, 1643, and proved by Dr. Baily January 8, 1661.

The character of archbishop Laud has been so variously represented, that it will appear difficult to exhibit it in the plain colouring of simple truth. He came into public notice during the reign of a prince, who had been bred up with high notions of the royal prerogative; and who, when he was upon the throne, endeavoured to carry it farther than the law allowed, or a prudent regard for his own safety dictated: in this court and under this monarch, to whom Laud had many private and personal obligations, he had his political education; and therefore we cannot wonder that he had as strong a partiality for the prerogative of the sovereign as his royal master. The archbishop lived at a time when the puritans were coming into power; who had such an abhorrence of ceremonies, and so violent an antipathy to episcopacy, that, with them, every form of the established church was popish and idolatrous; and the prelacy and papacy were the same. He was too observant of ceremonies; too fond of that shew and pomp which is so conspicuous in the Romish church. This gave great advantage to his enemies, and was one of the principal charges against him. But it must be observed, that the witty reply of a lady, and the ludicrous account of his consecrating St. Catharine Cree church, have as strongly fixed on his character the imputation of fondness for popery, as the accusations of those who brought him to the block.

With these political and religious prejudices, he had naturally great warmth of temper, with a sharpness in his language and expressions; so that he could not debate on any subject, without emotion, nor bear contradiction calmly, even in the council. Those, who did not wish him well, took great advantage of his infirmities, and would often purposely contradict and anger him. The Lord Cottrington made a more ungenerous use of this artifice than any man; for, being perfectly master of himself, and capable of the most profound dissimulation, he would lead the archbishop into a mistake, drive him into choler, and expose him, even when the king was present. To overbalance these defects in temper and judgement, it must be allowed that the archbishop was a man of real piety, and unbiassed integrity; an encourager of learning, and a liberal benefactor to its advancement; of great parts and of exemplary virtues. He defended himself upon his trial, after a long imprisonment, and under the infirmities of his advanced age, with much acuteness; and, as his greatest enemy confessed, "spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent." Lastly, whatever were his faults, he was condemned to death by an ordinance of parliament, in defiance of the statute of treasons, of the law of the land, and as Heylin observes, of Magna Charta itself; a stretch of prerogative, greater than any one of the sovereign whom that parliament opposed, and which, in the present times, would have been considered as a direct infringement of the constitution.



ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S BENEFAC-  
TIONS.

To the University of Oxford, he presented a large collection of ancient coins; and more than 1400 MSS. Greek, Hebrew, Arabick, and Persian; which are in the Bodleian library. He obtained a new charter for the University, and established an Arabick lecture, which began to be read August 10, 1636. To the bishoprick of Oxford, he added the impropriation of the vicarage of Cuddesten, and prevailed on Dr. Bancroft to build a new house there, for the future bishop's residence. At St. John's College he built the inner quadrangle, which was begun June 26, 1632, and finished in 1635: he obtained from King Charles the vicarage of St. Laurence, in Reading, for the college, with other valuable preferments; and left to it several bequests by will, already mentioned.

To the town of Reading, the place of his birth, the archbishop was equally liberal. He purchased of Sir John Blagrove, at Southcot, an estate at Bray and Ship-lake, which, except certain lands devised to Simon Winch, in trust to pay yearly 40l. for an Arabick lecture, he assigned in trust to John Jennings, mayor, the aldermen of Reading and their successors, for ever, for the purpose of apprenticing 12 boys, and of portioning out six maidens in marriage; for the increase of the schoolmaster's stipend; and the augmentation of the vicarage of St. Laurence. In the deed, the archbishop directs that this charitable work should take place at his decease. Twelve boys are to be put out, giving 10l.

with each, including the expence of the indenture: of this number, ten are to be natives of Reading, one of Wokingham, and one of Bray. This is to be done for two years, and every third year the 120l. is to be given to six poor maids in marriage portions, 20l. each, five being natives of Reading, and one of Wokingham. Out of the same estate, he left 20l. annually to the schoolmaster of the free school of Reading, and 50l. to the vicar of St. Laurence for ever; and appointed the visitors already mentioned, who, with the mayor and corporation of Reading, are to see this great work of charity duly executed.

In the hall of St. John's College is a portrait of the archbishop in his robes, with this inscription: "Dono D. Baynbrigg Buckenridge, de North-hall, in agro Hartford. Gen. Com. Hujus Coll. et A. B. 1695."

There is an original portrait of the archbishop at Houghton, by Vandyck; for which, Granger says, the university offered the Wharton family four hundred pounds. There are various engravings of the archbishop by several hands.

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*Account of Sir Thomas White.*

*(From the same.)*

SIR Thomas White is said by Fuller, in his Worthies of England, to have been born at Wood-Oaks, in the parish of Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, which account is followed by Sir Henry Chauncy, and Mr. Pennant. But Griffin Higgs, who was of Saint John's



John's college, in Oxford, and afterwards a fellow of Merton, in his Latin poem, entitled, "*Nativitas, vita, et mors, honoratissimi illustriſſimique viri, Thomæ White,*" gives the honour of his birth to Reading. He was the ſon of William White, a native of Rickmanſworth, who ſettled at Reading, and followed the clothing buſineſs there, and married Mary, the daughter of John Kibblewhite, of South Fawley, in Berks.

Sir Thomas White was born in 1492, and had his education at Reading, but at the age of twelve years was placed in an apprenticeship at London, in which he continued ten years; and behaved ſo well, that his maſter, at his death, left him a hundred pounds. This, with the patrimony bequeathed to him by his father, who died in 1523, enabled him to enter into trade, which in a few years he enlarged to a conſiderable extent, and became a diſtinguiſhed and wealthy merchant. Toward the end of Henry VIII's reign, he married a lady, whoſe chriſtian name was Avifia, or Avis; but whoſe family is unknown. He was ſheriff of London in the firſt year of Edward VI. and lord mayor in the firſt of Queen Mary, by whom he was knighted for his ſervices during the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, at which time he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the moſt prudent meaſures for the defence of the city. In 1557 Lady White died, and left no child. She was buried, with great magnificence, on the 2d of March, in the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where was placed a hearſe, ornamented with achievements of arms; the lord mayor, Sir Thomas Offley, with twenty

aldermen, following the corpe, and the companies attending in their liveries. Black gowns were diſtributed to a number of poor men and women. Three maſſes were ſung, and, after the maſs of requiem, the lord mayor, aldermen, and gentlemen, who had attended the interment, returned to Sir Thomas White's houſe, where a ſumptuous dinner was provided for them. His ſecond wife was Joan, one of the daughters and co-heireſſes of John Lake, of London, Gent. firſt married to Sir Ralph Warren, Knight, twice lord mayor of London; by whom ſhe had children. Having ſurvived Sir Thomas, ſhe died Oct. 8, 1573, and was buried in the church of St. Bennet Sherchog, by her firſt huſband.

Some accounts of Sir Thomas White relate, that towards the latter end of his life he fell into extreme poverty; a circumſtance that ſeems very improbable, as by his will he left 400 marks to his ſurviving wife Joan, being the remainder of her marriage ſettlement; 3000 pounds to St. John's College, to purchaſe lands; with ſeveral legacies to the children of his brother Ralph, and the Merchant Taylors' company, of which he was a member; with other conſiderable bequeſts. He died February 11, 1566, in the 72d yeat of his age, and was buried at St. John's College, in a private manner, as he directed by his will.

His laſt letter to the preſident and fellows, of which he requeſted that every member of the college ſhould have a copy, is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1794, p. 893.

Sir Thomas White's charities began



began to take place in the very prime of his life; they continued to the close of it, and still remain the memorials of his extensive liberality.

In 1542, the 34th of Henry VIII. he gave to the corporation of Coventry 1000l.; which, with 400l. of their own, was laid out in the purchase of lands, parcel of the late dissolved priory of that city; reserving to the king, and to his successors, an annual rent of 7l. 13s. 2d. In 1551, an indenture was executed between the corporation and the master and warden of the company of Merchant Taylors', reciting that the corporation of Coventry had purchased of King Henry VIII. lands to the yearly value of 70l. settled, in trust, to give 24l. a year to twelve poor men; and, after one year from the decease of the said Sir Thomas White, yearly, upon the tenth of March, or within three months after to pay and deliver, by way of free loan, the sum of 40l. to industrious young men of Coventry, to enable them to set up in trade. After 30 years, the towns of Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, and Warwick, were to have the sum of 40l. for the like purpose, in rotation; which was duly received by those cities. A quarrel among the corporation of Coventry, in 1692, discovered a great improvement of the estate; and a bill in chancery was filed against them. In 1705, it was discovered that the rents of the estates amounted to near 800l. a year, besides fines for renewals; and, four years after, to 930l. a year clear; and a decree was made, that they should account for more than 2000l. which they had received. The corpora-

tion tampered with the several towns; and, under the pretence of paying them costs of suit, though none had been decreed, offered to them, and to the master and wardens of the Merchant Taylors' company, the sum of 825l. and, from March 10, 1703, 50l. yearly to Coventry, and the other corporations.

But, it being found that they had let long leases to their own members, and their families, at small rents, several public spirited gentlemen filed an information on behalf of the poor, and to set aside the private agreement; when it was decreed, February 27, 1710, that instead of 24l. annually divided between 12 men, 243l. 3s. should be divided between 61 men, 4l. a piece to 60, and 3l. 3s. to the odd one. The corporation being unable, or unwilling, to refund the arrears, which amounted to the sum of 2241l. the cause was finally heard, and the court decreed, March 4, 1711, that the estate should be conveyed to the Honourable William Bromley, Esq. and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood, and a sequestration issued against the corporation estates (upwards of 700l. per ann.) to levy the above sum, which was at last raised by sale of part of their estates; and then, in 1722, they applied to the court of chancery to have the sequestration taken off, and to have the trust estates re-conveyed to them. This was opposed by the new trustees, and the towns of Leicester, Northampton, and Warwick. The chancellor, however, in 1725, thought fit to order a re-conveyance, the several charities being augmented as by the former decree, and the corporation are now



now in possession of the estate. Sir Thomas White gave this town a farther sum to pay 40l. a year to two fellows of St. John's.

Sir Thomas White had some intention of founding a college at Reading, his native place, but relinquished that design; and obtained licence from King Philip and Queen Mary, on the first day of May, 1555, that he might, to the praise and honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist, erect and found a certain college, for the learning of the sciences, divinity, philosophy, and good arts, on the site of a certain messuage called Bernard College, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, without the north gate of the city of Oxford, to be called St. John Baptist College, in Oxford. Having received this licence, he obtained a grant of the said messuage, with so much of the grove as then belonged to it, from the dean and chapter of Christchurch, for the annual payment of twenty shillings; but, with this condition, that the first president of St. John's should be chosen out of the canons or students of Christchurch, and for ever after, when the fellows of the college should not agree in their choice. The president, however chosen, was to be admitted and established by the dean and chapter; in the deans absence, by the chapter only; and, in the absence of the dean and chapter, by the chancellor or vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, within ten days after his nomination by the fellows. The dean and chapter then demanded that they and their successors might be visitors of his college; to which Sir Thomas,

after much importunity, is said to have consented.

Griffin Higgs has inserted in his poem the well-known story of Sir Thomas White's dream, that he should build a college where he could find two elms of equal height, growing out of one stem, and a third near them, not so lofty.

"Æquo ibi præterea sese duo vertice tol-  
lent  
" Arborei sætus, breviorque his tertius  
astat,  
" Hæc tibi quæsitæ sint signa fidelia sedis,  
" Hic facias attolle domos."

Upon this he went to Cambridge, but found no such trees: on farther consideration, he visited Oxford, and there discovered them. It is said in a MS. note on this passage, that one Triplet, an old man, the college mason, held Sir T. White's bridle when he alighted from his horse, and gave God thanks for this discovery.

On the fifth of May, 1555, Sir Thomas completed the establishment of his college, for one president, and three graduate scholars, in the name of more which were to be added afterwards; and, for their immediate maintenance, he endowed the college with a yearly rent charge of 36l. due to him from the corporation of Coventry, and with several manors in Berks and Oxfordshire, together with the advowsons of several churches. In 1557, he enlarged the revenues of the college with the rents of several other estates, and settled the establishment of a president, three graduates, and sixteen other scholars. The number of scholars, now of Sir Thomas White's foundation, are fifty; of which are elected,



from Tunbridge, one; from Reading, Coventry, and Bristol, two; from Merchant Taylors' school, 37; and six of the kindred of the founder. The statutes of St. John's were compiled from those of New College; but are supposed to have been drawn up at the founder's desire by Sir William Cordell, solicitor-general to the queen, and master of the rolls.

Sir Thomas also gave to the mayor and corporation of Bristol, by deed, the sum of 2000*l.* to purchase lands of 120*l.* of yearly rent; and to raise the sum of 2000*l.* of which, 800*l.* is to be lent in sums of 50*l.* each to 16 young clothiers, for ten years, without interest, sufficient security being given by them for the same; and 200*l.* are reserved for the purchase of corn, for the necessary relief of the poor in times of scarcity. After ten years, the sum of 104*l.* was to be sent, by the city of Bristol, to 23 other cities and towns, by rotation; the 100*l.* to be lent to four poor young men who were clothiers; and the surplus of four pounds to discharge the necessary expences.

In the year 1577, this bequest began with the city of York; and, in rotation, was delivered to

Canterbury, Reading, the Merchant Taylors' company, Gloucester, Worcester, Exeter, Salisbury, Westchester, Norwich, Southampton, Lincoln, Winchester, Oxford, Hereford, Cambridge, Shrewsbury, Lynn, Bath, Derby, Ipswich, Colchester, and Newcastle; each receiving the donation four times in ninety-six years.

Sir Thomas White made a similar donation to the town of Leicester, which is said to amount, at present, to the sum of 7,500*l.* which is lent, without interest, to tradesmen who are freemen of Leicester, in sums of 40 and 50*l.* no person being allowed to have more than one sum of 50*l.* and one of 40*l.* during his life; and these sums never at one time. The corporation have been very careful in not lending their money on hazardous security: and few instances have happened detrimental to the interest of succeeding generations.

In the town hall of Leicester is a portrait of Sir Thomas White, in the habit of a lord-mayor of London, with a gold chain and a collar of SS, a black cap, pointed beard; his gloves in his right hand, and, on the little finger of his left, a ring. Over his head is this inscription:

“ Quum viginti quatuor urbes hujus regni  
Angliæ suis detâset opibus,  
Annis et honore plenus obiit Feb. 10.  
Anno Domini 1566, ætatis suæ 72.”

On the right hand corner:

“ Cernitur hic Thomas Whitus sub imagine pictâ;  
Cernitur hac vitâ melius sub imagine verâ;  
Et pater et prætor Londini, miles in illo;  
Providus Oxoniæ fautor, fundator in illâ;  
Bristolii decus eximium; laus prima Redingæ;  
Gloria Tunbrigiæ; tibi causa, Coventria, famæ;  
Urbis honos, orbis prudentia, gemma senectæ.”

The



The arms are, gules, an annulet or, within a border sable, charged with eight estoiles of the second. In a canton dexter, ermine, a lion rampant sable—crest, a stork argent, beaked and membered or.

There is a smaller portrait in the town hall at Salisbury, at Reading, Merchant Taylors', and in the hall of Saint John's college. It has been engraved in mezzotinto, by Faber.

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*Character of Frederic the Great.*

*From Segur's History of the Reign of Frederic William the Second.*

**F**REDERIC, feared by his enemies and by his officers, was beloved by his soldiers and by the people. A skilful despot, his arbitrary power was directed by justice. No one knew better how to form and encourage talents, of which he was nevertheless jealous. An enemy of pomp, his taxes appeared less insupportable, because they were always employed to increase the glory and the territory of Prussia, to augment its population, and to recompence useful services. Near to him, intrigue was destitute of force, and merit of fear. He has been reproached with having adulterated the money of the country, and incommoded commerce by impolitic prohibitions: the crisis of the war pleaded his pardon for the first wrong; the second, proves that no man can ever unite in himself all the qualities of a statesman. Frederic was quite as confined in all his ideas on commerce, as he was expanded in those in policy and on war. The code which he published cannot assign him a distinguished rank

amongst celebrated legislators. But experience has only too often proved, how much more wise it is for the happiness of nations to amend their old laws, than to give them new ones. Frederic, as a philosopher, as a warrior, and as a politician, shed a lustre on his country, eclipsed his rivals, and would deserve, perhaps, that his name should be given to the century that was witness to his birth, his reign, and his death.

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*Character of Frederic William the Second.*

*From the same.*

**F**REDERIC William, heir of the power, but not of the glory, of Frederic the Great, had received from his uncle all the knowledge requisite for a throne; but he was destitute of talent to render it efficient. A soldier, bred in the greatest military school, but without genius, he waged war with method, but without success. Surrounded by able ministers, possessing the plans of his predecessor, he disturbed all Europe by his projects, exhausted his country by his preparations, terrified his enemies by his threats, and astonished his friends by his versatility. Incited by vanity, restrained by indolence, enslaved by superstition, enervated by pleasures, he executed nothing which he was desirous of undertaking, finished nothing which he had begun; and after having successively deceived and irritated every power in Europe, at a time when all the passions were inflamed to the highest degree. Fate, who frequently delights in baffling the most profound political combinations,



tions, produced, from his weakness, a result which ought only to have been the fruit of the most consummate ability. He enlarged his dominions, and died, leaving his kingdom at peace in the centre of an embroiled world.

Russia menacing the Ottoman empire with total destruction; Catherine II. in danger of being driven from her capital by Gustavus; Austria defeated by the Turks, threatened by the Prussians, alarmed by the troubles in Hungary, exhausted by the revolt in Brabant; the revolution of Holland, aiming at the destruction of the stadtholder, but compelled by the Prussian arms to submit to his yoke; the efforts of Poland to attain independence, the misfortunes and the total partition of that kingdom; lastly, the explosion of the democratic spirit of the French, the war of a people against kings, nobles, and priests; the crusade of princes against liberty; the invasion of France, the unforeseen resistance of the French, and their almost fabulous conquests, at the moment when every thing portended the dismemberment and ruin of their country; such are the principal events of the epoch of which I have undertaken to write a succinct history.

Although the experience of every age has taught that the successors of great men do not supply their places—Frederic William had given his subjects reason to conceive the most flattering hopes. It was believed that his reign would be as glorious, and more mild, than that of his uncle;—that he would enjoy the same military glory, without exercising the same severity.—It was recollected that his

education had been entrusted to M. de Borck, an informed military man, and to M. Bequelin, a distinguished academicien. His campaign against the Austrians in the war for the succession of Bavaria was not forgotten, nor the eulogy bestowed on him by Frederic. This prince, so severe towards his family, so avaricious of praise, or jealous of the talents he employed; and so great a connoisseur in the art which he had perfectionated; had charged his nephew to withdraw from Bohemia a body of the army menaced by superior force; the position was critical; the retreat was difficult and dangerous. Frederic William performed it with equal courage and skill. The king, transported, exclaimed, as he embraced him in presence of the army, “I no longer consider you as my nephew, but as my son: you have effected all that I could have done in your place.” The prince-royal, admiring the great qualities of his uncle, but disapproving his unjust rigours, was supposed never to have broken his word—his probity excited confidence; it was said he desired to merit the surname of Well-beloved.—The part which he is known to have taken in the Germanic league, augured well of his political conduct, and he had given the first idea of this league, which flattered the vanity of the Prussians, by making them the protectors of the liberty of Germany against the ambition of the house of Austria.—In a word, every thing conspired to render the *début* of the new monarch easy and brilliant; peace reigned every where, and towards it all hearts were open.

The



The first moments of his reign answered the general expectation: each word he dropped, every letter he wrote, and the first orders which he gave, repeated every where, and every where approved; spread an universal joy, and confirmed the hopes which his accession to the throne had generally inspired. Without affecting to be learned, the general opinion was, that he had studied a great deal, and that he would patronize letters. His endeavours to retain the Abbé Raynal in Berlin had done him much honour, and his eagerness to see that bold and profound author, led to a belief that he loved to be told truth.

All his intentions, all his conduct, at the commencement of his reign, were mild, wise, and beneficent. It were to be wished this first zeal had continued; but, as historians, we shall soon have to fulfil a rigorous duty: and to this smiling prospective, which impartiality obliges us to present, we shall be compelled to *substitute* the sad picture of a total abandonment, of a shameful carelessness, and of an unbounded weakness; obscenity in pleasures, intrigue in council, prodigality in expences, blindness in choice, the most superstitious credulity, the most puerile vanity, joined to the most evident incapacity; soon assumed the place of that activity, justice, and wisdom, which, in the first ebullition of fervour, the new king had been forced to display. His zeal cooled almost as fast as the body of his illustrious predecessor; and it was not long before Prussia perceived the immense void left by this immortal shade.

Symptoms of the king's weak-

ness were quickly perceived; he could scarcely endure, even for a short time, the constraint which he had imposed upon himself. It was soon understood, that his hours of business and of retirement were regular only in appearance; that his days were idle, and his nights dedicated to infamous orgies. He had repudiated his first wife, the Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick, on account of misconduct. The prudence of the Princess of Hesse, his second wife, did not shelter her from disgrace; but though she was not dismissed, she suffered, perhaps, more from the public triumph of her rivals. The king had loved a Madame de Rietz, celebrated for the licentiousness of her manners, the baseness of her character, and the infamy of her husband. He never could break this shameful connection, but lavished titles and treasures on this courtesan, and on a son whom she bore to him, for whose death he was inconsolable.

Notwithstanding this scandalous subjection, having become passionately enamoured of Mademoiselle de Voss, the niece of Count Pink, he was on the point of marrying her. This he communicated to the queen, and consulted the priests, who replied, that it was better to contract an illegal marriage, than to run incessantly from one error to another; an answer which, perhaps, degrades those who gave it, as much as him by whom it was solicited. This marriage, however, did not take place. Mademoiselle de Voss chose rather to sacrifice her virtue than the glory of her lover. But, a few years after, he renewed the same scandal in re completely, by  
marrying



marrying the Countess d'Enhoff, thus retaining three legitimate wives and one mistress, whilst he banished the French comedians from Berlin, whom he accused of corrupting the public manners. The alliance of voluptuousness and superstition constantly astonishes reason, and is constantly renewed. At the same time that the king abandoned himself, without restraint, to the charms of his mistresses, the *Illuminati* acquired an unbounded empire over his mind: he must have been, or seemed to be, an apostle of this sect, in order to gain or preserve its favour; for while, on one hand, he treated the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Henry, Mollendorf, and even Hertzberg, Schulemberg, and Fink, who managed his affairs, coolly and without regard; he abandoned himself entirely to Welners, to Bischofswerden, to the princes of Dessau and Württemberg; to Frederic of Brunswick, the Duke of Weymar, and other visionaries, who made Moses and Jesus appear to him; and who, it is said, carried the imposture so far as, at supper, to trace to him the shadow of the ghost of Cæsar.

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### *Character of Joseph II.*

*From the same.*

**T**RAVELLING and military fatigues had impaired his constitution; toil had exhausted his strength; grief inflamed his blood, and hastened the conclusion of his days. His character presented a singular mixture of qualities, from which he derived some glory; and of defects, by which that

glory was tarnished. Simple in his manners; austere in regard to himself; indulgent in respect to others; affable towards all his subjects; continually engaged in the duties of his rank; indefatigable in labour; supporting censure of his conduct without caprice; despising effeminacy; braving dangers, he took an interest in cherishing all the arts, and shewed favour to all talents.

Initiated in the military art by Laudon and Laschy; formed to politics by Kaunitz; versed in ancient and modern literature; the merchant, the soldier, the philosopher, found his conversation equally interesting and instructive. His mind was not fettered by any prejudice; and, under such a prince, every thing promised to his people a glorious reign: but serious defects annihilated these brilliant hopes.

Ambitious without genius, enterprising without constancy, and warlike without success, he never suffered Europe to be at rest; was continually changing his plans, and miscarried in almost all his projects. His Bavarian war added some laurels to the crown of Frederic the Great, and he gained nothing by it: he threatened Holland, which disarmed him by a few cannon shot and a light tribute. He endeavoured to compel the Duke des Deux-Ponts to consent to the exchange of Bavaria for the Low Countries; and was stopped in this design by the threats of the King of Prussia, who, from that time, has been regarded as the protector of the empire against Austrian ambition. The dread of the Prussian arms impelled him to make impolitic sacrifices



crifices to Russia, in order to purchase her alliance. He became the courtier of Catherine; facilitated for her the conquest of the Krimea, graced the triumphal pomp of her journey into Tartary, and suffered her to hurry him into a disastrous war, which cost him two hundred thousand men, exhausted his treasures, and exposed the house of Austria to the dangers of a ruin that had been certain, if Frederic William had known how to profit by his errors.

Joseph II. was avaricious, but ruined his country; he was a philosopher in his opinions, but a despot in his conduct; he had, by enlightening them, cured his subjects of their prejudices; he irritated them, by wishing to lead them to reason by force; and at the same time that France rose to destroy the power of nobles and priests, he contrived to lose the Low Countries, by there suppressing, by authority, the seigniorial judges, and establishing, by constraint, a tolerance of worship.

Forgetting that he governed several nations, who had neither the same knowledge, manners, nor genius, he wished, in spite of their propensities, habits, and privileges, to subject them uniformly and suddenly to the same law, and the same form of government; to inspire them with the same principles; to make them adopt the same education. The sad result of these absurdities was, that on his death-bed he saw his armies beaten, his finances ruined, his influence in the empire lost, his frontiers threatened: —Hungary in a fermentation, the Belgic provinces in a state of re-

volt, and his perpetual rival, Prussia, at the head of a menacing league, ready to overturn his throne on his tomb.

The death of this prince seemed to open a more extensive career to the ambitious designs of the Prussian cabinet. The house of Austria saw itself threatened at once with the loss of its dominions and the imperial throne; but fortune, although she has been deified, depends on men; she is fickle to temerity, and constant to prudence. The Austrian power, ready to fall, was quickly saved by the wisdom of Leopold, the successor of Joseph, by the versatility of Frederic William, and by the unreflecting ardour of the French, who wished every where to extend a liberty they were themselves far from possessing.

#### *Account of Solomon Gessner.*

*From the Translation of his Works.*

SOLOMON Gessner, the German Theocritus; was born at Zurich in the year 1730, and was the son of a respectable printer and bookseller, from whom he received a liberal, and even a learned education, whose profession he adopted and whom in due time he succeeded. Fortunately the house of Orell, Gessner, and Company, into which he was received, had been long established, and was known over Europe, by the extent of its correspondence, and by the choice and elegance of the works which it gave to the world. Gessner was not therefore involved in the cares of a new establishment, nor was it necessary for him to engage in the details



details and fatigues of business; and the bent of his genius being obvious, his partners, by whom he was beloved and esteemed, freely indulged him in his favourite studies and pursuits.

In the twenty-second year of his age he made a tour through Germany, in part for the purpose of extending the connexions of his house, but chiefly with a view to his own improvement. In the course of this journey, he became acquainted with the greater part of the German men of letters of that day, and his talents were doubtless stimulated by the sympathy and the emulation which such intercourse is so particularly calculated to excite. On his return to Zurich in 1753, he gave his first publication to the world, a small poem in measured prose, entitled, *Night*; and this meeting a favourable reception, he soon afterwards published his pastoral romance of *Daphnis*, in three cantos. In the first of these poems he contrived to introduce a compliment to Gleim and Hagedorn, from whom he had received civility and kindness in the course of his tour. To *Daphnis* he prefixed a letter to himself from Mademoiselle——, with his reply, both written in a playful and animated style, from which we are led to believe, that the heroine of this pastoral was a real personage. “Yes,” says Gessner, in the language of gallantry, and perhaps of truth, “while I described Phillis I thought of you, and the happy idea of writing a romance, supplied me with a continual dream of you, which rendered our separation less intolerable.” In these early productions, with somewhat of the irregularity and the

extravagance of youth, we find that luxuriance of imagery, and that soft amenity of sentiment and of expression, by which almost all his other writings are characterized. At this period of his life, Ovid seems to have been a favourite with Gessner. In his *Night*, we have a fable on the origin of the glow-worm; and in his *Daphnis*, an episode on the amours of a water-god and a nymph, entirely in the manner of that poet.

The success of these publications encouraged Gessner to indulge his taste in rural poetry, and to give to the world his Idyls, in which, as he himself informs us, he took Theocritus for his model. The Idyls procured their author a high reputation throughout Switzerland and Germany. They were the principal and favourite objects of his attention, on which he exerted great taste and skill. They are described by himself as the fruits of some of his happiest hours; of those hours, when imagination and tranquillity shed their sweetest influence over him, and excluding all present impressions, recalled the charms and delights of the golden age.

The *Death of Abel*, which is already well known to the English reader, by the translation of Mrs. Collyer, made its first appearance in 1758. Its reception was still more flattering. Three editions of it were published at Zurich in the course of a single year, and it was soon translated into all the European languages. In most of these it has gone through various editions; and there are few of the productions of the century that has just elapsed, which have been so generally popular.—After this  
he



he published several of his lesser poems, among which was *The First Navigator*, which is perhaps the most beautiful of his works. He made some attempts likewise in the pastoral drama, of which his *Evander and Alcimna* is the chief. His *Erastus*, a drama of one act, was represented with some applause in several societies, both at Leipzig and Vienna.

The poems of Gessner were almost all given to the world before he had completed his thirtieth year. About this period he married; and, as he himself informs us, his father-in-law, Mr. Heidiger, having a beautiful collection of paintings, consisting chiefly of the works of the great masters of the Flemish school, he devoted his leisure to the study of their beauties, and became deeply enamoured of their art. Gessner, who in his youth had received some lessons in drawing, resumed the pencil, but with a timid hand. At first he ventured only to delineate decorations for curious books printed at his office, but by degrees he rose to bolder attempts. In 1765 he published ten landscapes, etched and engraved by himself. Twelve other pieces of the same nature appeared in 1769; and he afterwards executed ornaments for many publications that issued from his press, among which were his own works, a translation into German of the works of Swift, and various others. The reputation which he acquired by his pencil, was scarcely inferior to that arising from his pen. He was reckoned among the best artists of Germany, and Mr. Fuseli, his countryman, in his "Historical Essay on the Painters, Engravers, Architects,

and Sculptors, who have done honour to Switzerland," gives a distinguished place to Gessner, though then alive.

The private character of Gessner was in a high degree amiable and exemplary. As a husband, a father, and a friend, his virtues were equally conspicuous.—His cast of mind was pensive, and even melancholy; his manners gentle.—In conversation he was mild and affable, and where the subject admitted of it, often highly animated, rising into great elevation of sentiment, and beauty of expression. But in every part of his deportment, there was that unaffected sincerity, that simplicity and modesty, by which true genius is so generally distinguished. With qualities such as these, Gessner could not fail to be loved and respected; and uniting to taste and literature the talents requisite for active life, he was raised by the suffrages of the citizens of Zurich to the first offices in the republic. In 1765 he was called to the great council; in 1767 to the lesser. In 1768 he was appointed bailiff of Eilzbach; that of the four guards in 1776; and in 1781 superintendant of waters, all offices of trust and responsibility, the duties of which he discharged with scrupulous fidelity.

The fame of the accomplished and virtuous magistrate of Zurich, spread to the remotest parts of Europe. The Empress of Russia, Catharine II. sent him a gold medal as a mark of her esteem; and strangers from all countries visiting Switzerland courted his society, and gave him the most flattering proofs of their respect and admiration. In the height of his reputation



reputation he was cut off by the stroke of a palsy, on the 2d of March, 1788, in the 56th year of his age.

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*Origin and Progress of Methodism.*

*From Brewster's Secular Essays.*

ABOUT the commencement of the reign of George II. the society of METHODISTS began to be established in this country. No society of more importance has, in this age, arisen among us, nor any whose merits in many respects are more difficult to be appreciated. The prejudice which generally attends the appearance of a new sect, renders the world at large unable, and perhaps unwilling, to judge of its true character. But prejudice must be removed; the mind must be cleared of its obscurities; and then many of the difficulties attending the discussion will vanish.

In consequence of the effects which the writings of the deists appear to have produced in the university of Oxford, the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, in the year 1729, issued an edict to check the increasing influence of their pernicious principles; an edict, which, there is every reason to suppose, was attended with beneficial consequences. In one respect, its consequences were probably of more importance than could possibly have been foreseen; as it tended to associate together some pious persons whose exertions laid the foundation of a society which is now disseminated in various climates, and over various countries. Mr. Charles Wesley, student of Christ-church, was

the first person to whom the name of *Methodist* was attributed, in consequence of the exact *method* which he observed in spending his time, regulating his conduct, and attending on the public duties of religion. In a short time John Wesley, an elder brother of Charles, and fellow of Lincoln-college, and some other students of the university, met together for mutual edification. This religious association began to extend its influence, by visiting the prisoners in the castle, and sick persons in the city. The society was soon increased by Mr. Hervey, who never became an itinerant preacher, and Mr. George Whitefield, who was afterwards reckoned among the most eminent of them. Actuated by the zeal which originally produced this connection, in 1735 the Wesley's undertook a voyage to America, for the express purpose of propagating the Gospel: but no regular settlement of an established society was, at that time, formed. In 1737, the celebrated Count Zinzendorf arrived in England, to endeavour to procure an union between the church he had founded, under the name of the *Moravian Brethren*, and the church of England in Georgia. A connection soon took place between him and the Wesley's; but that which gave an important turn to Mr. John Wesley's future proceeding, arose from an acquaintance formed the following year with Peter Bohler, a young Moravian teacher. In consequence of this interview, Mr. Wesley says, "that after ten years of painful labour, his experience convinced him that his notions were not evangelical; that he had considered as causes, things that were only placed as fruits of the faith in the gospel economy;



mony; and, therefore, that he neither possessed saving faith, nor had a right notion of it." By the instructions of Bohler, his notions of faith were changed; and he, as he says, was clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved: it immediately occurred to his mind, "Leave off preaching; how can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself?" He consulted his friend Bohler; who said, "By no means; preach faith *till* you have it, and then, *because* you have it, you will preach faith.

Mr. Wesley's first regular society was holden in Fetter-lane, London, in conjunction with the Moravian brethren. About two years after (1740) he separated from his associates by whom he had been instructed in the gospel method of attaining present salvation, in consequence of some alterations he perceived in their creed. In 1741, another division took place; and Mr. Whitefield, who had hitherto been employed in the same cause, formed a separate society, from a difference in their religious opinions also. Mr. Wesley had adopted the Arminian doctrine of the free agency of man, and was attached to the established doctrines of the church of England. Mr. Whitefield's principles

were strictly Calvinistic. The followers of each, to this day, hold the same distinction. Both are denominated *Methodists*, but nothing is common to the two societies, except the order of worship in their meeting-houses, which has been adopted from the dissenting model.

The leaders amongst the Methodists, having been refused the use of many parish churches, began to preach in the fields and streets: and ministers of the establishment not being always found, lay preachers were received into their congregations. But notwithstanding these innovations, the Wesleys, with the majority of the societies under their direction, still continued to hold communion with the church of England. Indeed many warm alterations among the lay preachers arose upon this subject, but the original leaders, *to the last*, decidedly opposed a separation.\*

In 1743 general rules were circulated for the direction of the united societies, in which the nature and design of a Methodist meeting is stated to be, "a company of men, having the form and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation and to watch over one another in love, and that they may help each other

\* "1786, Aug. 26. I went to Brentford, but had little comfort here. The society is almost dwindled to nothing. What have we gained by separating from the church here? Is not this a good lesson for others?"—"1787, Jan. 2. I went over to Deptford, but it seemed I was got into a den of lions. Most of the leading men of the society were mad for separating from the church. I endeavoured to reason with them, but in vain, they had neither sense nor good manners left: at length, after meeting the whole society, I told them, If you are resolved, you may have your service in church hours, but remember, from that time you will see my face no more."—"1787, Nov. 4, London. The congregation was, as usual, large and serious, but there is no increase of the society. So that we have profited nothing by having our service in church hours."

Wesley's last Journal.—WHITEHEAD.



to work out their salvation." From these rules it appears that each society is divided into smaller companies, called *classes*, which consist of about twelve persons each, one of whom is styled a *leader*, whose business it is to advise, reprove, comfort, and exhort his class, as he finds occasion. Besides these, there are others, who *being justified by faith, and having peace with God*, are subdivided into *bands*, who receive at every quarterly visitation a ticket marked B, which will admit the holder into these select meetings. They observe a love feast once a month, and occasionally have a custom of praying together by night, which they call a watch night. Annual conferences are held by the preachers in some central situation of the kingdom, when the affairs of the society are discussed, different circuits allotted to different preachers, and the principal business of the connection arranged.

It will not be expected that I should pursue every change which has occurred in the history of methodism. The death of the founders, though it has in some measure altered the government of the society, and in some of its branches introduced innovations which *they* would not have introduced; has not tended to diminish the numbers; which, in England, at this time are supposed to amount to 100,000.\*

Soon after the death of Mr. John Wesley, the governors of the society in his connection found themselves entangled in a question, which, doubtless, they would gladly have avoided, as it tended in its consequences to separate those who adopted the practice, still further, if not altogether, from the communion of the Church of England. The decision of the leaders is made known by an address to the members of the Methodist societies throughout England, from the conference assembled at Leeds, August 6, 1793.—“Our venerable father,” says the address, “who is gone to his great reward, lived and died a member and friend of the Church of England. His attachment to it was so strong and unshaken, that nothing but irresistible necessity induced him to deviate from it in any degree. In many instances God himself obliged him to do this; he powerfully called him forth into the streets and open fields, and afterwards raised to his assistance hundreds of men who never passed through the usual forms of ordination. To all these evident providences of God Mr. Wesley submitted, though at first with great reluctance. In consequence, he found himself obliged to erect chapels which were neither consecrated according to the usual method of the Church of England, nor subject to the direction of the national episcopacy. A dilemma

\* From the minutes of the conferences, Dr. Whitehead gives the increasing numbers follows:—

1767—25,911  
 1770—29,046  
 1775—38,150  
 1780—43,830  
 1785—52,433  
 1790—71,568  
 1795—83,368



of difficulty, of a similar kind, has been experienced by us since the death of Mr. Wesley. A few of our societies have repeatedly importuned us to grant them the liberty of receiving the Lord's Supper from their own preachers. But, desirous of adhering most strictly to the plan which Mr. Wesley laid down, we again and again denied their request. The subject, however, is now come to its crisis. We find that we have no alternative, but to comply with their requisition, or entirely to lose them!—We therefore weighed this delicate subject with great seriousness and deliberation, feeling the greatest pity for those of our brethren who thought themselves aggrieved; and came finally to the following resolution;—"That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall not be administered by the preachers in any part of our connection, except where the whole society is unanimous for it, *and will not be contented without it*: and even in those few exempt societies, it shall be administered, as far as practicable, in the evening only, and according only to the form of the Church of England."

Notwithstanding the regular arrangement with which the society of Methodists is constituted, it does not appear that there are any common principles, or written articles of faith, to distinguish their profession. The doctrines more generally inculcated among those, not of the Calvinistic persuasion, are *salvation by faith only, instantaneous and perceptible conversion*, and *assurance* of reconciliation to God, which they term the *new birth*.

### *Mesmerism.*

*From Acerbi's Travels.*

THE Baron Silfverkielm was a very amiable man, who had passed a great part of his life near the person of King Gustavus, had travelled and seen much of the world. He was an excellent mechanic, amused himself with chemistry, possessed an admirable English electrical machine, made experiments, and was fond of reading and the study of the Belles-Lettres. He was a man of no ceremony, and (which will not be believed by every one) a most famous magnetiser, and one of the greatest proficient among the disciples of Mesmer. I have seen the baron give proofs of his skill in animal magnetism, which, I confess, shook my incredulity a little, both in respect to the efficacy of his principles, and the existence of the magnetic fluid, or whatever else it may be called, which is supposed to operate upon individuals. The effects it produces cannot easily be attributed to ordinary causes, nor supported by reasons derived from the known laws of nature. Although he was unable to affect me with his magnetical powers, yet he wrought upon persons whose probity and good faith I am not at liberty in any degree to question. He repeated to me experiments he had made in different places, on different individuals, and in different circumstances; and I find myself satisfied as to the existence of some natural cause or principle which has hitherto remained unknown; it is wrapt up in obscurity, and is as yet inexplicable to



the understanding. I am very far from attempting, after the baron's example, to account for it; though I think that a solution of this problem may be reserved for a period of higher improvement in the knowledge of nature, the study of which has been so successfully pursued, and so rapidly advanced in the course of the present century. I saw my fellow-traveller, as incredulous as myself, fall into a profound sleep by the mere motion of the magnetiser's fingers; I heard him speak in his sleep, and reply to whatever questions I proposed to him; I saw him again awake by the simple motion of the magnetiser's fingers, while I was unable to rouse him from his somnolency, though I brought fire close to his hand, an experiment to which he was as insensible as a dead body. He awoke, after sleeping from five to six hours, remembering nothing of what he had said, denying obstinately that he had been asleep, and yielding with difficulty at last to the authority of his watch, and the testimony of all those who had witnessed the circumstance. I might mention a number of facts relative to this subject, by which I should be able to prove, that in these trials there could be neither connivance nor imposture, nor previous arrangement; but this doctrine still lies too much under suspicion for me to dwell any longer upon it. I shall only add, that two English travellers, better informed, and, if possible, greater infidels than myself respecting mesmerism, happening to pass by Uleoborg at the same time, stopped a day, that they might observe some of the magnetical performances.

From previous concert, one of them was to assume the appearance of being affected; but at the moment when the magnetiser should seem confident that his art had taken effect, he who was to feign himself asleep, at a sign given him by the other, was to awake in surprize, and thus disappoint the credulity of the operator and his audience. The experiments accordingly began, one of them was unsusceptible of the magnetic impression, the other was actually affected, and his companion might make what signs he pleased; he was deaf, incapable of understanding any thing, and in such a languid and lethargic state, that every act of volition was entirely suspended. The two gentlemen will probably give some account of their travels, and possibly confirm the truth of my relation of these almost incredible experiments.

It is to be regretted, that the mesmerians in general have their minds so heated by the extraordinary, I had almost said supernatural, aspect of those phenomena, that they suffered themselves to be so hurried away by the imagination, as to mount to the skies, in order to find the physical cause of those effects among the clouds, instead of consulting and investigating nature in the practice of frequent experiments, and with that sobriety of mind which ought to be the faithful guide of philosophy in all her enquiries into the causes of things. The imagination, fascinated and enslaved by the charm of something preternatural, tries, while bewildered with confused conceptions, to divine the meaning, the purpose, and the end of objects; and



and while it rambles about in the obscure and boundless regions of conjecture, the true spirit of enquiry loses the thread of its observations and of its analysis, and bounding from one imperfect impression to another, is incapable of stopping to observe, compare, and judge: this was the infirmity of the good baron. He fancied, to himself, that the soul of the person asleep was transported to regions of which the human mind, in conjunction with the body, can form no idea. He went into particulars still more ridiculous, and asserted, for instance, that there all the souls were dressed in white, and that they enjoyed in that scene of delights such agreeable sensations as surpass all conception. He believed, that in that state of sleep they foresaw future events: and that their souls, being exalted to a higher sphere of perception, they could see many things that are invisible to the material organs of our imperfect vision. Instead of interrogating the sleeper as to the nature of his feelings during his torpor; instead of trying to sound the condition of his physical faculties, or questioning him as to intelligible objects, his queries were always concerning the white robes, the paradise, and those elysian fields, where, according to his theory, the souls are in the fruition of every species of pleasure, ever perfectly at ease, and clothed in their *robe de chambre*. He was desirous to receive intelligence from his ancestors, his great-grandfather, or his late father; and they, very kindly in general, sent him their compliments by the mouths of those couriers in white jackets.

From the manner in which I

have stated my remarks, the reader will be able to judge of the light in which I viewed this subject. Having succeeded in our researches concerning the electrical fluid, and what is called *galvanism*, I think it not impossible but we may discover some other fluid, or material substance, which shall have its particular laws, relations, and affinities. I am of opinion, that in animal magnetism we meet with appearances which cannot be traced to the imagination as their cause, nor indeed to any cause known or stated by the enemies of this doctrine. The French academicians themselves, in their report on animal magnetism, shew, perhaps, that they bestowed upon it neither the time nor the candour and impartiality, which a subject so difficult, and so much entangled in the grossest prejudices, had a right to obtain from them. Upon the whole, I conclude that we are still entirely in the dark as to this unknown cause, which, though we cannot as yet assign to it any name or determinate qualification, is not on that account less possible.

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*Account of the Magicians, or Shamans,  
among the Yakuti.*

*From Sauer's Expedition to the Northern parts of Russia.*

MEN and women are both admitted to this order: but very few of the latter, as particular circumstances attending their birth or infancy can alone authorise their inauguration. Young men are instructed by an old professor, who accompanies them by day and night to the most solitary parts of the woods; shews them the favourite spots



spots of the spirits of the air, and of the pit; and teaches them to cite their appearance and claim their influence. I have heard most wonderful relations of their power, even from the Russians; but, notwithstanding I have seen their enchantments or incantations many times, I never could discover any of their feats equal to that of a common conjurer in England. The following is an account of their performance:

When a sick socha sends for a shaman to appease the wrath of the evil spirits that torment him, the forcerer takes a switch, ties a few hairs from the mane of a horse to the end of it, walks and jumps about the sick person, waves his switch, and conjures the demons to appear and relate the cause of their tormenting him, and how they are to be appeased.

After some time has passed in this invocation, he starts, pretends to see the spirits, and, listening to their admonition for some time, turns to the patient, and tells him whence the spirits came; and that it was with a view of destroying him, but that they might be induced to accept as a sacrifice, instead of him, a fat mare or a cow, mentioning the particular colour. This is immediately procured; for whoever has one answering the description readily gives it.

The offering being procured, the shaman dresses himself in full form, walks with his switch to the possessed, embraces him, and commands the demons to leave him; then, rising in great agitation, he suddenly springs upon the offering, raving and shouting as much as he possibly can: the beast now start-

ing, and being restless, is a proof of the pain that it induces from the demon.

The following morning the sacrifice is led to the place appointed, which is always on a rising ground at the entrance into a wood. Four poles are driven into the ground, on which they erect a stage covered with twigs, whereon the offering is slain and skinned. The flesh is dressed and eaten on the spot; the bones collected, wrapped up in the twigs that were on the scaffold, put inside the skin of the animal, and stuck at the top of some tree on the spot: if the sacrifice was to the aerial spirits, the head is directed upwards; if to the spirits of the pit, the head is looking downwards. The forcerer then, arrayed in his magic robes, takes his tambour, and begins his formal spells; beating his tambour, raving, jumping, and using an unintelligible jargon in the most extravagant manner; his long hair hanging over his face, he conjures the spirit of the sacrifice to its demons, and the demons to their proper place of retirement; seems several times during his incantations to faint, during which paroxysms he receives the inspired power of prognosticating the fate of the diseased, and the day either of his restoration to health, or of his death. If he prove mistaken, it is not regarded as arising from want of skill, but the unacceptableness of the sacrifice, which is occasionally renewed till he dies or recovers.

If a shaman acquaints any family that some demon is intent on inflicting a punishment, offerings are made to avert the evil; not of live beasts, but the rich skins of animals,



animals, which are hung up in a conspicuous part of the hut, and buried with the owner when he dies.

The magician's dress is a leather jacket, with sleeves from the shoulder to the elbow; along the outer seam, long slips of leather are sown, as also round the bottom, hanging to the ground. The jacket is covered with iron plates, and pieces of iron and brass hanging, which makes a dismal noise while he is leaping about and beating his tambour. He has also a piece of leather, like a long apron, reaching from his chin to his knees, tied before, and ornamented in the same manner. His tambour is very large, and also ornamented in the edges and cross bars with iron and brass; and his stick is covered with the skin of some short-haired animal. He also wears, at the commencement of his incantations, a fur cap; but this he throws off almost as soon as he begins his magic spells.

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*Of the Magic Art practised by the Laplanders: Runic Drum, Ganic Flies, Juoige, and Noaaid.*

*From Acerbi's Travels.*

THE magic art is said to have been introduced into the north by Odin, who brought it with him from the east, and instructed the Finni; which people becoming great proficient in the art of directing the agency of spirits, obtained the name in these countries of *Finne-Cunst*, that is to say, the science of the Fins. The early chronicles of Norway record the extraordinary feats of magic per-

formed by their Kings Haldan and Gunner, how that the first caused a banquet to vanish from before his guests, and that the last, by his invisible agents, procured such intelligence of the secret practices of his enemies, as to enable him to frustrate all their designs. They make mention likewise of Eric Windus, a king of Sweden, who could change the wind with a turn of his hat; and of Siwald, another Swedish monarch, who had seven sons, all equally skilful in the arts of magic.

It is unnecessary to mention the great knowledge which the female sex have attained to in this science: there is scarcely a person who has not heard of Lapland witches. A forcerefs produced a number of infernal spirits before Habin, a king of Norway, and another, named Kraka, prepared a mess of pottage of such admirable virtue, that it would have rendered his son Rollo wise and eloquent, if, unfortunately for him, it had not been intercepted and eaten up by his younger brother Eric, who thereby obtained the benefit designed for his elder brother, and afterwards got the crown for himself. In short, there would be no end of reciting the various stories which ancient writers have left of the magicians, male as well as female, in past times. Mr. Leems therefore confines his narrative to the present state of the magic art in Lapland.

The visible instrument of magic, as now practised in Lapland, is the *runic drum*; and the invisible agents employed in this are called *ganic flies*. The missionary shews the use made of each of these, and gives some account of the *noaaid*, or regular



gular bred magician, together with the *juoige* or song of incantation used by him, and the methods he takes to restore lost property to its right owner.

The runic drum, which may be considered as a compendium of Lapland paganism, has the appearance of the head of a common drum, the wooden frame of which is hung round with brass rings, so close together that they strike and rattle upon the least touch of the instrument. Upon the skin which is stretched over the drum, certain characters are painted, representing the Radiens or Lapland Jupiter, with the rest of the deities, besides other mystical figures of animals, &c. to the number of forty-five symbols. On some drums more have been counted; the noaids, or magicians, not perfectly agreeing in this respect in different parts of Lapland: they, however, all coincide in the principal or leading deities. The runic drums are of the more value, as they are of greater antiquity; and if they can be proved to have been delivered from father to son, in a long line of succeeding magicians, they are considered above all price: they are preserved with great care and secrecy, and are hidden from sight except at the time they are used. A woman dares not approach the place where one of these drums lies concealed, much less does she presume to touch it.

Before a Laplander sets out upon a journey, or undertakes any matter of moment, he consults his drum, which he does in the following manner. He places a ring, which is used for this purpose only, upon the drum, and then striking upon

it a smart stroke with a small hammer, made from a deer's horn, the ring is shaken, or driven over the surface from side to side, which, as it touches certain figures of good or bad omen, he conceives the better or worse opinion of his success in what he is about to undertake. As for example, if the ring move according to the course of the sun, he pronounces that he shall succeed; if contrarily to the sun's course, that he shall fail in his enterprise, whatever it be, of hunting, fishing, or the like. In the same manner he judges of every event upon which he is disposed to consult this oracle.

Families in general possess such a drum, to which they refer for advice in the retirement of their habitation, considering it as their guide and director upon common occasions; but in matters of greater moment, such as sickness, a mortality amongst the cattle, or the like, they apply to privileged soothsayers or magicians; these are called in the Lapland tongue *noaids*, and are regularly educated in the art. These men are completely initiated by frequent interviews with the spirits in *Jabme-aimo*; besides which they pretend to be in possession of runic drums which have descended to them from ancestors famous in remote times for their skill in divination. The noaid observes much the same method with that already described, except that he makes use of some previous ceremonies with a number of very frightful grimaces and contortions, in which he is helped out by the immoderate quantity he takes of brandy and tobacco during his operation. By the effect



effect of these aids to inspiration, he at length becomes so intoxicated that he falls into a deep sleep, which the standers by suppose to be a trance. When he awakes he pretends that his soul has been conveyed away to some *passé warck*, or holy mountain, which he mentions by name, and attempts to reveal his interview and discourse with the deities. At the same time he names a sacrifice which must be offered on a certain day, consisting, for the most part, of a well-fed rein deer; and this being complied with, he encourages the hopes, that the deity who is concerned will prove favourable. The noaaid's injunction never fails to be obeyed: and if the sacrifice of a valuable rein-deer be not succeeded by the good effects which are hoped for from it, the simple Laplander (like those poor unhappy people who run for a cure from one doctor to another, until they have expended the last farthing of their money) has recourse to another noaaid and another. Now as every consultation is followed by a fat sacrifice, at which the gluttonous soothsayer presides as butcher and principal guest, it happens that the poor Laplander finds himself suddenly reduced to want, his stock of cattle

being wasted in riotous scenes of superstitious infatuation.

The *ganic flies* are evil spirits entirely under the direction of the noaaid, and ready at all times to execute his orders: they have been delivered over to him by the noaaid his father, who received them from his, and so on through a long series of magicians. These ganic flies are invisible to all but the magician, who keeps them shut up in a box until he has occasion for their services.

The *jwoige*, or song of incantation, is used by the noaaid whilst in the exercise of his magical function. To say it is sung, is to give an imperfect idea of the magician's manner of delivering it, which he does in the most hideous kind of yelling that can be conceived. It is also frequently employed by those who are not professed magicians; for the jwoige is supposed to have the power to drive away the wolf, and is considered as a protection for the herd. Indeed, if the wolf be within hearing when they sing it, it is no wonder if he should be frightened away by the noise. The words of this song are very simple; we here present them to the reader, accompanied with an exact translation:

Kumpi don ednak vahag lek dakkam  
Ik shjat kalka dam packest orrot  
Mutto dast erit daakkaa  
Mailme kiætzhjai mannat,  
Ia don kalkak dai  
Pazhjatalah, dacheke jetzhja lakai hæwanet:

Accursed wolf! far hence away!  
Make in these woods no longer stay:  
Fly hence! and seek earth's utmost bounds,  
Or perish by the hunter's wounds.

The method taken by the noaaid to recover stolen goods is no more than this. He comes into the tent where he has reason to suspect the



the thief is to be found, and pouring a quantity of brandy into a dish, which then reflects the features of any person looking into it, he makes a number of grimaces over it, and appears to consider it with very great attention. After some length of time employed in this way, he takes the suspected Laplander aside, charges him with the fact, declares he saw his face plainly figured to him in the dish, and threatens to let loose a swarm of ganic flies upon him, who shall torment him until he makes restitution. Thus does the magician work upon the fears and apprehensions of the suspected person, who, if he be the real thief, never fails to replace whatever he has stolen with the same secrecy as he took it away.

The egregious folly of believing that certain persons were endowed with supernatural power, and that they were assisted by invisible spirits, was universal soon after the establishment of christianity, and began not to be generally discredited till the sixteenth century. In England we even find witchcraft supported by royal authority: by James I., countenanced by the great Lord Bacon. The belief in spirits not less absurd, even the vigorous mind of Dr. Johnson was not exempt from. But these ridiculous, mischievous, and cruel delusions, are happily banished almost from the habitations of the most ignorant, and we already begin to wonder at the credulity of our ancestors.

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*Account of Madrid.*

*From Fischer's Travels in Spain.*

**M**ADRID is situated in the centre of Spain, and on all

sides almost equally distant from the sea. It stands higher than any other town, on an unequal plain, at some distance from the river Manzanares. It presents three principal views, the one toward the road to San Sebastian, a second from the heights before the gate of Alcalà, and the third from a hill before the port of Segovia. They have all different characters, but the last appears to me the finest. It is from thence, that the city is seen in its greatest extent; to the eastward the gardens of the Retiro, the Prado, and the other plantations on the bank of the river, to the westward the new palace, the rows of trees along the river, and some country houses. The eye then pursues the course of the Manzanares with its bridges and canals, and in the distance appear the lofty mountains of Guadarrama covered with snow.

Madrid forms an irregular square, of which two sides look toward the river, and the other two to the country. The town is surrounded by a wall of no great thickness, but tolerably high, and built of mud. It is easy to walk round it in three hours and a half. A line drawn from the *Puerta de Fuencarral* to that of *Toledo* divides the city in two parts lengthways, and the distance is an hour and a quarter. Another line drawn from the *Puerta de Alcalà* to that of *Segovia* divides the city transversely, and is a walk of nearly three quarters of an hour. According to the last accounts by Lopez, in his *Geografia Moderna*, the number of inhabitants, excepting the garrison, the hospitals, and children, amounts to 130,980, occupying 7100 houses, and it contains



tains 77 churches, 44 monasteries, and 31 convents. Most of the churches and monasteries are not detached buildings, but adjoining to other edifices.

The old houses are almost all of wood, but the new ones of granite, which is brought from a distance of sixteen or eighteen leagues. The old houses rarely exceed four stories, but the new have five or six. The former are decorated with paintings representing bull-fights, dancers, &c. in which the ancient costume is displayed. The others are quite simple, and almost all painted yellow. The old windows are high and narrow, the balconies small, the frontispieces projecting, but the new are quite the contrary, they are all in the Italian style, but there is no scarcity of images of saints, crucifixes, and madonnas.

This mixture of old and new buildings is particularly striking in places remarkable for their magnificence or deformity, thus for instance, in the street of *Alcalà*, or near the custom house, which is a superb edifice, you find an old mean building, and opposite to it awkward unsightly erections; and in the street called *Strada de la Concepcion*, are several magnificent edifices by the side of others that resemble old barracks. The street of *Acalà*, the *Red de San Luis*, the street of *San Hieronimo*, are undeniably the finest and most animated, but they are disfigured by many old bulidings; the streets of *Toledo*, *Segovia*, and the *Calle Mayor*, with its low arcades, consist in great measure of old and displeasing buildings, though here and there we find a few new and tolerably regular edifices. In the first of

the streets are even some waste spots. The celebrated square of *Puerta del sol* is decorated on one side by the great and magnificent building of the post-office, called *el Coireo*, but the two others are full of disgusting old houses, two of which were till lately shored up, though they are at last pulled down: and as for the *Plaza mayor*, descriptions of which are every where to be found, to admire it we must forget the fine squares of other capitals. But all comparisons apart, a square, closed on all sides, and destitute of every prospect, does not appear to me calculated to embellish a great city. However, as I am not giving you a topographical description of Madrid, I shall refer you to the map sold here by every print-seller, and to which the following work serves as a key; “*Madrid a la vista, o descripcion general compendiosa que muestra quantos templos, fundaciones religiosas, quarteles, barrios, manzanas, calles, casas, edificios, tiendas, y operarios contiene, arreglado el dia 10 de Dixiembre de 1797.*” This map is superior to the copy of it in Bourgoanne, on account of the names that have been added, as well as of its neater execution; and the work, which is closely printed, contains the most modern accounts, more particularly those of Ponz in his travels, and of Lopez in his description of the province of Madrid.

Let us now take a view of one of the most animated streets, as for instance the *Red de San Luis*. What a varied crowd! What a confusion of sounds! Women in black and veiled, men in long cloaks water-carriers, fruit-sellers, magnificent equipages, dusty diligences



gences, light calefas, waggons drawn by mules, and groaning under an enormous weight, a multitude of asses, with their pack-saddles and bells, and herds of goats, with peasants going from door to door to milk them. Further on blind musicians singing their tornadillos, or popular songs, and alguazils crying the order of police, a crowd of gallegos or porters, processions of chaplets, guards following the drum, or confraternities escorting a funeral and singing psalms, the tinkling of bells at all the neighbouring churches, and lastly the solemn procession of the *venerable* or host, when the bells of the children of the choir being heard, every one kneels down, all tongues are silent, and all hats are off, all the carriages stop, and the tumultuous mass seems instantaneously petrified; but two minutes are scarcely elapsed before the accustomed clangor is renewed.

In the centre of Madrid, a spot which is used as a place of assemblage by all the inhabitants, and as a general rendezvous by all persons of business, is the square I have already mentioned, called *La Puerta del Sol*, (or Sun-gate) in which the most frequented streets terminate, as the Red de San Luis, the Calle Mayor, and that of San Hieronimo.

The public squares are used throughout Spain as promenades and places of assemblage. The small towns, and even the villages, are not without such an open space, which is generally in front of the church. It is there the Spaniards recreate themselves after their labours, or enjoy the warmth of the sun in winter, and even those who scarcely ever quit the town, regu-

larly resort there. From this you may easily conceive the appearance of such a spot in the centre of the metropolis.

It has struck eleven, and a troop of officers of the guard with brilliant accoutrements, monks in black cloaks, charming women in veils embroidered with gold holding the arms of their *cortejos*, and a party-coloured crowd of all kinds, wrapped up in their cloaks, pour forth from every street to read the advertisements and posting bills (*noticias sueltas*;) “ To day there will be a sermon and music at the Franciscans: there will be an opera and such and such plays: to-morrow there will be a bull-fight, or the novena of San Felipo commences: Lost yesterday at the Prado a little girl, and this morning a chaplet: stolen three days ago such and such a jewel; if it has been taken through want, and if the thief will restore it by his confessor, he shall receive a handsome reward: the day after to-morrow will be sold by auction a large crucifix, an image of the Madonna, and a *nacimiento* (or case containing the infant Jesus with the two other persons of the trinity, in wood, plaster, &c.) This evening the procession of the rosary will set out about eight o’clock.”

Meanwhile the square is constantly filling, so that it becomes very difficult to pass. Here are criers of journals stunning the passengers with their noise, people reading the gazette for a quarto (farthing), walloon and swiss guards offering goods for sale, hackney coaches plying for fares, old clothesmen, cobblers, sharpers, sellers of images and cigars, and hucksters of all kinds



kinds tormenting the passengers; there a numerous circle crowd round an ingenious memorialista or notary, a very profitable occupation, and abounding in every street, for nothing is to be obtained by verbal applications, even to a passport, for which a *memorialito* must pass through an infinity of offices; and there a lotto with a dial to be pulled, next him a juggler with dancing monkeys, and farther on goods selling by auction; women ogling the passengers also mingle in the crowd, while capuchins with long beards parade with gravity and solemnity. Here you are attacked by a couple of ballad-singers, and there annoyed by an importunate beggar; to all which is added the noise of carriages and calesas, and of the neighbouring fountain re-echoing with the loud hallooing voices of the water-carriers.

This place is far more noisy still on Sundays and holidays, when crowds of people are flocking to the neighbouring churches. It is the fashion to pass these days in the square, and many a fair who has missed her lover at church is sure to find him here. The groups then crowd upon each other to the very gates of the church, and every one appears in his best apparel.

But it strikes *one*, and the crowd disappears; the porters range themselves near the houses to sleep the siesta or eat their dinner,—all the shops are shut, at the corner of the streets the hucksters stretch themselves beside them on the pavement, the place is cleared, the most noisy streets are quite deserted and dead, and a solitary passenger is rarely seen. But no sooner do the bells

ring for vespers, than all is life again, and at four o'clock the place is crowded anew.

At this time ladies of easy access issue forth from their retreats, spreading on all sides, and no modest women dares be seen abroad without her cortejo or her duenna, and frequently both. The former is the same as a *cicisbeo*. The latter was formerly a severe governess or guardian of the wife, paid by the husband, and frequently chosen from among his relations, but now a mere lady's maid. The women I was speaking of however are free from this slavery. Their light and bold walk, their short and fluttering petticoats, of which the long and transparent fringe exposes to view at every step a delicate and beautiful leg, whose enticing veils which rather display than conceal their charms, their large nosegays, and the coquettish play of their fans, characterize these dangerous fyrens. A word or a look, however cursory, suffice to produce an assignation, which is afterwards settled more at leisure in some neighbouring street.

The first-rate demireps, who still keep up external appearances, generally take with them a little girl, eight or ten years old, who serves as their duenna, and, proud of their charms, they wait till due homage is paid them. Those of the second class, who go alone, use less reserve; they smile with grace, and employ the most seducing allurements they possess.

At this time come the venders of cool water. These men carry on their shoulders a large stone pitcher, fastened on with leather thongs, and keep goblets in tin vessels to drink out of: it is sold



at a farthing the glass. Also orange-girls, flower-girls, chaise-drivers, news-venders, and lastly the beggars. Then by degrees the various equipages go to the theatres or the Prado, and on all sides company in chariots, on mules, and on borricos. At length it is twilight, the bells ring for the Angelus, the lamps are lighted before the madonas, and in the houses, while the wine-sellers and lemonade-sellers light up their shops, and every where are seen little tables with French rolls and paper lanterns. The noise of the passengers, the rumbling of carriages increases every moment, and the whole square is full of people. Here guitars and voleros are heard, there a ballad-singer singing the last new ballad and stories of men hanged, then a vigorous copper-coloured missionary preaching to a penitent populace, while his audience are appointing affignations.

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*National Character of the Swedes.*

*From Acerbi's Travels.*

**T**HERE is, perhaps, no country in Europe where instruction is so universally diffused among the very lowest of the people as in Sweden, except Iceland, Scotland\*, and the late small republic of Geneva. All the people in towns, villages, and hamlets, without exception, are taught to read. It was not without reason, therefore, that Gusta-

vus III. who kept a watchful eye on every event that might influence the state of society, interdicted all mention in the Swedish journals of a French revolution, either good or bad. He wished the people not only to be prevented from thinking of it, and reasoning about it; but as much as possible to be kept in the dark as to its very existence. The effects to be desired or dreaded in any country from the productions of the press, are, no doubt, in proportion to the degree and extent of education which the people at large have received. It does not follow, from the circumstance of the Swedes being all taught to read, and attached to established tenets and modes of worship, that they should be an honest and good sort of people: this however is the case. The Swedes, I mean the peasantry, (for as to the inhabitants of towns, they are corrupt in proportion to their population, their commerce, and their luxury) are a frank, open, kind-hearted, gay, hospitable, hardy, and spirited people. It would be difficult to point out any nation that is more distinguished by a happy union of genius, bravery, and natural probity of disposition. They are represented by their neighbours as the *gascons* of Scandinavia. This charge, when due allowance is made for the mutual jealousy and antipathy of neighbouring nations, amounts to no more than this, that they are actuated by that sensibi-

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\* In Scotland I find there is scarcely any person, no not even a beggar, who cannot both read and write; nor any in Iceland who cannot read, write, and cast accounts. In every family in Iceland the children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic at home, by their parents or other relatives. When the boys are sent to school, it is to acquire Latin and other accomplishments, such as some knowledge of geography, and of the elements of mathematics.



lity to fame, and love of distinction, which generally predominate in the breasts of brave, generous, and adventurous people.

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*Hunting and Fishing in Finland.*

*From the same.*

**H**UNTING and fishing are also avocations that are attended to in winter. Their mode of fishing is as follows: a couple of openings are made in the ice, and by means of ropes and long poles they then contrive to pass their nets from one opening to the other: the drawing out of the net is attended with infinite labour. They have another method of fishing on the ice, which seemed to me extremely curious, at least the novelty of it excited my surprise. It is by catching fish by a stroke of a mallet or club. In autumn, when the frost begins to set in, the fisherman courses along the rivers; and when he observes a fish under the ice, in shallow water he strikes a violent blow with his wooden mallet perpendicularly over the fish, so as to break the ice. The fish, stupified by the blow communicated to it by the water, in a few seconds rises quite giddy to the surface, where the man seizes it with an instrument made for the purpose.

I shall now give some account of the mode of attacking the bear. This is a kind of sport, which requires great presence of mind and intrepidity, and it must be acknowledged that the Finlander displays these virtues in an eminent degree.

It is but very lately that some few individuals have began to use fire arms in this chase; but there are still many among the peasantry, particularly in the inland part of the country, who will not expose their life to the uncertain shot of a musket, which is so liable to be prevented by damp; nor be possessed of an instrument which they think too costly, even when of a very ordinary quality. The favourite weapon of a Finlander in hunting the bear, is an iron lance fixed at the end of a pole. At about the distance of a foot from the point of the lance is fixed a cross-bar, which prevents the instrument from penetrating too far into the body of the bear, or passing through both sides. When the Finlander has discovered where the bear has taken up his winter quarters, he goes to the place and makes a noise at the entrance of his den, by which he endeavours to irritate and provoke him to quit his strong hold. The bear hesitates and seems unwilling to come out; but continuing to be molested by the hunter, and perhaps by the barking of his dog, he at length gets up and rushes in fury from his cavern. The moment he sees the peasant, he rears himself upon his two hind legs, ready to tear him to pieces. The Finlander instantly puts himself in a proper attitude, that is to say, he brings back the iron lance close to his breast, concealing from the bear the length of the pole, in order that he may not have time to be upon his guard, and consequently to parry with his paws the mortal blow which the hunter means to aim at his vitals. The Finlander then advances boldly  
towards



towards the bear, nor does he strike the blow till they are so near each other, that the animal stretches out his paws to tear his antagonist limb from limb. At that instant the peasant pierces his heart with the lance, which, but for the cross-bar, would come out at his shoulder; nor could he otherwise prevent the bear from falling upon him, an accident which might be highly dangerous. By means of the cross-bar the animal is kept upright, and ultimately thrown upon his back; but what may seem to some very extraordinary is, the bear, feeling himself wounded, instead of attempting with his paws to pull out the lance, holds it fast, and presses it more deeply into the wound. When the bear, after rolling upon the snow, ceases from the last struggles of death, the Finlander lays hold of him, and calls for the assistance of his friends, who drag the carcase to his hut; and this triumph terminates in a sort of festival, where the poet assists, and sings the exploits of the hunter.

The Finlanders are employed in summer in cutting down their hay and corn; the last they thresh out in winter; they build their boats, go a fishing, frequently a fowling, and in the spring time they hunt the squirrel, which they shoot from a cross-bow.

The figure of the bow has a strong resemblance to those with which the Dalicarian mountaineers were armed before the time of Gustavus Vasa. It is extremely heavy, and requires great strength to bend it, even with the assistance of a thong, which the Finlander carries about with him tied to his

leather girdle. The ancient usages, still preserved in the country, are an incontestible proof of the simplicity of the natives, and of the little knowledge they had acquired of our modern inventions. These usages are however worthy objects of the travellers attention, and are now the more interesting, because they are falling every day into oblivion, giving place to others of recent date.

In shooting the squirrel they employ, as has been intimated, a sort of blunt, pointless arrow, that they may kill the animal without injuring the skin: and what is deserving of being noticed, they do not take aim as we commonly do, by bringing the handle of the cross-bow near the eye, but set it upon the belly; and yet by this method, which appears so awkward to us, they seldom or never miss hitting the object. The arrow is too valuable to be lost, for the moment it falls it is picked up for another occasion.

But the species of hunting which sets the courage and enterprise of the Finlander in the very strongest light, is that of the seal, or *phoca vitulina* of Linnæus. The season of this chase begins when the sea breaks up, and the ice floats in shoals upon the surface. Four or five peasants will place themselves in an open boat, with one trifling mast, set off to sea, and be more than a month absent from their families. Thus they expose themselves to all the dangers of the high-seas, have a small fire which they kindle on a sort of brick hearth, live upon the flesh of the seal, which is extremely good, and bring home the fat and the skins.

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The perils which those voyagers have to struggle with are incredible: they are every instant between masses of ice, which threaten to crush their bark to atoms: they get upon the floating shoals, and, creeping along them, steal cautiously upon the seal, and kill him as he reposes upon the ice. Seven years ago, two Finlanders only set out in a boat for this chase. Having got sight of some seals on a little floating island, they quitted their boat and got upon the ice, moving on their hands and knees to get near them without being perceived. They had previously fastened their boat to the little island of ice they disembarked upon; but while they were busily engaged in their pursuit, a gust of wind tore away their boat, when meeting with other shoals, it was broken to pieces, and, in a few minutes, entirely disappeared. The hunters were aware of their danger when it was too late; they were now left without help, without resource, without a ray of hope, on their little floating island. They remained two weeks on this frail fragment: the heat, which diminished its bulk, and also its prominent surface, rendered their situation more alarming every moment. In the anguish of hunger, they gnawed the flesh of their arms: they saw the gulph of death opening gradually under their feet; they embraced each other, determined to plunge together into the sea, and put an end to their misery, from which they had no prospect of escaping: they had hailed the day for the last time, when they discovered a sail. How great must have been their joy! One stripped off his shirt, and suspended it on

the muzzle of their gun. The vessel was a whale-fisher which observed them, and putting out her boat, saved these two men from impending death.

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*The Arabs.*

*From Reynier's State of Egypt.*

THE Bedouin Arab, wandering in the desert, feeding his herds, and living on their milk, gives us, at this very day, a picture of the lives of the antient patriarchs. Their manners, customs, and mode of life are the same. The country they inhabit, permitting of no other, they could not change. If certain authors had lived among these people, if they had studied men formed for this pastoral life, they would have spared themselves much declamation.

The Arab has a great veneration for old people; very extensive are the limits which paternal authority has among them. The children remain under the dominion of the head of the family; when that becomes numerous, after many generations, it forms a tribe, of which the descendants of the first patriarch are the hereditary chiefs. Vested with the powers of government, they become powerful and wealthy. They assume to be of a superior class, and usurp a species of feudal authority over the rest of the tribe.

The sheiks represent the father of the family, and decide the differences of their children; but the more the family or tribe is extended, the less are the sentences of the sheik respected. Quarrels arise;



arise; and man in this state, when he thinks himself injured, has recourse to his personal strength.

Jealousies among brethren, the consequences of inequality in the love and regard they inspire, or of the property they enjoy, are extremely frequent, especially after the death of the father; and, although the birth-right of the eldest is acknowledged among the Arabs, it is not uncommon to see brothers go to war, when they are sufficiently powerful to extend their quarrels to that issue. The contests between neighbouring families or tribes are no less frequent encroachments on pasturage, and the taking away of cattle, are the causes and pretexts. No supreme authority exists to judge between the parties, or to impose an accommodation upon them; and this primitive and pastoral life, which has been fabled so peaceable, is no better than a state of perpetual warfare.

There is no principle among the Arabs to unite the individuals and tribes in one general society. Their religion, which, as a common principle, ought to be a means of union, produced that effect only during the fanatical impulse given by Mahomet to his followers, and continued under his immediate successors, by a series of astonishing conquests, which conquests afterwards changed the manners of these people. Each tribe has its religious chief, who, in matters concerning the tribe too important to be referred to the sheik, decides according to the principles of the Koran. But these ministers of religion do not possess an influence powerful enough to suppress dissensions between tribes.

Quarrels among the Arabs are inveterate. Hereditary animosities occasion combats, mutual ravages, and assassinations eternally reviving, since blood must be answered with blood. Local circumstances, common interests, and like hatreds, sometimes unite for a time different tribes and families under one head; but the conclusion of the war that brings them together, and the division of spoils, break these temporary ties, no longer of force when the same dangers no longer press on the members of which the union was formed.

Although swayed by the jealous and angry passions engendered by this habitual state of war, the Arabs possess fine moral qualities. They exercise hospitality, even towards their enemies. This virtue seems more common among men approaching a state of nature, notwithstanding their wants, than among civilised men in the midst of abundance. With the latter it loses its purity, from the ostentation that enters into all their actions, and perhaps because hospitality in some degree grows out of the want which men in a rude state frequently have of an asylum from the many storms to which they are exposed.

Enamoured of their independence, the Arabs despise the husbandman and the inhabitants of cities. They have a degree of fierceness of character, but not unmingled with elevated sentiments. It is even a question still to be resolved, if the dissimulation and treachery with which they are reproached, particularly in their individual and political relation with more civilised people, spring from their own manners, or result from their



their experience of the bad faith of civilised nations\*.

The qualities the Arabs hold in the highest estimation are frankness and courage. One of the greatest eulogiums they can give a man is to say of him—that “*he has but one tongue.*”

No title is so noble in the eyes of these people as that of father. As soon as an Arab has a son, he changes his name, assuming one which expresses that he is *father of this son*. That which the Arabs most desire, is the increase of their family and tribe, because their power and influence increase in the same proportion. It is according to the number of children their wives bear that they honour them. Reduced to household cares and to tending their herds, the women have seldom any public influence. There are, however, examples of women who, from their reputation and talents, have succeeded their husbands in the office of sheik.

Frequent contests determined the various families or tribes to draw the limits of the territory, and to define the wells of the desert, which should belong to each. This species of property is common to the whole tribe. Personal property consists of herds, the sale of which produces them corn, arms, and tobacco; the hire of their camels, and a few inconsiderable branches

of commerce, such as charcoal, gum, salt, natron, and alum, which commerce local circumstances confine to certain tribes. The Arabs levy no taxes to defray general expences. The sheik is usually the richest of the community. It is his duty to support his cavalry, and provide for the expences occasioned by general hospitality, and the assembling of other chiefs. Except in these instances, he lives as simply as the rest of the tribe.

To pillage is a passion inseparable from the Arabs. Their spoils are divided among the families by established regulations. Is this spirit of plunder inherent to their degree of civilization? Is it the result of wars they make upon one another? Or is it engendered by the jealousy which they bear towards the more civilised people who inhabit the cultivated lands? I do not attempt to decide among these questions. The Arabs justify themselves by maintaining that pillage is a right of conquest. They regard what they seize as military trophies, and consider themselves in a state of eternal warfare with all who are not of their nation.

The Arab, habituated from his infancy to respect all the actions of the aged, and his parents, forms his opinion wholly upon theirs. Nothing is able to excite in him new ideas; and thus his manners

\* I have frequently been surprised to hear Arabs, educated in the desert, with a savage aspect, and coarsely clothed, scarcely able to read a few passages in the Koran, employ in certain negotiations a subtlety in their argument, and a finesse worthy of the most able statesmen, and flatteries that the most polished courtier might avow; while they embellished their discourse with beautiful and grand images. In general, the lively and elevated sentiments of the Arabs form a wonderful contrast with the sterile soil they inhabit, and with the simplicity and even frequent distress of their mode of life. In their poetry they sing the praises of love; although their institutions, their habit of polygamy, and the abject state to which their wives are reduced, it might be supposed, would nearly extinguish that passion.



are perpetuated. He believes that there is nothing more valuable or noble than himself. Occupied with his horses, his camels, his journeys, his expedition and plunders, while his wives tend their herds and weave their coarse garments, he contemplates with disdain the rest of men, and thinks it degrading to his dignity to cultivate the land or inhabit a house. His contempt of all foreign institutions constantly opposes the influence they might gain upon him.

These habits have preserved a national character in all the Arabs, even in those who have had the most intercourse with civilised people, and adopted part of their customs. But although the character of the Arabs is not sensibly modified by their intercourse with other people, their habitation of cultivated territories has been followed with changes in their political condition. Let us examine the various states of this people, from the Arab remaining in the desert, to him who is become the lord of cultivated territories.

The Bedouin Arab, living in the desert on the produce of his flocks and his plunder, is deemed the most noble and of the purest blood. The wealthiest persons of his nation, living in plenty on their cultivated lands, are accustomed to speak of the Arab in the desert with the highest veneration, and consider it as an honour to be descended from him, however little they imitate his mode of life.

There are, in some tribes, a class composed of the descendants of foreign families, or of *fellahs* (*cultivators*), who, worn out with oppression, have fled from culti-

vated territories to the desert, and embraced the Arab's life. This last is not admitted to partake of the noble idleness and the military life of the Bedouins. He is restricted to the tending of herds, to the guiding of camels, and to labouring the earth, when these tribes have any cultivated land. Such are the Hatemah in Charkiah. Some sheiks of tribes, neighbours of cultivated territories, having greatly augmented their power and wealth, have reduced the rest of their tribe to this subordinate condition; and their own families, being alone considered as of noble origin and of purely Arab blood, are alone exempt from labour.

The Arabs make no slaves in their wars. Having no hard labour to perform, slaves would be useless to them; and as no purchasers could be found, they could not be made an object of commerce. When their enemies fall into their hands, they put them to death, or are satisfied with plundering of them, according as they suppose them to possess importance among their enemies. Sometimes they retain them as hostages.

They are not, however, wholly without slaves. They even sometimes purchase negroes from the interior of Africa. With them, as with most of the people of the east, slavery is only a species of adoption. When the slave is purchased, he is received into the family. At first he is employed only in domestic services; but as soon as his years and strength permit, he accompanies his master in war; he has every thing in common with the Arab's children; and often his master joins to the gift of liberty the



the herds necessary to his establishment, and obtains a wife for him. Descendants of negro-slaves have been known to partake of authority and influence in common with other Arabs, and several have arrived at the rank of sheik. The tribes of the desert purchase fewer slaves than the Arabs who are neighbours of the cultivated lands, and have occasion for a considerable armed force to protect themselves and enlarge their power.

Several tribes have successively established themselves upon the common skirts of the cultivated land and the desert; and others in the sandy plains, which form a species of isles in the midst of cultivated territories. They continue to live under tents, or in cabins made of reeds, and preserve their original manners. They retain also their district in the desert, where they send their camels to pasture, and to which they may retire with their herds when they have any attack to fear. Their vicinity to the cultivated lands induces habits and wants from which the Bedouins are exempt. These Arabs live better than the tribes of the desert, and cultivate some portions of ground, by employing either inferior classes or the fellahs.

Other Arabs have quitted their tents to live in villages, where they are distinguished from the fellahs by their idleness, by the military life of such as are of the families of the sheiks, and by a species of independence. Become proprietors

and cultivators, they are more within the reach of government; yet many are sufficiently powerful to resist government, and others to make themselves feared. Some possess territories which they govern as masters. The Sheik Hamman was the real sovereign of Upper Egypt when Ali Bey annihilated his power. Since that time no sheik has arisen to the same degree of grandeur; but there are many who possess intire villages, either as proprietors and lords of the place, or as proprietors of free lands. They maintained their dignity by a numerous cavalry, and were feared and respected by a weak and divided government.

The Arabs consider themselves as masters of Egypt by right of conquest. The various tribes have divided among themselves the intire country by provinces and jurisdictions\*, in which they respectively govern, and have their particular territories. They regard the fellahs as vassals, whose duty it is to cultivate the land necessary to the subsistence of the Arabs, and pay a tribute for what they cultivate on their own account; while they, on their part, protect the cultivators by their arms against hostile tribes. They preserve all the pride of the conquering Arabs; treat with the government of Egypt as one sovereign with another; and deem it unworthy of their grandeur to pay a fixed tribute, purchasing their tranquillity by presents consecrated by custom, and consisting chiefly of

\* I use the word *jurisdiction* because there are still traces to be found of the institutions of the Arabs, the successors of Mahomet, who established a kind of justices of the peace, named Sanagar, who, as arbitrators, terminated quarrels in their jurisdiction. This office was hereditary in the chiefs of certain families. The Arabs still sometimes consult those chiefs; but the institution is almost abolished, since the mamalukes have usurped all power in Egypt.



horses and camels, but very rarely of money. They retreat into the desert rather than submit intirely. Dreaded by the cultivators, and setting the government at defiance, in their rapid flights and rapid return, they equally compel the fellahs to purchase their protection.

The title of Arab sheik is highly venerated in Egypt. As soon as the sheik of a village is sufficiently rich to maintain an establishment and a certain number of cavalry, he procures himself a genealogy, which traces his descent from some Arab family, and takes the title of *Sheik el Arab*. If the quarrels and inveterate animosity of the Arab tribes did not prevent their union, the sheiks could assemble 40,000 horse, and would be masters of Egypt. But their dissensions protect the country from their domination.

The Arab families who inhabit the villages, particularly the Aouarah in Upper Egypt, appear to be descended from the conquerors of Egypt, under the successors of Mahomet. The establishment of other tribes is more modern. I have not been able to discover the epoch of their arrival, nor that of the distinction of their provinces. The old men of the tribes dwelling near the cultivated lands, ascribe their emigration to the eleventh or twelfth century. From the earliest time the Nile has attracted the inhabitants of the desert to its banks. On the side of Charkieh dwell the tribes that came from Arabia. The tribes from Barbary proceeded no further than Bahirah,

which lies to the West of the Nile. These are more warlike and better armed than the former.

Besides alliances among tribes, there exists among the Arabs numerous confederacies or leagues, of which powerful sheiks are the leaders. Every tribe, and every family, belong to one of these confederacies, and those who are of the same party reciprocally aid each other in war. When a quarrel arises between two tribes of the same league, that which is deserted by the other members of the league for the time joins the opposite party.

I have not been able to trace the origin of these confederacies. They are very ancient, and exist among all the nations of Arabs. In Lower Egypt one of these leagues is named *Sath*, and the other *Haran*. In Syria their names are *Kiech* and *Yemani*. The families of fellahs and the villages are attached to one or other of these leagues. The beys, when they are divided into two great parties, strengthen themselves in their dissensions by an alliance with one or other of them. When the French army arrived in Egypt, Ibrahim Bey was of the league called *Sath*, and Murad Bey of that called *Haran*. In general, the *Sath* league was attached to the governor of Cairo.

The Arabs may be said to form a frame in which the population of Egypt is inclosed. They constitute an empire within an empire. And I have described their political condition and character with some minuteness, because traces of these are found in all the other classes of Egypt.

*The*



*The Fellahs, or Cultivators in Egypt.*

*From the same.*

THE Fellahs, or cultivators of Egypt, have a great resemblance in character to the Arabs, and are probably descended from a mixture of the first irruption of Arabs with the ancient inhabitants. They preserve the same distinction of families; and those that live together in a village form a species of tribe. The animosities between families or villages are as strong as those among the Arabs; but the extreme dependence of the fellahs has robbed them of the lofty and independent temper of the Arabs. The fellahs vegetate under feudal power, the more rigorous because it is divided, and because their oppressors form part of the government which ought to protect them. But, with all the disadvantages of their situation, they endeavour incessantly to imitate the independence of the Arabs, and are proud of calling them ancestors.

The fellahs are bound by families to the lands they cultivate. Their labour is the property of the *mukhtesims*, or lords of villages. Although the fellahs cannot be sold, their condition is more wretched than absolute slavery. They indeed possess and transmit to their children the land allotted to their families, but they cannot alienate them, and can scarcely let any part of them without the permission of their lord. If, wearied out with oppression, a fellah quits his village, the mukhtesim has the right to pursue and arrest him. The hospitality practised by the fellahs, in common with the Arabs, opens an asylum to the fugitives in other villages, where they hire them-

selves as labourers, and remain in safety, if the proprietor is not sufficiently powerful to wrest them from the place. They are also received and sheltered among the Arabs.

The fellahs who remain in a village partially deserted by the cultivators are more unfortunate than the fugitives. They are compelled to support all the labour, and pay all the dues of the fugitives; and, often reduced to despair, they intirely abandon the village, and engage themselves as domestics of the Arabs of the desert, if they can find no other secure refuge. Many villages are to be seen wholly deserted, and the lands belonging to them uncultivated; the inhabitants taking this method to punish the excessive avidity of their lords.

The mukhtesims, or proprietors of villages, may be compared to the feudal lords of Europe. They receive the greater part of the produce of the lands, which they afterwards divide into unequal proportions, the smaller, which bears the name of the *miri*, is the territorial impost due to the grand seignor; and the larger, known by the name of *fays*, of *barani*, &c. they reserve to themselves. Besides these rights, the mukhtesim, like the feudal lord, has the immediate property of land called *oussieb*, which the fellahs are compelled to cultivate *without hire*, in the manner of our ancient feudal duties.

A village does not always belong to a single proprietor; many villages having several lords. To mark clearly the boundaries of this species of property, the village is supposed to be divided into twenty-four parts, named *karats*, of which



each mukhtesim has a certain number. Each *karat*, cultivated by one or more families, has a sheik chosen by the mukhtesim among their chiefs. The sheik who possesses the greatest wealth, maintains the greatest number of horse, and has acquired the principal influence in war, is acknowledged as principal sheik, and manages the general affairs of the village. But he has no direct authority, except in his own family; and his counsels are followed in the rest of the village only in proportion as he is personally respected or feared.

Besides the sheiks there are other functionaries in the villages;—the *oukil*, to whom the proprietor commits the charge of the produce of the *oussieh*, or his particular land; the *chahed*, and the *kholi*, who are select chiefs, and are the keepers of the small number of records of the village; the *mechaid*, the *mohandis*, a species of surveyors, &c.

The mukhtesim sometimes appoints a *kaimaikan*, or his deputy, in the village, whose office it is to preserve the police, and to superintend the cultivation of the ground and the payment of the contributions. When the *kaimaikan* is attended with a force to induce obedience, when he does not seek merely the making of his own fortune, and when the proprietor is sufficiently informed of his own interests not to make him an instrument of oppression, this officer is useful to a village, because quarrels are then the more easily appeased; and the police being better administered, the fellahs give themselves up almost wholly to the cultivation of the land.

The fellah's being the cultivators

of the land, more subjects of dispute arise among them than even among the Arabs. Their sheiks having no direct authority among them, except in their own families, there exists no central municipal authority in a village. If some one of the sheiks does not gain the ascendancy, if the mukhtesims do not mutually appoint a *kaimaikan* with a strong armed force, anarchy pervades the village, and every family becomes the avenger of its own quarrels. The necessity of cultivating the ground, however, imposes accommodations upon them, and they choose arbitrators. But there is no force charged with the execution of the decisions of these judges. It often happens that one of the parties, concluding himself to be aggrieved by the sentence, refuses obedience to it till some powerful man compels him to submit.

The cadis, established in each province to determine disputes according to the Koran, have a very feeble hold on the public opinion. They are seldom referred to, except for general affairs concerning various villages, or in disputes about property subject to judicial proceedings. The mukhtesims, whose interest it is to be judges in their own villages, and the Arab sheiks, desirous to preserve their jurisdictions, have drawn almost all business away from the cadis, and the mamalukes have finally assisted to despoil them of all consideration. The wretched and unprotected state of the fellahs compels them, when they are tired of their quarrels, to have recourse to arbitrators sufficiently powerful to enforce their decisions, who usually are the principal



principal sheiks of their village or neighbouring villages, Arab sheiks, the mukhtefims, or, finally, the *kiachef*, or bey, who is governor of the province.

The quarrels of the fellahs sometimes interrupt the labour necessary to irrigation and the culture of the land. Each fellah seeks an opportunity to plunder or kill an enemy. The offender is not pursued; frequently he is unknown; but his whole family remain responsible for the offence; and then they draw into their quarrel their allies, entire villages, and even sometimes the great confederacies themselves. Hence arise those wars which the most powerful mediator has alone the means of terminating.

The government, seldom strong enough to prevent or repel the attacks to which the villages are constantly exposed from the Arabs, or silence the wars engendered by the animosities of families, permits the cultivators to possess arms. According to their means, they carry sorry muskets with matchlocks, poignards, sabres, lances, and clubs. When they deem themselves sufficiently strong to withhold the tribute they pay the Arabs for protection, they go armed to cultivate the fields or reap the harvest. The appearance of an Arabian mare, the courser of the Arab sheik, is always to the fellahs, while they are at work, the signal either of flight or battle.

Every village places guards to watch its dykes during the inundation. When the inundation is less abundant than usual, the fellahs frequently contend for the water.

An inclosure flanked with small towers, situated near the wells that are distant from the villages, serves to protect their herds at the appearance of an enemy\*.

Almost all the villages are surrounded with mud walls, having battlements; and are so many citadels to which the fellahs retire with their herds, and stand upon the defensive, if they are not sufficiently strong in horse to keep the field. These petty fortifications are considered almost as impregnable by the Arabs and the fellahs, who have no artillery, and very few fire arms. Even the mamalukes decline an attack upon the villages, when they can gain them by persuasion or surprise them by treachery.

The wars of the fellahs are no more than skirmishes. They consist rather of assassinations than battles. But, it being the maxim that blood must be avenged by blood, these hostilities would be interminable, if the government, the great proprietors, or the powerful Arab sheiks, did not interfere as armed mediators, and if the custom of paying a compensation for blood (by which the families who have lost the most men receive indemnities) did not suspend animosity propagated from family to family.

This almost continual state of warfare, these alliances, and general confederacies, accustom the fellahs to resist the oppressions of their proprietors, and even of the government, when exigencies do not permit them to keep up a sufficient force to overawe the villages; and hence revolts are very frequent

\* Similar towers are to be seen in many parts of Europe, where the feudal system has existed longest.



in certain provinces, and especially where the Arabs are numerous.

It would be difficult to conceive men in a more unhappy condition than the fellahs, if they were acquainted with any medium of comparison, if their character and religious prejudices did not incline them to resignation, and if they were not persuaded that the cultivator of the land is destined to enjoy no milder fate. It is not enough that they pay to the government and the mukhtefims the larger share of their harvest, that they are compelled to cultivate without hire the oussieh or the particular land of their lords, that the mukhtefims daily lay heavier impositions upon them; the governors of the provinces moreover require subsistence for their troops, forced presents, and almost every species of arbitrary exaction, the names of some of which add insult to oppression, such as *raffel medzalin*, the composition for tyranny. It is comparatively little that the laws are feeble and ill-administered, that redress is not to be obtained by the cultivators without bribes, that being unable to purchase redress, and assuming the right to obtain it for themselves, they are obliged to pay for that offence, and that even flight cannot always screen them from these oppressions; to aggravate the evil, the Arabs who immediately surround their lands, tax them for their protection against other tribes; — a protection in words only, since, notwithstanding the contribution, they do not the less plunder the harvests of their tributaries; and when the government pursue and disperse the Arabs, punishments and new exactions fall upon the heads of

the unfortunate cultivators, whom the Arabs always force into their party.

To this miserable condition is to be attributed the general indolence of the fellahs, their temperance, their distaste for every species of enjoyment, and the habit of burying their money; which last custom, however, is common to them with all the other classes. Certain to draw upon themselves by an appearance of easy circumstances new contributions, often beyond their means, they are peculiarly careful to disguise what they possess. Very different from the European farmers, who put on their gayest apparel when they visit their landlords, the fellahs studiously cover themselves with the worst of their apparel when they appear before their lords.

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*The Psylli of Egypt.*

*From Denon's Travels.*

THE serpent, though not winged, is still the object of some sorcery in Egypt. I was with the commander in chief one day, when the psylli were introduced, and we put many questions to them relative to the mystery of their sect, and the supposed command over serpents which they appeared to possess. They answered our questions with more assurance than intelligence, but we put them to the proof: "Can you tell us," said the general, "whether there are any serpents in the palace, and if there are, can you oblige them to come forth from their retreats?" They answered both questions in the affirmative; and we put them to



to the proof: on which they searched all the rooms, and presently after they declared that there was a snake in the house; they then renewed their search to discover where he was hid, made some convulsions in passing before a jar placed in a corner of one of the rooms, and declared that the animal was there; where indeed we actually found one. This was a true Comus's trick; we looked at each other, and acknowledged that they were very adroit.

Being always curious to observe the means by which men command the opinions of others, I regretted that I was not at Rosetta at the procession of the feast of Ibrahim, in which the convulsions of the *psylli* form the most entertaining part, to the populace, of this religious ceremony. To make up for my loss, I addressed myself to the chief of the sect, who was keeper of the *okel* or tavern of the franks; I flattered him; and he promised to make me a spectator of the exaltation of one of the *psylli*, as soon as he should have *blown into his spirit*, as he expressed it. From my curiosity he thought I bid fair to be a proselyte, and he proposed to initiate me, which I accepted; but when I learned that in the ceremony of initiation the grand master spits in the mouth of the neophyte; this circumstance cooled my ardour, and I found that I could not prevail on myself to go through this trial; so I gave my money to the high priest, and he promised to let me see one of the inspired.

They had brought with them their serpents, which they let loose from a large leather sack in which they were kept, and made

them erect their bodies and hiss, by irritating them. I remarked that it was the light which principally caused their anger, for as soon as they were returned into the sack their passion ceased, and they no longer endeavoured to bite. It was also curious to observe, that, when angry, the neck for six inches below the head, was dilated to the size of one's hand. I soon saw that even I could manage the serpents perfectly well, without fear of their fangs; for having well remarked that the *psylli*, while they were threatening the animal with one hand, seized it on the back of the head with the other: I did the same with one of the serpents with equal success, though much to the indignation of the performers themselves. After this, they proceeded to the grand mystery: one of the performers took a snake, which he had previously disabled by breaking the under jaw, and by rubbing away the gums till the whole of the palate was destroyed; he then grasped it with the appearance of passion, and approached the chief, who with great gravity gave him the *spirit*, that is to say, after uttering some mysterious words, blew into his mouth; and, at the instant, the other was seized with a sacred convulsion, his arms and legs distorted, his eyes seeming to start from his head, and he began to tear the animal with his teeth; whilst the two attendants, appearing to commiserate his sufferings, restrained his struggles with difficulty, and snatched from his hand the serpent, which he was unwilling to let go. As soon as the snake was removed, he remained as if stupid; but the chief approached him,



him, muttered some words to him, retook from him the spirit by aspiration, and he returned to his natural state. Now, however, he that had seized the snake beginning to be tormented with the same ardour to consummate the mystery, came up to the chief to demand the spirit; and as he was stronger and more active than the first, his cries and convulsions were still more violent and ridiculous. I had now seen enough of the initiation, and thus ended this gross juggling.

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*Egyptian Dancers.*

*From the same.*

WE requested of the sheiks a sight of the *almés*, a description of female dancers similar to those of India. These chiefs, a part of whose revenues they probably constituted, made some difficulty in allowing them to be brought into our presence. If polluted by the inspection of infidels, their reputation might suffer, and they might perhaps even be obliged to forfeit their condition in life. The vileness of a christian in the eyes of a musfulman may be estimated from this anecdote, since the objects which are the most dissolute and abandoned in this sect, may notwithstanding be profaned by the view of an European. The presence, however, of a general, together with that of two hundred soldiers, and some old offences for which the sheiks had an atonement to make, soon removed every obstacle. The *almés* arrived; and we could not perceive that they participated in the slightest degree in the political

considerations and religious scruples of the sheiks. They made some difficulty, however, and that with a tolerable share of grace, in granting us what we should have considered as the smallest of their favours, that of uncovering the eyes and the mouth. In a little time their forms were completely displayed through coloured gauze, fastened by a sash, which they tightened from time to time negligently, and with an air of levity by no means disagreeable, and somewhat *à la française*. They had brought with them two instruments, a pipe and tabour, and a kind of drum, made from an earthen pot, on which the musician beat with his hands. They were seven in number. Two of them began dancing, while the others sung with an accompaniment of castanets, in the shape of cymbals, and of the size of a crown piece. The movement they displayed in striking them against each other gave infinite grace to their fingers and wrists. At the commencement the dance was voluptuous: it soon after became lascivious, and expressed, in the grossest and most indecent way, the giddy transports of the passions. The disgust which this spectacle excited was heightened by one of the musicians, of whom I have just spoken, and who, at the moment when the dancers gave the greatest freedom to their wanton gestures and emotions, with the stupid air of a clown in a pantomime, interrupted, by a loud burst of laughter, the scene of intoxication which was to close the dance.

These dancers swallowed large glasses of brandy as if it had been lemonade.



lemonade. Accordingly, notwithstanding they were all young and handsome, they were haggard and jaded, with the exception of two of them, whose beauty bore so striking a resemblance to that of two of our Paris *belles*, that we all joined in a general exclamation when they disclosed their features. So truly is grace a pure gift of nature, that Josephina and Hanka, who had received no other education than that which is bestowed on the most infamous profession in the most dissolute of cities, when the dance was ended, possessed all the delicacy of manners of the women whom they resembled, and the soft and endearing voluptuousness which they, no doubt, reserve for those on whom they lavish their secret favours. I could have wished, I must confess, that Josephina had not resembled the others in her style of dancing.

Notwithstanding the licentious life of these females, they are introduced into the Harems to instruct the young persons of their sex in all that may render them agreeable to their future husbands. They give them lessons of dancing, singing, gracefulness, and, in general, of all voluptuous attainments. It is not surprising, that with manners which make the principal duty of women to consist in bestowing pleasure, those who follow the profession of gallantry should be the teachers of the fair sex. They are admitted to the festivals which the grandees give to those of their own rank; and when, from time to time, a husband wishes to entertain his harem in a particular manner, they are also sent for.

*Character of the Sultan Mahmud.*

*From Maurice's Modern History of Hindostan.*

SULTAN Mahmud, it is recorded, possessed many great and princely virtues; among them principally predominated a dauntless fortitude, profound political wisdom, and, on some occasions, he manifested a laudable spirit of inflexible justice; but they were all darkened by his execrable bigotry and his insatiable avarice. No man ever had such ample opportunities of gratifying it in its fullest extent. The wealth he amassed in his various wars, but particularly in his invasions of India, was of an enormous amount; and independently of these, he had other occasional sources to fly to for obtaining treasure. In particular, at the storming of Bagdad, he extorted from the Caliph Al Kader Billa, at once, five millions of dirhms. The splendour of his court attracted thither the most celebrated scholars and poets from all parts of Asia. Here they were hospitably and splendidly entertained out of the overflowings of wealth too vast to feel the deduction, and contributed to swell the pomp of a monarch, more ostentatious than really generous; and far more eager to obtain praise than anxious to reward it. Of this his conduct towards the great poet Ferdusi, the Homer of Asia, was a striking proof. The reader will easily pardon me for transcribing the whole relation from the authentic page of Sir William Jones, who, with much of the poetic fire of Ferdusi, at an early period

of



of life, experienced from a great European sovereign a similar ill-treatment with that bard.

“ This most learned man, happening to find a volume of Persian history, of a very ancient date, read it with eagerness, and found it involved in fables, but bearing the marks of high antiquity; the most ancient part of it, and principally the war of Afrasiah and Khosro, or Cyrus, seemed to afford an excellent subject for an heroic poem, which he accordingly began to compose. Some of his episodes and descriptions were shewn to the sultan, who commended them exceedingly, and ordered him to comprize the whole history of Persia in a series of epic poems. The poet obeyed; and after the happiest exertions of his fancy and art, for near thirty years, he finished his work, which contained sixty thousand couplets in rhyme, all highly polished, with the spirit of our Dryden, and the sweetness of Pope. He presented an elegant transcript of his book to Mahmud, who coldly applauded his diligence and dismissed him. Many months elapsed, and Ferdufi heard no more of his work: he then took occasion to remind the king of it by some little epigrams, which he contrived to let fall in his palace: but where an epic poem had failed what could be expected from an epigram? At length the reward came, which consisted only of as many small pieces of money as there were couplets in the volume. The high-minded poet could not brook this insult: he retired to his closet with bitterness in his heart, where he wrote a most noble and animated invective against the sultan, which he sealed up and deli-

vered to a courtier, who, as he had reason to suspect, was his greatest enemy, assuring him, that it was a diverting tale, and requested him to give it to Mahmud when any affair of state or bad success in war should make him more uneasy and splenetic than usual. Having thus given vent to his indignation, he left Gazna in the night, and took refuge in Bagdad, where the caliph protected him from the power of the sultan, who demanded him in a furious and menacing letter.”

We are the more astonished at this unworthy treatment of the prince of Asiatic poets, because we are informed by all his biographers that Mahmud himself was a poet, and, at an early period of life, translated into verse a sublime treatise on government, composed by the Brahmins of India.

Of the power, indeed, of elegant poetry to attract and mollify him, we have already given a striking proof in the pacificatory verses addressed to him by the rajah of Callinger. His historians record another instance of its effect in soothing his turbulent passions, which is too curious to be passed over unnoticed. Mahmud seems, like other poets, to have occasionally indulged in the pleasures of the flowing goblet. In a moment of intoxication he one night cut off the beautiful tresses of his favourite mistress. In the morning he was extremely afflicted for the outrage he had committed. The distracted state of his mind shewed itself in his wild and furious gestures. Nobody dared approach the agitated monarch. At length a celebrated philosopher and poet of the court addressed him in some beautiful lines,



lines, artfully adapted to the sorrowful occasion. The sovereign's grief gradually subsided, and as the bard proceeded, he became so delighted with the effusion, that he ordered his mouth to be three times filled with jewels; an admirable mode of rewarding poetical merit, never, I believe, before or since practised! The sultan then, in spite of his zeal for the doctrines of the Koran, called aloud for wine, and seating the favourite poet by his side, forgot his cares in the renovated pleasures of the banquet.

Of his inflexible justice the following instance is inserted in *Herbelot* from the *NIGHIARISTAN*, composed by *Al Kafwani*.

A person one day, in great agony of mind, abruptly rushed into his presence, while the king was sitting at his tribunal, and called loudly for justice. Mahmud desired him instantly to declare his complaint. He said that he was a man in but indigent circumstances, but blest with a handsome wife, whose beauty had unfortunately excited the passion of an omrah of great wealth and rank; that the said omrah, with armed attendants, came frequently, at midnight, to his house, and after severely beating him, turned him into the street, while he gratified, by force, his libidinous desires. Tears of resentment and compassion started from the eyes of Mahmud, and he severely reprimanded the poor sufferer for not sooner preferring his complaint. The man replied, that he had often attempted it, but could never gain admittance. "If," said Mahmud, "that omrah should ever trouble you again, let me know it with-

out a moments delay." Then ordering the guard to admit him at any hour, however unseasonable, he dismissed him. The third night following the former outrage being renewed, the complainant hurried to the palace; but the king having retired to the haram, was refused admittance. Encouraged by the promises of Mahmud, he now set up the most violent outcries, in hopes that the noise would alarm the court, and reach the ear of the king. The attempt succeeded, and Mahmud snatching his robe in haste, followed the poor man to his house, attended by part of his guard. When arrived thither, he immediately ordered the light to be extinguished, and cut the insolent omrah to pieces. After the execution he commanded a flambeau to be lighted, and then looked earnestly at the face of the criminal; this done, he prostrated himself, returned thanks to God, and called for some refreshment. The house of poverty afforded no other than some barley bread and a little stale wine, which however the sultan was contented with, and on the point of returning to his palace, was, after the most fervent expressions of gratitude, humbly solicited by the avenged husband to declare, why he ordered the light to be extinguished; why he prostrated himself after the death of the omrah; and lastly, how the fastidious appetite of a great king could put up with so beggarly a repast? The sultan with great condescension replied, that after his first complaint he conjectured that none of his numerous subjects, except his own son, would dare to commit an act of such horrible enormity in the capital where he resided;



resided; that determined to sacrifice so atrocious an offender to the justice of the laws, he ordered the light to be extinguished, lest compassion at the sight of so dear a relative should arrest his hand in the execution of that justice; that, finding it was not his son, he prostrated himself with grateful humility before God; and that he had eaten cheerfully of his repast, however humble, because he had, on the instant of hearing his complaint, made a vow not to eat or drink till he had avenged himself on the base adulterer.

Thus great, thus mean; thus formidable, thus contemptible; thus benevolent, thus cruel, was the potent Mahmud; whose empire extended from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus; and from the Tigris to the Ganges. No Mohammedan prince before him, ever attained to so exalted a point of power and splendour, ever rolled in so much wealth, or was ever stained with so much blood. The liberal patron of the arts, at Gazna; at Delhi, the remorseless despoiler of their proudest monuments! affecting towards the great creator the most zealous piety, but acting towards his creatures with ferocious barbarity. So singular a compound of qualities the most opposite, has seldom occurred in the historic page; though, in *these* pages, but too many characters will hereafter pass in review, polluted with all the vices, unmitigated by the virtues of Mahmud. Of the atrocities that marked a Gengis, a Timur, and an Aurengzeb, it will soon be my painful task to give the black

details, and to trace through desolated India their blood-stained steps. I shall attempt neither to disguise nor palliate their crimes; but display them for the contemplation of future depredators, in all the horrors of native deformity; under whatever sounding title concealed, endeavour to detect and expose the sordid baseness of avarice, to ensanguined ambition hold up the genuine mirror. This is the duty of the historian at all times, but more particularly of an historian of India; the *debateable ground*, if I may so term it, of ravaged Asia, the Aceldama of the earth.

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*Account of the Back Settlers in America.*

*From Priest's Travels.*

**D**URING my residence in Jersey, I was at no little pains to inform myself of the difficulties attending a back settler. We will suppose a person making such an attempt to possess one hundred pounds, though many have been successful with a much less sum: his first care is to purchase about three hundred acres of land, which, if it is in a remote western settlement, he will procure for about nineteen pounds sterling: he may know the quality of the land by the trees, with which it is entirely covered. The hickory and the walnut are an infallible sign of a rich, and every species of fir, of a barren, sandy, and unprofitable soil. When his land is properly registered, his next care is to provide himself with a horse, a plough  
and



and other implements of agriculture; a rifle, a fowling piece, some ammunition, and a large dog, of the blood-hound breed, to hunt deer. We will suppose him arrived at the place of his destination in spring, as soon as the ground is clear of frost. No sooner is the arrival of a new settler circulated, than, for many miles round, his neighbours flock to him: they all assist in erecting his hut; this is done with logs; a bricklayer is only wanting to make his chimney and oven. He then clears a few acres by cutting down the large trees about four feet from the *ground*\*, grubs up the underwood, splits some of the large timber for railing fences, and sets fire to the rest upon the spot; ploughs round the stumps of the large timber, and in May, plants maize or Indian corn. In October he has an harvest of eight hundred or a thousand fold. This is every thing to him and his family. Indian corn, ground and made into cakes, answers the end of bread, and when boiled with meat, and a small portion of a sort of kidney bean (which it is usual to sow with this grain), it makes an excellent dish, which they call *hominy*. They also coarsely pound the Indian corn, and boil it for five hours; this is by the Indians called *musb*; and, when a proportion of milk is added, forms their breakfast. Indian corn is also the best food for horses employed in agriculture in this climate: black cattle, deer, and hogs, are very fond of it, and

fatten better than on any other grain. It is also excellent food for turkies and other poultry.

When this harvest is in, he provides himself with a cow, and a few sheep and hogs; the latter run wild in the woods. But for a few years he depends chiefly on his *rifle* and *faithful dog*; with these he provides his family with deer, bear, racoon, &c. but what he values most are the black and grey squirrels; these animals are large and numerous, are excellent roasted, and make a soup exceedingly rich and nourishing.

He gradually clears his land, a few acres every year, and begins to plant wheat, tobacco, &c. These, together with what hogs, and other increase of his stock he can spare; as also the skins of deer, bear, and other animals he shoots in the woods, he exchanges with the nearest storekeeper, for cloathing, sugar, coffee, &c.

In this state he suffers much for want of the comforts, and even *necessaries* of life. Suppose him afflicted with the flux or fever, attacked by a panther, bitten by a rattle-snake, or any other of the dreadful circumstances peculiar to his situation: but, above all, suppose a war to break out between the Indians, and him and his whole family scalped, and their plantations burnt!

The following extract from an American work very feelingly describes him under these cruel apprehensions:—

“ You know,” says the writer, “ the position of our settlement;

\* These stumps are many years rotting, and, when completely rotted, afford an excellent manure.



therefore I need not describe it. To the west it is inclosed by a chain of mountains, reaching to ———. To the east, the country is yet but very thinly inhabited. We are almost insulated, and the houses are at a considerable distance from each other. From the mountains we have but too much reason to expect our dreadful enemy, the Indians; and the wilderness is a harbour where it is impossible to find them. It is a door through which they can enter our country at any time; and as they seemed determined to destroy the whole frontier, our fate cannot be far distant. From lake Champlain almost all has been conflagrated, one after another. What renders these incursions still more dreadful is, that they most commonly take place in the dead of the night. We never go to our fields but we are seized with an involuntary fear, which lessens our strength, and weakens our labour. No other subject of discourse intervenes between the different accounts, which spread through the country, of successive acts of devastation; and these, told in chimney corners, swell themselves in our affrighted imaginations into the most terrific ideas. We never sit down either to dinner or supper, but the least noise spreads a general alarm, and prevents us from enjoying the comfort of our meals. The very appetite proceeding from labour and peace of mind is gone! Our sleep is disturbed by the most frightful dreams! Sometimes I start awake, as if the great hour of danger was come; at other times the howling of our dogs seems to announce the arrival of the enemy: we leap out of bed and run to arms; my poor

wife, with panting bosom, and silent tears, takes leave of me, as if we were to see each other no more. She snatches the youngest children from their beds, who, suddenly awakened, increase by their innocent questions the horror of the dreadful moment! She tries to hide them in the cellar, as if our cellar was inaccessible to fire! I place all my servants at the window, and myself at the door, where I am determined to perish. Fear industriously increases every sound; we all listen; each communicates to each other his fears and conjectures. We remain thus, sometimes for whole hours, our hearts and our minds racked by the most anxious suspense! What a dreadful situation! A thousand times worse than that of a soldier engaged in the midst of a most severe conflict! Sometimes feeling the spontaneous courage of a man, I seem to wish for the decisive minute! the next instant a message from my wife, sent by one of the children, quite unmans me. Away goes my courage, and I descend again into the deepest despondency: at last, finding it was a false alarm, we return once more to our beds; but what good can the sleep of nature do us, when interrupted with *such* scenes?"

But we will suppose our planter to have escaped the scalping knife and tomahawk; and in the course of years situated in a thick settled neighbourhood of planters like himself, who have struggled through all the foregoing difficulties: he is now a man of some consequence, builds a house by the side of his former hut, which now serves him for a kitchen; and as he is comfortably situate, we will leave him



to the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry.

Such a being has often ideas of liberty, and a contempt of vassalage and slavery, which do honour to human nature.

The planter I have endeavoured to describe, I have supposed to be sober and industrious: but when a man of an opposite description makes such an attempt, he often degenerates into a demi-savage; he cultivates no more land than will barely supply the family with bread, or rather makes his wife and children perform that office. His whole employment is to procure skins and furs, to exchange for rum, brandy, and ammunition; for this purpose he is often for several days together in the woods, without seeing a

human being. He is by no means at a loss; his rifle supplies him with food, and at night he cuts down some boughs with his tomahawk, and constructs a *wigwam*,\* in which he spends the night, stretched on the skins of those animals he has killed in the course of his excursion. This manner of living he learned from his savage neighbours, the Indians, and like them, calls every other state of life *slavery*. It sometimes happens, that an unsuccessful back-settler joins the Indians at war with the states. When this is the case, it is observed he is, if possible, more cruel than his new allies; he eagerly imbibes all the vices of the savages, without a single spark of their virtue.

\* The Indian name for their huts so constructed.



## NATURAL HISTORY.

*Productions of the Isle of Cyprus.  
From Sonnini's Travels.*

OF all the ancient names of the island of Cyprus, that which we love to recall to mind, although it forms a strange contrast with its present situation, is *Macaria*, the *Fortunate Island*. For this name it was indebted to the fertility of its soil, the mildness of its climate, the inexpressible beauty of its plains, and the richness of its productions. The imagination of the poets lent new charms to this profusion of the gifts of nature; they made it the cradle of the mother of the Loves; they consecrated this agreeable idea, by the name of *Cytherea*, and embellished it with all the charms of the most delightful descriptions, with graceful scenes of tenderness and voluptuous enjoyment.

Over this theatre, in former times consecrated to happiness, to the arts, and to pleasure, at this day reign barbarians, who have transformed it into an abode of destruction and slavery. Superb edifices, elegant temples, where the most beautiful, as well as the most amiable of divinities was adored on altars surrounded by the

sweetest and most voluptuous birds, living emblems of love and fidelity, now cover and fadden, with their scattered remains, places of which they constituted the ornament and glory; and the Turks consume even the very ruins, which they still mutilate, in order to employ the fragments for common and profane purposes. Here, where the Graces reigned, at this day commands an old *mosalem* or governor, who scares them. Under a destructive government, agriculture has ceased to enrich with her treasures beautiful plains; and the splendour of an island, formerly *fortunate*, has vanished.

The riches which it contains in its bosom are more deeply buried by despotism than by the earth with which they are covered. All boring, all search after mines, is strictly prohibited; and copper, formerly so abundant in the island, that the ancients likewise distinguished it by the epithet of *Ærofa*, *Copper Island*, remains useless in the bowels of the mountains that contain it, as well as zinc, tin, iron, and other minerals which rendered it famous.

Should the island of Cyprus one day pass from this state of oppression



pression to a political situation more mild and more favourable to its commerce and industry, we shall then search after all these mineral riches, and the working of them will powerfully contribute to revive the ancient splendour of the country in which they are contained; and as changes, so desirable, are, perhaps, not very remote, or at least I love to indulge the hope, it will not be useless to enter here into a few details respecting the nature of these subterraneous treasures.

Gold, the end and motive of almost all human actions, and which corruption, ever increasing, will long render the object of the warmest wishes and ardent wants of the greater number, was, as I have said, found in mines in the island of Cyprus; but they have been for ages abandoned, and tradition can scarcely assign the places where they were found. We must not take in a literal sense, nor above all, refer to our age, a passage of Dapper, who, in his description of the islands of the Archipelago, page 52, asserts that there are in the middle of the island, near the town of Nicosia, as well as in the environs of Chrusocco, mines of gold, where workmen are almost continually employed.

These indications, which Dapper published in 1703, are extracted from another description of the islands of the Archipelago, printed in 1610, the author of which, Thomas Porchachi, had taken them from the ancient writers. Not that, in fact, the gold mines were not in the environs of

Chrusocco, a village near the gulf of that name, which occupies the place of Acamantis, an ancient town, one of the most considerable of the island; some were known too in the vicinity of Tamassus, where stands the modern Famagusta, and at the foot of Mount Olympus, in a district celebrated for its wines; but the traces of ancient works have there disappeared, and the veins of a precious metal wait, in order to be discovered and followed anew, the return of a protecting government, which regards not as crimes the strenuous efforts of industry towards useful speculations, to which are attached public prosperity and the affluence of individuals.

But searching, which would attain with still greater certainty these two objects, that are the constant aim of every government anxious to preserve the esteem of nations, and its own existence, would be that which would tend to recover the copper mines, formerly so abundant and so renowned. It is particularly in the territory occupied by a famous city of antiquity, Amathus, the site of which is at present occupied by the ancient Limassol, that the researches ought to be directed; it is in this district, where those metals abound\*, that we should again discover that beautiful primitive copper, which Nature herself has purified, and elaborated in large masses, in order to deliver it quite prepared to human industry, and which no longer exists in the exhausted mines of the Old Continent. The copper of Cyprus was, in ancient times, the finest in the world, and its rich and primordial

\* *Gravidamque Amathunta metallis*, has Ovid said in his *Metamorphoses*.



mines furnished the first blocks of that metal, which were brought into use. It was principally sought for the purpose of composing that famous Corinthian brass, a precious mixture of copper, gold, and silver, the proportions of which are unknown to us, and which was in great esteem among the Greeks.

The species of natural vitriol, the blue or azure vitriol, which still retains the name of *Cyprus vitriol*, was found in abundance in the copper mines of which I have just spoken. The ancient Tamassus furnished a great quantity of it; but the best was drawn from the district of Chrusocco, the vitriol mines of which were still worked towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The iron mines lie scattered, and in a quantity sufficiently large to supply the wants of the Cypriots and the trade of the neighbouring countries.

In the rocks is also found a very fine rock-crystal, which is called the *Bassa diamond*, because it is procured from the environs of Bassa, a barbarous word, which has taken the place of that of Paphos. The mountains in the vicinity of Cape Chromachiti and of Cape Alexandretta likewise contain some.

The bowels of the high mountains contain other riches less important than metallic mines, because they are useful to luxury alone. These are emeralds, amethysts, peridots, opals, &c. The Scythian jasper was reputed the best among the ancients; next came the Cyprian, and lastly, the Egyptian. The river Pedicus, which takes its source in the mountains at no great

distance from Nicosia, rolls down, with its limpid waters, fragments of very fine red jasper.

*Asbestos*, or the incombustible flax of the ancients, is still as plentiful as it was formerly; the quarry which furnishes it is in the mountain of Acamantis, near Cape Chromachiti.

Talc is common, especially near Larnica, where it is employed for white-washing houses; and there are numerous quarries of plaster. Those of marble afford it in abundance for building. But at present there are scarcely worked any of those, which yield none but a common white marble, of little consistence.

Of all the treasures which the earth conceals, the Turk, who knows only how to desolate it, allows not the unfortunate islanders any trade but in yellow ochre, umber, and *terre verte*, substances common in Cyprus, and which are employed in coarse painting.

To the mineral substances, the exportation of which is still permitted, we must add marine salt, which, under the domination of the princes of Europe, was the source of considerable revenues. The great lake, or salt-marsh, in which it is formed, near the hamlet the Salterns, was, in former times, three leagues in circumference; but the exportation of salt having successively diminished, the lake has been partly drained and cultivated; so that the sea and rain-waters are scarcely any longer collected there but on a space of a league in circuit. The heat of a burning sun accelerates the evaporation of these waters, and leaves exposed a thick crust of salt, which



is gathered in the month of September, that is, before the rainy season, and is then heaped up in pyramids. These heaps of salt, in the end, acquire consistence, and harden in the air; they even resist the winter rains, and, in the spring, are loaded on board small vessels, which convey them to the neighbouring coasts. The government farms out these natural salterns for a year only; and, agreeably to the plan of discouragement which it has marked out for itself, it clogs with a thousand shackles the extraction and the sale. Accordingly there exists no proportion between what the salterns produced formerly and what they yield at the present day; a few of the country barks suffice for the conveyance of the quantity which enters into the export-trade; whereas the Venetians annually formed of it the cargo of seventy large ships. If the choked-up canals, which form the communication between the lake and the sea, were re-established, the water would cover the same extent of ground that it occupied before, and the lake of the salterns would again become one of the most important branches of the trade and revenues of the island.

What the bowels of the earth contain in riches, is not more than what its surface may yield. The presents of agriculture are not here less numerous nor less brilliant than the less valuable treasures of mineralogy; but both are equally a prey to the brutal combinations of ignorance and barbarism. The produce of a languishing culture affords the remembrance and the measure of the fertility of which a soil favoured by nature is susceptible,

when the heavy and burning hand of tyranny does not succeed in drying it up.

Olive-trees are much less common here than in past times. Their fruits no longer furnish sufficient oil for the supply of the inhabitants, and what remains of them seems to exist only to attest that olive-oil formed in Cyprus a very considerable branch of commerce. Immense reservoirs, in the form of cisterns, and coated with an impenetrable cement, still subsist in the environs of Larnica. Oil was preserved in these, and, to fill them, a prodigious quantity was required. The soil is so favourable to olive-trees, that some are seen here of such a size that two men, with outstretched arms, would find it difficult to span their circumference. These fine trees, which, in some places, are planted with order and symmetry, are a proof of the antiquity of a culture which cannot be too much encouraged in climates that are suitable to it, as well on account of the great consumption which domestic economy and the arts make of olive-oil, as of the losses which the severe winters of these latter years have occasioned in our plantations.

Mulberry-trees still form small woods in certain quarters of the island; but their culture is abandoned in several, although it is the most easy of all, since it requires only to conduct water to the foot of each tree, in order to cool it during the burning heats of the summer. Here the bad custom obtains of lopping off the branches of these trees for the purpose of giving their leaves to the silk-worm, the rearing of which is attended with fewer inconveniencies than



elsewhere, under a sky which, in the season of gathering them, experiences no variations. The silk-trade, although less flourishing than it was before the invasion of the Turks, is, nevertheless, still of some importance. It is at Famagusta that the market of this commodity is held, and there are annually sold about twenty thousand bales, of three hundred pounds each. In this quantity is white silk, gold yellow, sulphur yellow, and lastly orange-coloured. The floss is likewise thrown into trade, and, like the silk itself, it is dispatched to the ports of Turkey and Europe.

A tree less valuable, but which notwithstanding is of good produce, covers with its shade several districts, and bears fruits which furnish a particular trade: this is the carob or St. John's bread-tree, common also in other countries whose temperature is mild, such as Spain, the South of France, Italy, and particularly the kingdom of Naples. In the ports of Cyprus, vessels load the long thick pods which this tree produces, and carry them to Syria and Alexandria. In the latter port I have seen several vessels arrive, whose cargo consisted solely of this species of fruit; whence an idea may be formed of the quantity consumed of it by the inhabitants of Egypt. They eat the succulent pulp which the pods contain, with hard and flat seeds; with them, it likewise supplies the place of sugar and honey, and they employ it in pre-

serving other fruits. This pulp has the taste of that of cassia, and the honied, but insipid and slightly nauseous flavour of manna. The environs of Limassol are planted with a great quantity of carob-trees, and it is more particularly in this harbour that the cargoes of their pods are shipped.

This fruit, known under the name of St. John's bread, and which the Greeks call *keraka*, bad as it is, is not, on that account, less an article of food for the people of Egypt and Barbary, where the tree itself is not unknown. The Arabs call it *karoub* or *karnoub*. In Europe, in places where it is at a low price, the poor likewise live on it. It is also given as food to mules and cattle, which the use of it fattens. Lastly, the wood of the carob-tree being very hard, and consequently proper to be used in different works, we cannot but regret that this serviceable tree, by not thriving in our more northern regions, should not there add to the resources of the arts and of rural economy.

In the time of the ancient Romans, the carob-tree was already very plentiful in Italy. The fruit, which was called *siliqua*, served as a weight; it required six pods to make a scruple; and as the pound was composed of two hundred and eighty-eight scruples, it also required one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight pods to make its weight\*. It may easily be conceived that this manner of weighing,

\* See in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxviii. p. 653, year 1757, the dissertation of M. Dupuis, on the state of the Roman coin, &c. This profound scholar demonstrates that Scaliger is mistaken in taking the *siliqua* of the Romans for the fruit of the cornil-tree.

which



which could serve only for coarse articles of little value, was not likely to be very exact.

Most of the plains, of which cotton constituted the richness, still preserve some traces of that culture; but it is there no more than a feeble image of what it was formerly. The whole island now affords to commerce but about three thousand bales of cotton; whereas, under the government of the Venetians, the annual quantity of these bales amounted to thirty thousand\*. Cyprus cotton is the most esteemed, as the finest of all the Levant; it is sold too at a higher price. It is not so fine in the most southern islands of the Archipelago; that of Smyrna is still inferior. In short, the cotton produced in the environs of Salonica is yet worse than that of Smyrna; so that the more we advance towards the north, the more this article, so valuable in manufactures, loses in quality.

It would therefore be a useless attempt, and prejudicial even to the interests of the cultivator, to endeavour to introduce into the south of France the culture of the cotton-plant, as has been proposed by some persons, seduced by little trials which attest rather the taste and curiosity of the *amateur*, than the speculations of the husbandman. And should we ever succeed in cultivating on a large scale, and with any success, the cotton plant in these same countries of France, precarious crops of bad quality could not indemnify us for the expences of raising it,

nor exempt us from going up the Levant to look for cottons more abundant and of a superior quality, that is, whiter, finer, and more silky.

The cotton-tree cultivated in the East is that which is called the *annual* cotton-tree, or cotton *plant*, in order to distinguish it from that of the colonial plantations in the West Indies, which is the *cotton-tree*. On a field, well prepared and turned up, are marked furrows, in which are planted, at certain distances, a few seeds of the cotton-tree, much the same as is practised with respect to maize. It is in the month of April that these sowings are made in Cyprus; as soon as the plants are above ground, those which are too weak are pulled up, and the strongest only are left. They are weeded, and the earth about them is loosened in the course of the summer; their pods ripen towards the month of October, and the silky down which they afford is then separated from the seeds that it surrounds.

The humidity of the atmosphere, rains of long duration, or too frequent, are equally unfavourable to the cotton-tree. A strong heat is very suitable to it; this promotes the dazzling whiteness of the down, and contributes to the fineness and substance of the silk. The impetuous north winds are a scourge to this plantation, particularly at the period of flowering; the fruits miscarry, and the crop, almost totally lost, disappoints the hope of the cultivator as well as that of the trader.

\* The bale of cotton commonly weighs three hundred weight



*Observations on certain Stony and Metalline Substances, which at different Times are said to have fallen on the Earth. By Edward Howard, Esq. F. R. S.*

*From the Philosophical Transactions.*

THE concordance of a variety of facts seems to render it most indisputable, that certain stony and metalline substances have, at different periods, fallen on the earth. Whence their origin, or whence they came, is yet, in my judgment, involved in complete obscurity.

The accounts of these peculiar substances, in the early annals, even of the Royal Society, have unfortunately been blended with relations which we now consider as fabulous; and the more ancient histories of stones fallen from Heaven, from Jupiter, or from the clouds, have evidently confounded such substances with what have been termed *ceraunia*, *bœtilia*, *Ombria*, *Brontia*, &c., names altogether unappropriate to substances fallen on our globe. Indeed some mislead, and others are inexpressive.

The term *ceraunia*, by a misnomer, deduced from its supposed origin, seems, as well as *bœtilia*, to have been anciently used to denote many species of stones, which were polished and shaped into various forms, though mostly wedge-like or triangular, sometimes as instruments, sometimes as oracles, and sometimes as deities. The import of the names *ombria*, *brontia*, &c. seem subject to the same uncertainty.

In very early ages, it was believed that stones did in reality fall,

as it was said, from Heaven, or from the gods; these, either from ignorance, or perhaps from superstitious views, were confounded with other stones, which, by their compact aggregation, were better calculated to be shaped into different instruments, and to which it was convenient to attach a species of mysterious veneration. In modern days, because explosion and report have generally accompanied the descent of such substances, the name of thunder-bolt, or thunder-stone, has ignorantly attached itself to them; and because a variety of substances accidentally present, near buildings and trees struck with lightning, have, with the same ignorance, been collected as thunderbolts, the thunder-bolt and the fallen metalline substance have been ranked in the same class of absurdity. Certainly, since the phenomena of lightning and electricity have been so well identified, the idea of a thunderbolt is ridiculous. But the existence of peculiar substances fallen on the earth, I cannot hesitate to assert; and on the concordance of remote and authenticated facts, I shall rest the assertion.

Mr. King, the learned author of *Remarks concerning Stones said to have fallen from the clouds in these days, and in ancient times*, has adduced quotations of the greatest antiquity, descriptive of the descent of fallen stones; and, could it be thought necessary to add antique testimonies to those instanced by so profound an antiquarian, the quotation of Mons. Falconet, in his papers upon *bœtilia*, inserted in the *Histoire des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*; the quotations in Zahn's *Specula*



*Specula Physico Mathematica Historiana*; the *Fisica Sotteranea* of Giacinto Gemma: the works of Pliny, and others, might be referred to.

Dr. Chladric, in his *Observations on the mass of Iron found in Siberia, and on other masses of the like kind*, as well as in his *Observations on Fire Balls and hard bodies fallen from the Atmosphere*, has collected almost every modern instance of phenomena of this nature.

Mr. Southey relates an account, juridically authenticated, of a stone weighing 10lbs. which was heard to fall in Portugal, Feb. 19, 1796, and was taken still warm from the ground.

The first of these peculiar substances with which chemistry has interfered, was the stone presented by the Abbé Bachelay to the Royal French Academy. It was found on the 13th of September, 1768, yet hot, by persons who saw it fall. It is described as follows:

“ La substance de cette pierre  
“ est d’un gris cendré pâle; lorsqu’on en regarde le grain à la loupe, on apperçoit que cette pierre est parsemée d’une infinité de petit points brillans métalliques, d’une jaune pâle; sa surface extérieure, celle qui, suivant M. l’Abbé Bachelay, n’étoit point engagée dans la terre, étoit couverte d’une petite couche très-mince d’une matière noire, boursoufflée dans des endroits, et qui paroïssoit avoir été fondue. Cette pierre, frappée dans l’intérieur avec l’acier, ne donnoit aucune étincelle; si on frappoit, au contraire, sur la petite couche extérieur, qui paroïssoit avoir été attaquée, par

“ le feu, on parvenoit à en tirer quelques-unés.”

The specific gravity of this stone was as 3535 to 1000.

The academicians analyzed the stone, and found it to contain,

Sulphur	-	-	-	8½
Iron	.	-	-	36
Vitrifiable earth	-			55½

100

They were induced to conclude that the stone, presented to the academy by the Abbé Bachelay, did not owe its origin to thunder; that it did not fall from Heaven; that it was not formed by mineral substances, fused by lightning; and that it was nothing but a species of pyrites, without peculiarity, except as to the hepatic smell disengaged from it by marine acid.

“ Que cette pierre, qui peut-être étoit couverte d’une petite couche de terre ou de gazon, aura été frappée par la foudre, et qu’elle aura été ainsi mise en évidence: la chaleur aura été assez grande pour fondre la superficie de la partie frappée, mais elle n’aura pas été assez longtemps continuée pour pouvoir pénétrer dans l’intérieur; c’est ce qui fait que la pierre n’a point été décomposée la quantité de matières métalliques qu’elle contenoit, en opposant moins de résistance qu’un autre corps au courant de matière électrique, aura peut-être pu contribuer même à déterminer la direction de la foudre.”

The memoir is, however, concluded by observing it to be sufficiently singular, that M. Morand le Fils had presented a fragment of a stone, from the environs of Cou-

tances,



tances, also said to have fallen from heaven, which only differed from that of the Abbé Bachelay, because it did not exhale the hepatic smell with spirit of salt. Yet the academicians did not think any conclusion could be drawn from this resemblance, unless that the lightning had fallen by preference on pyritical matter.

Mons. Barthold, professor à l'école centrale du Haut Rhin, gave, I believe, the next, and last, analytical account of what he also denominates *Pierre de Tonnerre*. He describes it thus:

“ La masse de pierre comme  
“ sous le nom de Pierre de Ton-  
“ nerre d'Ensisheim, pesant en-  
“ viron deux quintaux, à la forme  
“ extérieure arrondie, presque  
“ ovale, raboteuse, d'un aspect  
“ terne et terreux.

“ Le fond de la pierre est d'une  
“ couleur grise bleuâtre, parsemée  
“ de cristaux de pyrites, isolés,  
“ d'une cristallisation confuse, en  
“ quelque endroits écailleuses, ra-  
“ massés, formant des nœuds et  
“ des petites veines, qui le par-  
“ courent en tout sens: la couleur  
“ des pyrites est dorée; le poli  
“ leur donne un éclat d'acier, et,  
“ exposées à l'atmosphère, elles  
“ ternissent et brunissent. Ou dis-  
“ tingue de plus, à l'œil nud, de  
“ la mine de fer grise, écailleuse,  
“ non sulfureuse, attirable à l'ai-  
“ mant, dissoluble dans les acides,  
“ peu oxidé, ou s'approchant  
“ beaucoup de l'état métallique.

“ La cassure est irrégulière,  
“ grenue, d'un grain un peu ferré:  
“ dans l'intérieur on voit de très  
“ petite fentes. Elle ne fait pas  
“ feu au briquet; sa texture  
“ est si lâche qu'elle se laisse entamer

“ au couteau. En la pilant, elle  
“ se réduit assez facilement en une  
“ poudre grise bleuâtre, d'une  
“ odeur terreuse. Quelquefois il  
“ se trouve des petits cristaux de  
“ mine fer, qui résistent plus aux  
“ coups du pilon.”

The specific gravity of the piece in Professor Barthold's possession, was 3233, distilled water being taken at 1000.

The analysis of Mons. Barthold, gave in the 100,

Sulphur	-	-	2
Iron	-	-	20
Magnesia	-	-	14
Alumina	-	-	17
Lime	-	-	2
Silica	-	-	42

—  
97.

From the external characters, and from the analysis, the professor considers the stone of Ensisheim to be argillo-ferruginous; and is of opinion that ignorance and superstition have attributed to it a miraculous existence, at variance with the first notions of natural philosophy.

The account next in succession is already printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society; but cannot be omitted, as it immediately relates to one of the substances I have examined. I allude to the letter received by Sir William Hamilton, from the Earl of Bristol, dated from Sienna, July 12th, 1794.

“ In the midst of a most violent  
“ thunder-storm, about a dozen  
“ stones, of various weights and  
“ dimensions, fell at the feet of  
“ different persons, men, women,  
“ and children. The stones are  
“ of a quality not found in any  
“ part



“ part of the Siannese territory;  
 “ they fell about eighteen hours  
 “ after the enormous eruption of  
 “ Mount Vesuvius; which cir-  
 “ cumstance leaves a choice of dif-  
 “ ficulties in the solution of this  
 “ extraordinary phenomenon. Ei-  
 “ ther these stones have been ge-  
 “ nerated in this igneous mass of  
 “ clouds, which produced such  
 “ unusual thunder; or, which is  
 “ equally incredible, they were  
 “ thrown from Vesuvius, at a dis-  
 “ tance of at least 250 miles;  
 “ judge then of its parabola. The  
 “ philosophers here incline to the  
 “ first solution; I wish much, sir,  
 “ to know your sentiments. My  
 “ first objection was to the fact  
 “ itself, but of this there are so  
 “ many eye-witnesses, it seems im-  
 “ possible to withstand their evi-  
 “ dence.” (Phil Trans. for 1795,  
 p. 103.) Sir William Hamilton,  
 it seems, also received a piece of  
 one of the largest stones, which  
 weighed upwards of five pounds;  
 and had seen another, which weighed  
 about one. He likewise observed,  
 that the outside of every stone  
 which had been found, and had  
 been ascertained to have fallen from  
 the clouds near Sienna, was evi-  
 dently freshly vitrified, and was  
 black, having every sign of having  
 passed through an extreme heat;  
 the inside was of a light grey  
 colour, mixed with black spots  
 and some shining particles, which  
 the learned there had decided to be  
 pyrites.

In 1796, a stone, weighing 56lbs.  
 was exhibited in London, with se-  
 veral attestations of persons who,  
 on the 13th of December, 1795,  
 saw it fall, near Wold Cottage,  
 in Yorkshire, at about three o'clock  
 in the afternoon. It had pene-

trated through 12 inches of soil  
 and 6 inches of solid chalk-rock;  
 and, in burying itself, had thrown  
 up an immense quantity of earth,  
 to a great distance: as it fell, a  
 number of explosions were heard,  
 about as loud as pistols. In the  
 adjacent villages the sounds heard  
 were taken for guns at sea; but,  
 at two adjoining villages, were so  
 distinct of something singular passing  
 through the air, towards the habita-  
 tion of Mr. Topham, that five or six  
 people came up, to see if any thing  
 extraordinary had happened to his  
 house or grounds. When the stone  
 was extracted, it was warm,  
 smoked, and smelt very strongly  
 of sulphur. Its course, as far as  
 could be collected from different  
 accounts, was from the south-west.  
 The day was mild and hazy, a sort  
 of weather very frequent in the  
 Wold-hills, when there are no  
 winds or storms; but there was  
 not any thunder or lightning the  
 whole day. No such stone is  
 known in the country. There  
 was no eruption in the earth;  
 and, from its form, it could not  
 come from any building; and as  
 the day was not tempestuous, it  
 did not seem probable that it could  
 have been forced from any rocks, the  
 nearest of which are those of Ham-  
 borough Head, at a distance of  
 twelve miles. The nearest vol-  
 cano I believe to be Hecla, in Ice-  
 land.

The exhibition of this stone, as  
 a sort of show, did not tend to ac-  
 credit the account of its descent,  
 delivered in a hand-bill at the place  
 of exhibition; much less could it  
 contribute to remove the objec-  
 tions made to the fall of these  
 stones presented to the Royal French  
 Academy. But the Right Hon.  
 President,



President of the Royal Society, ever alive to the interest and promotion of science, observing the stone so exhibited to resemble a stone sent to him as one of those fallen at Sienna, could not be misled by prejudice: he obtained a piece of this extraordinary mass, and collected many references to descriptions of similar phenomena. At length, in 1799, an account of stones fallen in the East Indies was sent to the President, by John Lloyd Williams, Esq. which, by its unquestionable authenticity, and by the striking resemblance it bears to other accounts of fallen stones, must remove all prejudice. Mr. Williams has since drawn up the following more detailed narrative of facts.

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*Account of the Explosion of a Meteor, near Benares, in the East Indies; and of the falling of some Stones at the same Time, about 14 Miles from that City. By John Lloyd Williams, Esq. F. R. S.*

A CIRCUMSTANCE of so extraordinary a nature as the fall of stones from the heavens, could not fail to excite the wonder, and attract the attention of every inquisitive mind.

Among a superstitious people; any preternatural appearance is viewed with silent awe and reverence; attributing the causes to the will of the supreme Being, they do not presume to judge the means by which they were produced, nor the purposes for which they were ordered; and we are naturally led to suspect the influence of prejudice and superstition in their descriptions of such phenomena; my inquiries were therefore chiefly di-

rected to the Europeans, who were but thinly dispersed about that part of the country.

The information I obtained was, that on the 19th of December, 1798, about eight o'clock in the evening, a very luminous meteor was observed in the heavens, by the inhabitants of Benares and the parts adjacent, in the form of a large ball of fire; that it was accompanied by a loud noise, resembling thunder; and that a number of stones were said to have fallen from it, near Krakhut, a village on the north side of the river Goomty, about 14 miles from the city of Benares.

The meteor appeared in the western part of the hemisphere, and was but a short time visible: it was observed by several Europeans, as well as natives, in different parts of the country.

In the neighbourhood of Juanpoor, about 12 miles from the spot where the stones are said to have fallen, it was very distinctly observed by several European gentlemen and ladies; who described it as a large ball of fire, accompanied with a loud rumbling noise, not unlike an ill-discharged platoon of musquetry. It was also seen, and the noise heard, by various persons at Benares. Mr. Davis observed the light come into the room where he was, through a glass window, so strongly as to project shadows, from the bars between the panes, on a dark-coloured carpet, very distinctly; and it appeared to him as luminous as the brightest moonlight.

When an account of the fall of the stones reached Benares, Mr. Davis, the judge and magistrate of the district, sent an intelligent person



person to make enquiry on the spot. When the person arrived at the village near which the stones were said to have fallen, the natives, in answer to his enquiries, told him, that they had either broken to pieces, or given away to the tef-feldar (native collector) and others, all that they had picked up; but that he might easily find some in the adjacent fields, where they would be readily discovered, (the crops being then not above two or three inches above the ground) by observing where the earth appeared recently turned up. Following these directions, he found four, which he brought to Mr. Davis: most of these, the force of the fall had buried, according to a measure he produced, about six inches deep, in fields which seemed to have been recently watered; and it appeared, from the man's description, that they must have lain at the distance of about a hundred yards from each other.

What he further learnt from the inhabitants of the village, concerning the phenomenon was, that about eight o'clock in the evening, when retired to their habitations, they observed a very bright light proceeding as from the sky, accompanied with a loud clap of thunder, which was immediately followed by the noise of heavy bodies falling in the vicinity. Uncertain whether some of their deities might not have been concerned in this occurrence, they did not venture out to inquire into it until the next morning; when the first circumstance which attracted their attention was the appearance of the earth being turned up in different parts of their fields, as before-mentioned,

where, on examining, they found the stones.

The assistant to the collector of the district, Mr. Erskine, a very intelligent young gentleman, on seeing one of the stones, brought to him by the native superintendant of the collections, was also induced to send a person to that part of the country to make inquiry; who returned with several of the stones, and brought an account similar to that given by the person sent by Mr. Davis, together with a confirmation of it from the cauzy, (who had been directed to make the inquiry, under his hand and seal.

Mr. Maclane, a gentleman who resided very near the village of Krakhut, gave me part of a stone that had been brought to him the morning after the appearance of the phenomenon, by the watchman, who was on duty at his house; this, he said, had fallen through the top of his hut, which was close by, and buried itself several inches in the floor, which was of consolidated earth. The stone must, by his account, previous to its having been broken, have weighed upwards of two pounds.

At the time the meteor appeared, the sky was perfectly serene; not the smallest vestige of a cloud had been seen since the 11th of the month, nor were any observed for many days after.

Of these stones I have seen eight, nearly perfect, beside parts of several others, which had been broken by the possessors, to distribute among their friends. The form of the more perfect ones appeared to be that of an irregular cube, rounded off at the edges; but the angles were



were to be observed on most of them. They were of various sizes, from about three to upwards of four inches in their largest diameter; one of them, measuring four inches and a quarter, weighed two pounds twelve ounces. In appearance they were exactly similar: externally, they were covered with a hard black coat, or incrustation, which, in some parts, had the appearance of varnish, or bitumen; and on most of them were fractures, which, from their being covered with a matter similar to that of the coat, seemed to have been made in the fall, by the stones striking against each other, and to have passed through some medium, probably an intense heat, previous to their reaching the earth. Internally they consisted of a number of small spherical bodies, of a slate colour, embedded in a whitish gritty substance, interspersed with bright shining spiculæ, of a metallic or pyritical nature. The spherical bodies were much harder than the rest of the stone: the white gritty part readily crumbled, on being rubbed with a hard body; and, on being broken, a quantity of it attached itself to the magnet, but more particularly the outside coat or crust, which appeared almost wholly attractable by it.

As two of the more perfect stones which I had obtained, as well as parts of some others, have been examined by several gentlemen well versed in mineralogy and chemistry, I shall not attempt any further description of their constituent parts; nor shall I offer any conjecture respecting the formation of such singular productions, or even record those which I have heard of

others, but leave the world to draw their own inferences from the facts above related. I shall only observe, that it is well known there are no volcanos on the continent of India; and, as far as I can learn, no stones have been met with in the earth, in that part of the world, which bear the smallest resemblance to those above described.

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*Account of the Clove Tree.*

*From Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c.*

THE clove is an elegant little tree: that in the garden, now bearing, is about eight feet in height, and the stem, near the ground, is about two inches in diameter. That so small a tree should bear fruit, I ascribe to its being from a layer. The nature of the plant is not yet well known in the West Indies; all the information I have heretofore received as to the culture of it, has been for the most part from ignorance, or from ill intentions; and consequently has led me into errors on that subject, by which I have often lost the original plant: but I have always been so fortunate as to preserve an offspring by layers.

From the difficulty of preserving the plants, it naturally occurred to me, that I had adopted a soil not congenial to them, as I find that all other East India plants thrive luxuriantly in the garden; and am by no means ignorant, that all plants, although originally from a barren soil, always prosper best in a rich one when transplanted from their



their natural situation. I therefore tried them in the best soil I could select, adding thereto plenty of manure; at the same time, I also planted others, of the same age and size, in various other soils, without manure. The consequence has been, that those in the manured soil are thriving luxuriantly, of which that now bearing is one; while the others have failed, or are so sickly, that they will never arrive at maturity.

Since this, I have fortunately met with the *Herbarium Ambœi-nense* of Rumphius, and find that he corroborates my idea.

It is a plant that loves the shelter of other trees to windward of it, but not so as to overshade it, as Rumphius observes. When fully exposed to the wind it does not answer so well; but rich land, or manure in bad land, is what will answer best with it.

It is propagated by laying down the young branches in boxes, or in the ground, if they can be brought in contact with it. If the earth is kept moist, they will root in six months.

I suspect that the best mode in rearing it from seeds, is to put them in the earth where the plants are to remain; and if planted in the manner, of a thicket, or from eight to ten feet apart, they will prosper better than when farther separated or scattered. This I find to be the case with most plants of the same species.

As all botanical descriptions of the clove appear to me to be imperfect, at least agree not with the plant that has flowered in the garden, I have ventured to inclose an account of the fructification, as the

parts appeared to me. There are probably more than one species, as Rumphius's figures of it differ.

The specimens of the spice which I have sent are dried by various modes, some according to the directions of Rumphius; by some of the processes they are larger than by others. Whether that may be the only advantage gained, or which is the best mode of curing it, rests with the Society to determine. It is to be observed, that every part of the plant, in an eminent degree, possesses the same property as to taste. All these specimens are gathered in the same stage, viz. when the flower-bud appears entirely red, which is when the corolla begins to rise previously to its falling off. This happens at sun-set. The morning of the same day is the proper time to collect them for drying. There is something very singular as to the formation of the flowers. In September, 1799, clusters of them were so far formed, that I looked for their expansion every day; none of them however opened till the March following, a period of six months. I began to imagine that, from the smallness of the plant, it had not sufficient vigour to bring them to maturity. However, I was agreeably disappointed; scarcely more than two flowers, and frequently only one, expands in the same day. To have the spice therefore in perfection, it is requisite to go over them every morning, collecting those that have the appearance of opening in the evening.

The leaves are a good substitute for the fruit, for culinary purposes.



## CARYOPHYLLUS AROMATICUS. CLOVE.

*Perianthium quadripartitum, laciniæ ovatæ, concava persistentes.*

*Petala quatuor ovata, sessilia, conniventia, clausa, caduca.*

*Nectarium tetragonum integerrimum, concavum, apicem germinis ringens.*

*Filamenta numerosa subulata, in base calycis inserta, antheræ, erectæ, bilocularios, germen inferum, clavatum.—Stylus subulatus, filamentis brevior. Stigma obtusum, drupa ovato-turbinata, calyce, incrassato coronata.*

*Nux oblonga, glabra, unilocularis.*

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*On the Wax Tree of Louisiana and Pennsylvania.*

*From the Annales de Chimre.*

A MULTITUDE of plants, as the *croton sebiferum*, the *tomex sebifera*, of Loureiro, the poplar, the alder, the pine, yield by decoction a concrete, inflammable matter, more or less resembling tallow or wax; that is to say, a fixed oil, saturated with oxygen. The light down, which is called the flower of fruits, and which silvers the surface of plumbs and other smooth-skinned fruits, is wax, as M. Proust has demonstrated. But the tree which affords this substance in the greatest abundance, that which on more than one account deserves the attention of agriculturists, chemists, physicians, and commercial men, is the *myrica cerifera*, or wax-tree.

We find in the History of the Academy of Sciences for the years 1722, and 1725, that M. Alex-

andre, a surgeon, and correspondent of M. Mairan's, had observed in Louisiana, a tree of the height of a cherry-tree, having the appearance of a myrtle, and nearly the same smell, bearing a berry of the size of coriander seed. These berries, of an ash-grey colour, contained, he said, a small, hard, round kernel, covered with a glossy wax, which is separated by boiling the berries in water. This wax is drier and more friable than the common wax. The natives of the country make candles of it. M. Alexandre added, "this berry is commonly charged with a beautiful lake colour, and stains the fingers if merely squeezed between them, but only at a particular time of the year."

M. Alexandre likewise discovered, that the liquor in which the berries have been boiled, when poured away and evaporated to the consistence of an extract, having previously skimmed off the wax, was capable of stopping the most violent dysenteries.

The useful properties belonging to this tree should induce scientific men to make enquiries, for the purpose of discovering what varieties there are of this vegetable, and what care is requisite for its cultivation. It appears to have been considered for a long time as merely an object of curiosity.

Linnaeus, in his System of Vegetables, mentions only the Virginia wax-tree, *myrica cerifera*, with lanceolated, or rather dentated leaves, with a stem like a tree.

I wrote to M. Ventenat, requesting him to inform me, whether there are several species of it: he



he was so obliging as to answer me, that Ayton distinguished two, namely;

1. The *myrica cerifera angustifolia*, which is a native of Louisiana. This is a delicate tree, is reared with difficulty in our green-houses: its seed is smaller than that of the other.

2. The *myrica cerifera latifolia*, which grows in Pennsylvania, Carolina, and Virginia. It is not so high as the other, and thrives perfectly well in France.

Both of these *myricæ* are cultivated in the museum of plants, and in the garden of Messrs. Cels and Lemonier. M. Michault admits a third species of *myrica cerifera*, which he calls *dwarf wax-tree*. M. Ventenat thinks that wax may be obtained from all the *myricæ*.

The authors who have treated of these trees at some length are, Marshall, translated by Leferme, Lepage, Duprat, and Toscan, librarian of the museum of natural history. A memoir inserted by the latter in his work entitled, *L'Ami de la Nature*, describes the manner in which the vegetable wax is obtained in the colonies.

“Towards the end of autumn,” says he, “when the berries are ripe, a man quits his house, with his family, and betakes himself to some island or spot on the sea coast, where the wax trees grow in abundance. He carries with him pots for boiling the berries, and a hatchet for building a cabin to shelter him during his residence there, which usually continues three or four weeks; he then fells trees, and constructs a hut, whilst his children gather the berries. A tree, tolerably productive, yields about se-

ven pounds. When a sufficient quantity of berries is collected, the family employs itself in extracting the wax. A certain portion of the berries is put into the pot, and a sufficient quantity of water is poured on them, until it rises about six inches above them. The whole is boiled, and the berries are stirred and pressed, from time to time, against the sides of the vessels, that the wax may be the more easily detached. Soon after it is seen floating on the surface in the form of grease, which is collected with a spoon, and is strained through a coarse cloth, to separate any impurities that may be mixed with it. When no more wax is detached, the berries are taken out with a ladle, and fresh ones are put into the same water: observing to renew it entirely at the second or third time, and even to add boiling water in proportion as it evaporates, that the operation may not be impeded. When a certain quantity of wax has been thus collected, it is put to drain on a piece of linen, in order to separate from it the water with which it is still mixed. It is then dried and melted, strained a second time, to render it perfectly pure, and is made into cakes. Four pounds of berries yield about a pound of wax. That which is first detached is generally yellow; but in the latter boilings, the pellicle with which the stone of the berry is covered gives it a green tinge.”

Kalm, the traveller, in speaking of vegetable wax, says, that in the country where the wax tree grows, they make excellent soap of it, which washes linen exquisitely white.

Such was the knowledge we possessed of the *myrica*, or at least no





other observation had been published relative to it, to my knowledge, when a naturalist gave me half a kilo-gramme of the vegetable wax of Louisiana. I was curious to make a comparative analysis with it and bees wax: but before I undertook it, I wished to make myself acquainted with the tree and berry of the myrica. I saw that precious vegetable in the garden of plants, and I wrote to M. Deshayes, a studious botanist, who prosecutes the culture of the *myrica Pennsylvanica*, at Rambouillet, requesting him to give me some details concerning it; he had the complaisance to answer me, and to send me some of the berries, which I immediately examined.

This berry is about the size of a pepper corn; its surface, when ripe and fresh, is white, having small black asperities, which give it a wrinkled appearance. When rubbed in the hands, it makes them greasy and unctuous.

If one of these small berries is rubbed hard, a matter is shelled off, apparently of a starchy nature, and mixed with small round brown grains, like fine gun-powder. The stone, which is left bare, has a very thick ligneous shell, and contains a kernel of the dicotyledon kind. By rubbing a handful of the berries on a hair sieve, I have obtained a grey dust, in which the eye can distinguish, without the assistance of a magnifier, the small brown grains above-mentioned in the midst of a white powder.

I put this dust into alcohol, which, with a gentle heat, dissolved all the white part, and left the black powder, which I collected separate. Water, poured on this solution with alcohol, formed

a precipitate, that rose and floated on the surface. I melted it and obtained a yellowish wax, similar to that from Louisiana, which had been sent me. This experiment is a sufficient proof that the wax of the myrica is the white gritty matter that envelops the berry.

The black powder which I had separated appeared to me to contain a colouring principle; and I was in hopes of discovering in it the beautiful lake mentioned by M. Alexandre. Under this idea, I triturated this powder, and boiled it in a solution of acid sulphat of alumine; I was greatly astonished at obtaining a liquor scarcely coloured at all, and in which the alumine precipitated by an alkali was only slightly tinged.

I took another part of this black triturated powder, and put it to steep in alcohol. I soon obtained a dye of the colour of wine lees; I heated it, and it became as red as a strong quinquina or cachou liquor. This result made me imagine that the colouring principle was resinous; but upon adding water I saw no signs of a precipitate.

I poured into this liquor water charged with sulphate of alumine; a slight precipitation ensued. A solution of sulphat of iron instantly turned it into ink.

What then is this colouring astringent principle, which is soluble only in alcohol, is not precipitated by water, and has so little attraction for alumine? To discover this would require a series of experiments, which the want of materials prevented me from undertaking. The astringent matter, noticed by M. Alexandre, must exist in the decoction of the whole berries.



berries. To ascertain this fact, I boiled some berries in a silver sauce-pan, the decoction, on which floated a small quantity of wax, was of a greenish colour; its taste was slightly astringent, and it precipitated ferruginous solutions, of a black colour. I heated it in a very clean iron vessel, and it quickly turned black. To discover whether this property was owing to the gallic acid alone, or to the tanning principle, I mixed a small quantity of the decoction with a solution of glue, and no precipitate was formed.

It is therefore to the considerable quantity of gallic acid contained by the berries of the myrica that the property of curing dysenteries which its extract possesses, is owing. On this account, I think, that the leaves and bark of the tree would furnish an extract still more astringent than the berries.

The examination of the wax presents more interesting results.

Whether this wax be extracted by the decoction of the berries, or by the solution of the white dust in alcohol, precipitated by water, this melted wax is always of a yellow colour, inclining to green. Its consistence is harder than that of bees wax, it is dry, so friable as to be reduced to a powder; in short, it is evidently more highly oxygenated than the wax prepared by bees. Candles made with the wax of the myrica give a white flame, a clear light, no smoke, do not run, and exhale, if fresh, a balsamic odor, which the inhabitants of Louisiana consider extremely salubrious for the sick. When distilled in a retort, this wax passes over in great part like butter. That portion is whiter than it was; but it loses its

consistence, and has only that of tallow. Another portion is decomposed, furnishes a small quantity of water, sebatic acid, and empyreumatic oil. Much carbonated hydrogen gas and carbonic acid gas is disengaged: a black bitumen, resembling charcoal, is left in the retort. Common wax acts in the same manner in distillation.

I have said above that alcohol dissolved the wax of the myrica; but ether dissolves it much better, and it separates itself in the form of stalagmites in the evaporation of the liquid. Neither the one nor the other takes away its colour. If this wax is boiled in weak sulphuric acid, it becomes rather whiter; but there is no perceptible combination of the acid with it. Yellow bees wax, treated in the same way, does not change its colour.

Oxygenated muriatic acid perfectly bleaches both kinds of wax. Vegetable wax, however, retains its colour with most obstinacy.

Vegetable wax dissolves in ammoniac: the solution assumes a brown colour; part of the wax turns to soap. Volatile alkali has much less action on bees wax. Both kinds of wax, stirred violently in a boiling solution of caustic potash, become white, and form a real soap, as Kalm, the traveller, has observed.

The whiteness which the wax acquires in this saponification is not a new phenomenon. M. Chaptal, in his process for bleaching by the vapour of alkaline leys, has proved that the colouring matter of vegetables yields to the action of alkalis. Some chemists attribute this effect to the direct combination of soda or pot-ash with the coloured extractive



tractive part; a combination which brings it into nearly a saponaceous state, and renders it soluble.

I imagine that, in this operation, the alkali exercises on the oil or on the wax a double attraction, at first direct, with the constituent principles of the oil, afterwards predisposing and favouring the combination of the atmospheric oxygen with oil or wax. I know not whether any person had the idea before me, but it was given me by the observation of what passes in the decomposition of soap by an acid: the oil is always concrete and more oxygenated than it was before. It would be interesting for the theory of chemistry to make soap, if possible, in a close apparatus, in which the air might be examined after the experiment, or in the different gases which contain no oxygen.

In decomposing the soap of myrica, a white wax is obtained, but in a particular state, which does not admit of its being employed for our purposes.

Litharge, or semi-vitreous oxyd of lead, dissolves very well in melted Louisiana wax; it forms a very hard mass, but the consistence of which may be diminished at pleasure by the addition of a small quantity of oil. If, as there is reason to suppose, the wax of the myrica retains a portion of the astringent principle obtained by the decoction of the berries, the physicians will perhaps discover useful properties in topical applications composed of this wax.

Upon a retrospect of the preceding facts, it will appear that the myrica may be rendered extremely useful to the arts. The wax which it yields is in sufficient quantity to

compensate amply the care and expence of cultivation, since a tree in full bearing produces 6 or 7lbs. of berries, from which may be extracted a fourth of that weight of wax. This wax is of a quality superior to that of bees wax.

The astringent principle of the myrica, extracted on a large scale, might be very useful either in medicine or the arts: it might, in some measure, be substituted instead of the gall-nuts, in dye-houses, in the manufacture of hats, and even in tanning certain kinds of leather. The colouring principle appears sufficiently solid to deserve some attention; and, if it be true that a beautiful lake has been made from it in Louisiana, why cannot we likewise succeed in rendering it useful for painting? And when this wax becomes so common as to be sold at a low price, of what advantage will it not be for making soap.

The art of bleaching this wax requires a more perfect investigation for operating on a large scale, and with economy. Two agents offer themselves to manufacturers: sulphuric acid and oxygenated muriatic acid. But, as the wax does not sink in those liquids, means must be employed for increasing the contact, either by putting the wax in shavings and sprinkling it with oxygenated muriatic acid, or by inclosing it in the same envelop in casks through which oxygenated muriatic gas may be passed.

I shall propose a third, which promises a more expeditious effect.

The wax, divided into very small pieces, is laid in strata in a cask, together with muriate of lime: they are thus disposed layer by layer, and left some time in contact in a dry state. The salt



is afterwards decomposed with water acidulated with fulphuric acid, taking care to pour on the water at different intervals, till no more muriatic gas be perceptibly disengaged: then a considerable quantity of water must be added, and the mixture must be stirred with a stick. In standing the insoluble sulphur of lime is precipitated, and the bleached wax floats on the surface. It is then washed and melted in a balnea mariæ.

I shall conclude this memoir with some notices relative to the cultivation of the *myrica Pennsylvanica*. M. Deshayes, to whom I am indebted for the opportunity of making my experiments, has for several years turned his attention to the wax-tree at Rambouillet. He writes me as follows on this subject.

“ The *myrica latifolia* (Ayton) is perfectly at home here: the soil, which is a sandy and blackish loam, is exactly adapted to it: we have here 16 productive wax-trees. Their height is 4, 5, and 6 feet. There is one male tree of 7 feet. The berries are abundant almost every year; I say almost, because in some years there is a failure. In general they are very fine in the English part of the garden which is allotted to these plants.

“ Their culture requires no particular attention. The numerous shoots from the foot of the large trees are every year taken off and planted in some other place at the distance of a metre from each other.”

The berries may be sown in spring in beds, and afterwards transplanted; but this method is the longest. The *myrica* will thrive every where in a light and

rather humid soil. How many provinces are there into which this useful branch of agriculture might be introduced, and where lands almost totally waste might be turned to advantage!

What benefits may not agriculture in general expect from such an acquisition, since the *myrica* has long flourished even in the arid sands of Prussia!

The French government has already given encouragement to this branch of industry by ordering plantations of the *myrica*. At Orleans and at Rambouillet there are two shrubberies of wax-trees, containing above 400 plants. Too much publicity cannot be given to circumstances like these; nothing is more tardily propagated than useful plants. A sterile but picturesque tree, an agreeable flower, are soon adopted by fashion. They ornament the paterres of our modern Luculluses, and the apartments of our Phrynes, whilst the indefatigable friends of agriculture vainly attempt to enrich our fields with a new grass, or to fill our granaries with nourishing vegetable productions.

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### *The Kamfin.*

*From Denon's Travels.*

I HAD often heard speak of the *kamfin*, which may be termed the hurricane of Egypt and the desert; it is equally terrible by the frightful spectacle which it exhibits when present; and by the consequences which follow its ravages. We had already passed with security one half of the season in which it appears, when in the even-



ing of the 18th of May, I felt myself entirely overcome by a suffocating heat; it seemed as if the fluctuation of the air was suddenly suspended. I went out to bathe, in order to overcome so painful a sensation, when I was struck on my arrival at the bank of the Nile with a new appearance of nature around me; this was a light and colours which I had not yet seen. The sun, without being concealed, had lost its rays; it had even less lustre to the eye than the moon, and gave a pale light without shade; the water no longer reflected its rays, but appeared in agitation; every thing had changed its usual aspect, it was now the flat shore that seemed luminous, and the air dull and opaque; the yellow horizon shewed the trees on its surface of a dirty blue; flocks of birds were flying off before the cloud; the affrighted animals ran loose in the country, followed by the shouting inhabitants, who vainly attempted to collect them together again; the wind, which had raised this immense mass of vapour, and was urging it forward, had not yet reached us; we thought that by plunging our bodies in the water, which was then calm, we could prevent the baneful effects of this mass of dust, which was advancing from the south-west; but we had hardly entered the river when it began to swell all at once, as if it would overflow its channel, the waves passed over our heads, and we felt the bottom heave up under our feet; our clothes were conveyed away along with the shore itself, which seemed to be carried off by the whirlwind, which had now reached us; we were compelled to leave the water, and our wet

and naked bodies, being beat upon by a storm of sand, were soon incrustated with a black mud, which prevented us from dressing ourselves; enlightened only by a red and gloomy sun, with our eyes smarting, our noses stuffed up, and our throats clogged with dust, so that we could hardly breathe, we lost each other and our way home, and arrived at our lodgings at last one by one, groping our way, and guided only by the walls, which marked our track. We could now easily conceive the dreadful situation of those who are surprised with such a phenomenon of nature, when crossing the exposed and naked deserts; and we were so accustomed to the serene sky of Egypt, that we could hardly bear with any patience such a sudden transition.

The next day the same mass of dust, attended with similar appearances, travelled along the desert of Lybia: it followed the chain of the mountains, and when we flattered ourselves that we were entirely rid of this pestilence, the west wind brought it back, and once more overwhelmed us with this scorching torrent; the flashes of lightning appeared to pierce with difficulty through this dense vapour; all the elements seemed to be still in disorder; the rain was mixed with whirlwinds of fire, wind, and dust, and in this time of confusion the trees and all the other productions of nature seemed to be again plunged in the horrors of chaos.

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*The Sea Swallow.*

*From Acerbi's Travels.*

WE experienced additional pleasure every time the fishermen returned



returned from their labour. Joy seemed to brighten up their countenances; their approach was announced to us long before we saw them, by the flocks of sea swallows (*Sterna hirundo*, Lin.) which hovered in the air, seeming by their cries to welcome their arrival on the shore. These birds feed on the small fishes, which the fishermen cast out to them, or leave in the boats when they clear out their nets. There appeared to be an agreement and an understanding betwixt the men and these birds, which depend upon the fishery for subsistence and support during this season. They came duly at the same hour in the morning, as if to inform the fishermen it was time to begin their work; and the latter needed no other regulator. The birds set off with the boats, and served the fishers as guides in the prosecution of their calling, by hovering over those parts of the lake where the fish were collected in the largest shoals. The sight of these birds is particularly keen, so that when the fishermen heard their cries, and saw them plunging into the water, they knew those were the properest places to cast their nets in with a probability of success; and

herein they were sure not to be deceived, but, on the contrary, never failed to take the most fish where they were directed by the birds. The fishermen had such an attachment to these swallows, that they expressed much uneasiness whenever we seemed desirous to take some of them by way of specimens. The birds were become so tame and familiar, that they would seize the small fish in the nets, and even in the boats, in the presence of the fishermen; and they were so nimble in their flight, that if a fish was thrown up into the air, they would dart down upon it, and catch it in its descent before it reached the water. As the fishermen appeared to be apprehensive that they would leave them if a gun was to be fired off, I made a trial of taking them by means of a hook and line. Accordingly I contrived to bury a hook in the body of a fish, and holding the other end of the string, to throw the bait at some distance from me: but this contrivance was attended with no success, for such is their keenness of sight, that they discovered the device, and though they seized the fish, they would not gorge it when they found it was made fast to a string.



# USEFUL PROJECTS.

*List of Patents for New Inventions,  
granted during the Year 1802.*

**A**LLEXANDER Bryce of Glasgow, in North Britain, merchant; for a method of drying all kinds of yarn, whether linen, woollen, cotton or silk, or composed of all or either of those articles, as also all kinds of cloth, or stuffs, commonly called piece goods. Dated January 2.

Thomas Parkinson, of the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, Middlesex, gent.; for an apparatus to be applied to engines for conveying fluids therefrom. Dated January 2.

Abner Cowell Lea, of the parish of Ashton, near Birmingham, Warwickshire, manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing the furniture for umbrellas and parasols. Dated January 2.

Lewis James Armand Estienne, of Paul-street, near Finsbury-square, Middlesex, gent.; for an invention, communicated to him by a foreigner, of reducing human excrement into a powder, divested of all nauseous smell, preserving at the same time its fertilizing properties, in rendering land infinitely more productive than any other manure hi-

therto discovered. Dated January 9.

Robert Brown, of new Radford, Nottinghamshire, lace manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing nets of all kinds. Dated January 16.

Joseph Lewis, of Brimscomb, in the county of Gloucester, dyer; for certain improvements in the art of dyeing, by means of a new method of cooling the cloth and other piece goods, (particularly in dyeing black); and a new mode of applying the fire for the purpose of heating the boiler, or other vessels, and which may be also applied to the heating of other boilers, or vessels, where heat is required. Dated January 16.

Joseph Hall, of Pitt-street, in the parish of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey; for a hammer for guns, pistols, and other fire-arms, which contains the prime, and effectually preserves it from damp and rainy weather. Dated January 16.

Richard Wilcox, of the city of Bristol, engineer; for improvements on the steam-engine, furnace, or boiler, and air-pump. Dated January 23.

Paul de Philipsthal, of the Lyceum,



ceum, in the Strand, gent.; for an optical apparatus, whereby he is enabled to represent, in a dark space or scene, the human figures, in various characters, proportions, and sizes, and by which means painters and other artists may accurately enlarge or diminish with more certainty and facility than has been known or done. Dated January 26.

James Sharples, of the city of Bath, gent.; for new invented mechanical powers, applicable to steam engines; part of which machinery may be applied to other useful purposes. Dated January 28.

Thomas Charles Baker, of Poplar, in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex, millwright; for vanes or sails for windmills. Dated January 28.

Joseph Barton, late of Old-street, in the parish of St. Luke, in the county of Middlesex, chemist; for a medicine which he denominates compound concentrated fluid vital air, of great use in the cure of putrid diseases, &c.; and another preparation, which he calls aerated preventive fluid, as a preventive from putrid infection, &c.; also aerated liquid balm, for preserving and beautifying the skin. Dated January 28.

Robert Dickenson, of Long-acre, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, proprietor of Gowland's Lotion; for a new or improved method of fixing the straps of and to saddles, to which the girths are usually made fast or buckle. Dated February 6.

John Southey, Lord Somerville; for a double furrowed plough, fit and proper for ploughing of land in this kingdom. Dated February 6.

Charles Mercie, of the city of Bath, music-master; for slides, which he calls air-slides, to be fixed to windows, doors, and partitions of all descriptions, for preventing the external air from entering rooms, carriages, &c. Dated February 6.

Henry Peimeck, and Robert Dunkin, of the town of Penzance, in the county of Cornwall, gents.; for methods for improving the sailing and navigating of certain ships and vessels. Dated February 19.

Joseph Nelson, of Leeds, Yorkshire, clothier; for a method of making or manufacturing woollen cloth. Dated February 19.

Bryan Higgins, of the parish of St. Anne, Soho, Middlesex, doctor in physic; for an apparatus for heating air equally to any requisite degree, and methods of applying the air so heated with peculiar advantage, efficacy, and economy of the fuel, to the numerous purposes for which stoves and kilns have been heretofore employed. Dated February 19.

George Holland, of the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex, hosier; for a machine to be added to the stocking frame, for the purpose of improving the manufacture, and expediting the manufacturing of fleecy hosiery, and various other kinds of hosiery. Dated February 23.

George Bodley, of Exeter, Devonshire, iron-founder; for a portable stove or kitchen for the purpose of dressing victuals. Dated February 27.

George Hodson, of the city of Chester, ash manufacturer; for a method of preparing or manufacturing fossil or mineral alkali, from various substances. Dated Feb. 27.

Richard



Richard Pottinger, of the parish of Ealing, Middlesex, engineer; for an apparatus, whereby persons riding in carriages may on occasions, and in circumstances of imminent danger, liberate themselves, and escape impending mischief, by freeing the horse or horses instantly from the carriage. Dated February 27.

John Lewis, of Lamb's-buildings, in the parish of St. Luke, Old-street, Middlesex, manufacturer; for a method of preventing accidents by a horse or horses drawing a carriage or carriages. Dated February 27.

Mr. John Donaldson, of the city of Bristol, glass manufacturer; for a method of making all kinds of glass in a more expeditious manner than hitherto attempted. Dated March 5.

Mr. James Mitchell, the elder, and Mr. James Mitchell, the younger, of the hamlet of Poplar and Blackwall, in the county of Middlesex, rope makers; for an improved method of manufacturing cables, hawsers, and other cordage. Dated March 9.

Obadiah Elliott, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, Surry, coach-maker, for an eccentric anti-labourist spring curricule bar, for one or more horses, upon a new and improved construction. Dated March 9.

Thomas Loud, of Hoxton, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shore-ditch, Middlesex, musical instrument maker; for improvements in the action and construction of upright piano-fortes. Dated March 9.

Christopher Wilson, of the Grange-walk, in the parish of Bermondsey, Surry, tanner; for a

method of making and obtaining a vacuum, or vacuums, whereby powers are gained or obtained applicable to the improvement of hydraulical, pneumatical, and mechanical machines, or engines, or any others, where fluids, steam, or vapour, may be used or applied. Dated March 9.

Peter Litherland, of Liverpool, Lancashire, watch-maker; for a mode of keeping musical instruments in tune, and of preserving the strings from breaking. Dated March 24.

John Williams, of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, gent.; for a method or means of disengaging horses from carriages. Dated March 24.

James Ashworth, of Tottington, in the parish of Bury, in the county of Lancaster, dyer and colourman; for a method of making iron liquor, for the use of dyers and printers. Dated March 24.

Sebastian Erard, of Great Marlborough-street, in the parish of St. James, Westminster, Middlesex, musical instrument maker; for improvements in the musical instrument called a harp. Dated March 24.

Philip James Meyer, of Great Portland-street, Middlesex; for a machine to prevent danger to persons driving, or being in curricles, single horse chaises, or other carriages, by horses being restive, breaking, or running away with such carriages, or backing, in consequence of taking fright while harnessed thereto. Dated March 24.

Henry Grant, Esq., of America-square, in the city of London; for a machine for the purifying and clarifying of water, whereby the  
most



most putrid or foul water may be rendered perfectly sweet and clean. Dated March 24.

Richard Frevithick, and Andrew Vivian, of the parish of Cambourne, Cornwall, engineers and miners; for methods of improving the construction of steam engines, and the application thereof for driving carriages, and for other purposes. Dated March 24.

Edward Massey, the younger, of Stanley, in the parish of Stoke upon Trent, Staffordshire, watch-maker; for an instrument or apparatus, for taking soundings at sea with more certainty and correctness than heretofore, and for other nautical purposes, and matters connected with or relating to navigation. Dated March 24.

Thomas Connop, of Manchester, Lancashire, machine maker; for a machine for batting, opening, and cleansing cotton, wool, and sheeps wool. Dated March 30.

Elizabeth Duke, of Queen's-square, Moorfields, Middlesex, and James Jacks, of Cornhill, in the city of London, merchant taylor and draper; for an invention communicated to them by a person residing in America, whereby they are enabled to render all sorts of woollen, cotton, and linen cloths, canvas, silk, hats, paper, and other manufactures, water-proof. Dated April 2.

Stephen Wells, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, Surry; for hinges upon a new construction. Dated April 3.

John Leach, of Merton Abbey, calico printer; for a method of using madder in the dyeing of calicoes, linens, and stuffs, whereby a great saving is made in the con-

sumption of that root or drug. Dated April 6.

James Power, of Baron's-buildings, St. George's-fields, gent.; for a machine for the purpose of raising weights, and for various other purposes. Dated April 7.

Thomas Parker, late of Broomward, Lanarkshire, and now of the city of Glasgow, in North Britain, William Telfer, and Alexander Afleck, of the said city, mathematical instrument makers; for their further improvements in preparing and manufacturing flax, hemp, silk, and other materials. Dated April 8.

James Birch, of Abernant, in the county of Glamorgan, engineer; for improvements in, or additions to, the furnace, as hitherto used for smelting ore, and making pig-iron. Dated April 8.

John Charlton, of Duckmanton, Derbyshire, agent to the Adelphi colliery; for a punch or prop for supporting the roofs of mines. Dated April 10.

John Harriott, of Wapping, Middlesex, esq., and Thomas Strode, of Wapping aforesaid, smith; for an engine for raising or lowering weights of all kinds, and for working mills and other similar purposes. Dated April 13.

James Pearson, of the township of Walton-le-dale, Lancashire, cotton-spinner; for a machine for beating and dressing cotton, wool, or flax. Dated April 15.

Henry Gardiner, of the city of Norwich, corn merchant; for a method of preventing all sorts of corn and seeds, and various other merchandize, from receiving damage by heat on board ships and in warehouses, and of improving all such



such corn, seeds, or other merchandize, as may have received damage by heat or otherwise. Dated April 15.

Thomas Martin, of Goswell-street, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, sadler, collar and harness maker, and tanner; for improvements in the art of tanning and dressing hides and skins. Dated April 19.

John Thomas, of Withington, Lancashire, cotton-spinner; for a method, in addition to the machine and methods now in use, for the batting or beating, and cleaning of wool, cotton, and hose, preparatory to the carding and spinning thereof. Dated April 19.

George Frederick Bauer, of Swithin's-lane, in the city of London, doctor of physic; for improvements in the construction of carriages and the wheels of carriages. Dated May 5.

Lawrence Hollisten, of Norfolk-street, Mary-le-bone, Middlesex; for machinery for improving roads. Dated May 5.

Edward Thomason, of Birmingham, Warwickshire, manufacturer; for an improvement on cork-screws. Dated May 7.

John Lawrence, of Lambeth, in the county of Surry, gent.; for a new method of tanning. Dated May 10.

Richard Hunt, of Bull and Mouth-street, London, fancy hat manufacturer; for improvements of Leghorn and chip hats. Dated May 18.

Philip Rusher, of Banbury, in the county of Oxford, banker's-clerk; for various improvements and alterations in the form of printing types, and the manner in which printing is to be performed there-

with, so as to diminish the trouble and expence of printing, and to render it much more uniform and beautiful. Dated May 20.

Thomas Pritty, of Haughley, near Stow-market, in the county of Suffolk, grocer and draper; for a method or invention of affixing or hanging certain springs, joints, and other apparatus to doors, by means whereof such doors may be opened from either jamb. Dated May 20.

John Whitley Boswell, of Dublin, gent.; for a method of building or fabricating ships or vessels for navigation. Dated May 20.

Archibald Blair, Esq., of Bay-ford, Herefordshire; for machinery, to be variously constructed, for pressing all sorts of substances to which it may be found applicable. Dated May 31.

John Cant Gate, of the town of Breechin, tanner; and John Millan, of the town of Montrose, tanner and leather-dealer; both in Angushire, in North Britain; for a new method of tanning leather. Dated May 31.

Matthew Wood, of Falcon-square, London, merchant; for preparing a colour from malt, for the purpose of colouring spirits, wines, and other liquors. Dated May 31.

John Wilson, of St. Alban's-street, St. James's, Westminster, Middlesex, gent.; for a method or methods of purifying or clarifying, reducing, separating, and decomposing fluids. Dated May 31.

Joseph Fryer, of Rastrich, in the county of York, surgeon; for a machine for the purpose of cutting, dressing, and finishing of woollen cloth. Dated May 31.

Thomas



Thomas Maltby, of the town of Nottingham; for a stirrup. Dated June 14.

William Lester, of Cotton-end, in the parish of Harding Stone, Northamptonshire, engineer; for an engine or machine, on an improved construction, for separating corn and seeds from the straw; part of which machinery may also be applied to other useful purposes. Dated June 19.

James Tate, of Tottenham Court-road, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex, ironmonger; for improvements in the construction of wheel carriages. Dated June 26.

Thomas Richardson, of Iron Acton, Gloucestershire, tanner; for improvements in the art of preparing, colouring, and uniting the skins of sheep and lambs. Dated June 26.

Matthew Murray, of Leeds, Yorkshire, engineer; for new combined steam-engines, for producing a circular power, and certain machinery thereunto belonging, applicable to the drawing of coals, ores, and all other minerals, from mines, and for spinning cotton, flax, tow, and wool, or for any other purpose requiring circular power. Dated June 28.

William Walmsley, of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, machine maker; for a machine for batting and opening cotton, wool, sheeps-wool, tow, hemp, and flax. Dated July 2.

William Barclay, of Manchester-buildings, in the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, clerk; for a medicinal compound, called, The Rev. William Barclay's antibilious deobstruent pills. Dated July 14.

Thomas Wilson, of Bishop Wearmouth, Durham, engineer; and Rowland Burdon, of Castle Eden, in the said county, Esq.; for methods of uniting, combining, and connecting the metallic patent blocks of the said Rowland Burdon, for the construction of arches. Dated July 23.

John Vancouver, of Brookhouse, Warwickshire, Esq.; for newly discovered materials, which, by certain new processes of manufacture, are capable of being rendered a substitute for soap. Dated July 23.

Thomas Sawdon, of the city of Lincoln, wire-worker and corn-machine maker; for a machine for cutting straw for fodder for cattle, on principles entirely new. Dated July 23.

The Right Honourable Archibald, Earl of Dundonald; for a method or methods of preparing a substitute or substitutes for gum Senegal, and other gums, extensively employed in certain branches of manufacture. Dated July 31.

George Elliott, of Rathbone-place, Middlesex, machine maker; for a machine for the purpose of raising water and other fluids. Dated August 2.

Charles Wyatt, of New Bridge-street, in the city of London, merchant and manufacturer; for his invention of certain improvements in the apparatus for, and mode of distilling and drying coffee and sugar. Dated August 2.

William Speer, of the city of Dublin, Esq.; for an improvement in the construction of hydrometers. Dated August 2.

William Nicholson, of Soho-square, Middlesex, gent.; for machinery



chinery for the better and more expeditious manufacturing of files. Dated August 14.

Joseph Smith, of Red Lion-street, Holborn, Middlesex, smith; for a method of fixing and setting an alarm, or alarm bell, so contrived as to alarm and waking families in case of fire, &c. Dated August 19.

Archibald Blair, of Bayford, Hertfordshire, Esq.; for a method of returning cotton and other elastic substances when pressed. Dated August 19.

Joseph de Oliveira Barreto, late of Lisbon, but now of Old Burlington-street, Middlesex, Esq.; and Mary de Lima Barreto, his wife; for a method of treating and curing of ruptures. Dated August 30.

Joseph Hatley, of Cradeley, Worcesterhire, assayer of metals; for a method of purifying metals. Dated August 31.

Joseph Brindley, of Rochester, Kent, ship-builder; for a method of more effectually securing ships' beams to their sides. Dated September 20.

Joseph Landells, of Radcliffe, in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex, shipwright; for a method of working pumps by machinery. Dated September 20.

Robert Dickinson, of Long Acre, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, Middlesex; for improvement in the arts of working and making of the furniture, accoutrements, or the apparatus, useful or necessary for the employment of horses, or otherwise relating to the same. Dated September 27.

William Plees, of Chelsea, Mid-

dlesex, gent.; for a method of manufacturing paper for various purposes. Dated September 27.

William Forder, of Portsea, Hants, purser in his majesty's navy; for a diving machine, to be used about shipping, and in stopping holes and leaks in ships' bottoms, and for other purposes. Dated October 2.

John Grimshaw, of Bishop Wearmouth, Durham, rope-maker, being one of the people called quakers; for improvements in machinery for laying ropes. Dated October 5.

Joseph Bramah, of Pimlico, Middlesex, engineer; for a machine for the purpose of producing straight, smooth, and parallel surfaces, on wood and other materials. Dated October 30.

Augustus Frederick Thoelden, of St. Alban's-street, Pall Mall, Middlesex, Esq.; for a mechanical apparatus for supporting the human body. Dated October 30.

James Smethurst, of St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, Surry, lamp manufacturer; and Nicholas Paul, of Villier's-street, Strand, mechanician; for improvements in lamps and reflectors. Dated October 30.

James How, of Bovingdon, near Hemel Hempstead, Herts, farmer; for a plough upon an improved construction. Dated October 30.

Thomas Barnett, of East-street, Lambeth, Surry, mathematical instrument maker; for an invention whereby a requisite quantity of air will introduce itself into any vessel containing fluids, or a superabundant quantity of air therein discharge itself so as to preserve the fluid in a constant state for use. Dated November 6.

Robert



Robert Walker, of Union-street, St. Mary-le-bone, Middlesex; for dining tables upon an entire new construction. Dated November 6.

Henry Smith, lieutenant in his majesty's royal navy; for an improved vessel or barrel for a more safe and expeditious carriage and conveyance of gunpowder. Dated November 13.

Simon Huguenin, of Brook-street, Holborn, Middlesex; for a machine for accelerating motion with little friction, to be called the universal lever. Dated November 13.

Thomas Martin, of Brook-street, near Brentwood, Essex, fadler; for a method of applying fire, by means of certain machinery, for the purpose of heating liquors, and applying such liquors, when heated, to various useful purposes. Dated November 20.

Thomas Dawson, of James-street, Long Acre, Middlesex, tin plate worker; for a lamp or lantern, upon an improved construction. Dated November 25.

William Dobson, of St. Clements' Danes, Middlesex, hardwareman; for machinery for the purpose of chasing away flies and venomous insects. Dated November 25.

Marc Isambard Brunel, of Gerard-street, Soho, Middlesex, gent.; for trimmings or borders of muslin, lawn, or cambric. Dated November 27.

James Roberts, of Portsea, Hants, mechanic; and Edward Brine, of the same place, copper-smith; for machinery for the purpose of dragging or locking the wheels of carriages of every description, and for instantaneously disengaging

the horses therefrom. Dated November 29.

Alexander Ross, of Bishopsgate-street, London, perfumer; for gentlemen's perukes or wigs. Dated November 29.

Daniel Craanor, a native of Holland, but now of the city of London, merchant; for a method of making verdigris in lumps or powder, with ingredients the produce of Great Britain, which will not only answer every purpose of foreign verdigris, but can be used as a water colour upon paper, &c. Dated November 30.

William Beer, of Ely-place, in the city of London, medical professor and dealer in medicine; for a medicine, and method of administering the same, for the more effectually and expeditiously curing the gout, rheumatism, &c. Dated December 9.

John Barnett, of Birmingham, Warwickshire, toy-maker; and Joseph Barnett, of the borough of Warwick, in the said county, cutler; for a new and improved method of making parasols and umbrellas. Dated December 21.

Matthew Wyatt, of Queen Anne-street, East, Middlesex, Esq.; for a fire-grate, upon an improved construction. Dated December 21.

Thomas Saint, of the city of Bristol, engineer; for a method of increasing the effect of steam engines, and saving fuel in the working thereof. Dated December 21.

John Lewel, of Gresse-street, Rathbone-place, Middlesex, stove-maker; for a register stove upon improved principles. Dated December 21.



John Scott, and James Clarkson, of Lower-street, Islington, brick makers; William Tatham, of Staples-inn-buildings, Holborn, Esq.; and Samuel Mellish, of Holborn-court, Gray's-inn, gent.; for new invented articles, which they have denominated "Tatham's clumps," for the purpose of constructing water-pipes, sewers, tunnels, wells, conduits, reservoirs, or other circular walls, shells, or buildings. Dated December 21.

Michael Billingsley, of Birkinshaw, Yorkshire, engineer; for an instrument, engine, or machine to be worked by steam, water, or horses, for the purpose of boring cylinders, &c. Dated December 22.

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*Method of Harvesting Corn in Wet Weather. By Mr. John Palmer, of Maxstock, near Colehill, Warwickshire.*

*From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

THE weather proving extremely rainy, and my corn then standing, taking much damage, I determined upon cutting it wet, and thrashing it immediately, and then drying it on a kiln: in consequence of this, I collected as many men as were sufficient for the purpose, and employed them as follows, viz.

I caused a part of my men to cut the corn in the common method with sickles, and bind it into sheaves. A second part I employed to load it on waggons, and carry it to the barn; and as many as

could work in the barn, to thrash it. The next morning I winnowed it, and carried it to a malt-kiln to be dried; which operation was always completed in less than twenty-four hours.

As it is impossible for me to send you two sheaves of the corn harvested as above described. I have sent you the produce of two sheaves and upwards, which I declare to be a fair sample of the produce of four acres and upwards.

A timber-stove, or a hop-kiln, will answer the purpose of drying corn equally well as a malt-kiln.

*The expence per acre was as under stated.*

	£.	s.	d.
Reaping and carrying to			
the barn, - - -	0	12	0
Thrashing and winnow-			
ing, - - - - -	0	12	0
Kiln-drying, - - -	0	5	0
	<hr/>		
	£.	1	9 0
	<hr/>		

N. B. Only a part of the above sum should be charged to my new method of harvesting corn, viz. the extra expence, which is as follows:

Five shillings *per* acre for drying, and four shillings for the extra trouble of thrashing it.

After the wheat above mentioned was thrashed in the common method with flails, and dried, I so far completed a machine for thrashing, that I thrashed a very considerable quantity of wheat, and ten acres of barley with it, carried from the field in November; and it was dried in the manner described in my claim. I did not however



however state this to the society, because I had taken out a patent, dated the 6th day of December, 1799, for my thrashing-machine: and was that day going to London to give in my specification, dated the 4th of January 1800.

Part of the straw of the four acres, described in my claim, was used for thatch immediately after it was thrashed; and part stacked in small narrow ridges, for litter for my fold-yarn.

The grain was very well separated from the straw by the flails; but that thrashed by the machine was completely cleared, though in a very wet state. This would not be the case with the common machines of the north.

The quantity of wheat upon an acre was about twenty-one bushels, which is nearly as much as there would have been if it had been dried by fine weather. When the advantage of getting in an acre of wheat *per* day, in seasons like the last, is properly considered, and making it immediately useful, at the small additional expence of nine shillings *per* acre, there can be but little doubt respecting its utility; for probably these men could not be employed at any other work.

The above letter was accompanied with three certificates; one from Mr. Edward Palmer, of Maxstock, in the county of Warwick; another from the Rev. John Dilke, of Maxstock-castle; and the third from Mr. William Twamley, of Sutton Colfield, in the county of Warwick, miller: which testify that Mr. John Palmer did harvest four acres of wheat and upwards in the year 1799; that his plan is likely to be of general ad-

vantage; and that his thrashing machine is in high repute, and answers every end proposed.

*Account of the Method of making Clover Hay in wet Weather, as practised in Cowland; invented by the Rev. Mr. Klapmeyer, of Wormen.*

*From the same.*

IN the method of making hay, recommended by the Rev. Mr. Klapmeyer, not only a number of hands are saved, but the hay is better and more nourishing. The hay is prepared by self-fermentation, whereby it retains its nutritious juices, and only loses its watery particles; it is dried more expeditiously by dissipation of its humidity, and contraction of the sap-vessels, and thus its nutritious juices are concentrated. This process is conducted in the following manner, *viz.* The sap-vessels are expanded by the circulation of the liquid juices by heat, and the superfluous humidity is exhaled: on cooling, the sap-vessels contract, and thus future intestine fermentation is prevented, and the nutritious quality preserved.

Upon this principle, the clover intended for hay, after having been mowed, remains till four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, in the swath, to dry; it must then be raked together into small coils, and afterwards made into large cocks, in the form of a sugar-loaf, and such as would require six or eight horses to remove. To prevent the air from penetrating these cocks, and to produce a quicker fermentation, they must,



whilst forming, be trod down by one or two men. If it be a still close warm night, the fermentation will commence in four hours, and manifest itself by a strong honey-like smell: when a proper fermentation is begun, the cocks will, on being opened, smoke, appear brownish, and may then be spread abroad. If in the morning the sun is warm, and a little wind arises, the clover hay will quickly dry; it may then, towards noon, be turned with the rake or pitch-fork, and, about four in the afternoon, will be sufficiently dried, so that it may be immediately carted into the barn, without any danger of a second fermentation.

By this method of management the clover will require only three days, from the time of mowing to its being housed, and very little work; whilst, in the common way, even in good weather, it requires six or eight days: in the old method it frequently becomes of a black colour; but in the new method it is only brown, has an agreeable smell, and remains good and unchangeable in the barn. The farmer has also another advantage, that if he has not carts enough to carry it into the barn, he need only, at sun-setting, to heap it again into large well-trodden cocks, and thatch them with straw, in which state they will remain the whole summer without damage or loss. This clover hay is not only greedily eaten by sheep and lambs, but also by horses, calves, and cows.

The last in particular prefer it to the best meadow hay: it produces a great quantity of rich milk; and the butter made from it is almost as yellow as summer butter.

As this new mode of making hay depends principally upon two circumstances—first, that the mown clover, when brought together into large heaps, may ferment equally and expeditiously; secondly, that if the day succeeding the fermentation be dry, sunny, and windy—on this account it may be proper to point out what should be done when circumstances are unfavourable.

Let us suppose, therefore, that the night after the clover grass has been placed in the great cocks, be cold, damp, or rainy, the fermentation will yet take place, although it may require a term of twelve, sixteen, or twenty-four hours to effect it. If it be a second or third crop, at which season the nights are colder, it may even require from thirty-six to forty-eight hours before the fermentation ensues; it will however commence, and may be ascertained from this circumstance, that you can scarcely bear your hand in the interior of the cock.

Even if the night be dry, yet if a strong cold wind blows, the cock may not ferment equally, but only in the middle and on the side opposite to the wind; the other parts may still remain green. In such a case the following rules must be attended to:—

First, If the cock has only fermented in the middle, and on that side where the cold wind did not act upon it, the whole heap must nevertheless be opened the following morning. That which has already fermented must be separated and spread to dry; it must be turned towards noon, and may be carted into the barn in the evening: but that part of the cock which

has



has not fermented, must be again put together into large cocks, and fermented in the same manner as the preceding part, after which it may be spread to dry, and brought into the barn.

Secondly, In such cases where a small portion of the cock has fermented thoroughly, but not the greater part, the heap must be spread abroad in the morning, but must be again made into a close cock in the evening, in such a manner that the part which has fermented be placed at the top or outside of the cock, and that which has not fermented be inclosed within it; then on the ensuing morning, or, if the weather be cold and rainy, on the morning afterwards, the clover heap may be again spread abroad, and the clover treated as in case No. I.

Thirdly, If, in spreading the heap abroad, it be found that nearly the whole of the clover has fermented, it will not be necessary to delay the housing of the whole on account of some small portion; but the clover may be dried and carted into the barn. The small portion of clover which remained unfermented, will not occasion any disaster to the other which has fermented; for there is a material difference betwixt hay thus managed, and the meadow grafs which is brought whilst damp, or wet with rain, into the barn, which will grow musty and putrid.

Fourthly, In such instances, where some of the cocks of clover have thoroughly fermented, and it rains on the morning, they ought to be spread abroad, for the clover must be opened and spread, even if it rains violently; since, if it was

suffered to remain longer in the heap, it would take fire, or its juices would be injured by too much fermentation; the leaves and stalks would become black, and the clover unfit for food: therefore, if the rain continues, the spread clover must be turned from time to time, but not carted into the barn till dry. This drying takes place if the rain discontinues for a few hours, much more expeditiously with the clover which has fermented, than with that made in the common way. Besides which, it must be remarked, that the fermented clover remains good, even if it continues some weeks exposed to the rain, provided it is at last suffered to dry before it is put into the barn; otherwise the wet from the rain will render it musty and bad. The clover which has been for so long a time exposed to the rain, will not, however, be so nutritious as that which has been well fermented and sooner dried; but it will be far superior to that which has been exposed to the rain, and got up in the common method.

This new mode has been adopted with success, during the years 1798 and 1799, in Silesia, and found, in every respect, preferable to the old manner. On one of the estates there, it rained much during the hay time; they were obliged to spread the clover out of the large cocks, owing to its having fermented only in the middle: the parts which had not fermented were carefully separated, and made again into large cocks, which fermented at the expiration of thirty-six hours, rainy weather and cold nights continuing during this period: after which time it was again spread



spread abroad. The former, as well as the latter, remained for three days exposed to the rain, during which period it was turned several times; the rain ceased on the fourth day, so that the clover hay was turned towards noon, and carted into the barn that evening. This clover remained in the hay-loft without change, and was a very nutritious food. Several milch-cows were fed with it, who not only ate it greedily, but also increased in their milk. Lambs and calves also thrived with it greatly. This method of making clover hay prevents its taking fire; for clover which has been once well fermented and dried, does not change or spoil in the hay-loft.

If the weather should be remarkably hot, you may, by adopting this plan, prevent a frequent accident; for grass hastily made into hay, however dry it may appear to the hand, contains within its fibres much humidity; and when trod down in the stack will ferment rapidly, from this humidity endeavouring to escape, which often fires the stack. A certain degree of fermentation is necessary in the making of hay, in order to develope its saccharine qualities, and make nutritious food. This saccharine fermentation is evident, from the smell and colour of the hay in common stacks; and from tasting an infusion of it, it resembles, in some degree, the process of making malt from barley, and requires a similar attention. I have no doubt that the method above related will prove generally advantageous, in making clover-lucerne and meadow hay in England, and lead to valuable improvements in agriculture.

*Description of a Boat of peculiar Construction, called the Life Boat, by Mr. Henry Greathead, of South Shields.*

*From the same.*

**I**T is much to be lamented, that in an age enlightened by science, such a languid indifference should prevail on many important public occasions; and that the most excellent inventions should have to combat the force of inveterate prejudice.

How many valuable discoveries have languished in obscurity? How many useful projects have perished in embryo, deprived of the fostering aid of the public, and the patronage of influence and authority?—In the class of useful improvements for the diminution of the dangers incident to a maritime profession, the life-boat, invented by Mr. Greathead, of Shields, has a claim to a distinguished patronage.—An experimental conviction of its great utility in saving the lives of shipwrecked seamen, and of its perfect safety in the most agitated sea, has induced me to advocate the cause with a zeal proportioned to its importance; and it is a consolatory reflection to my own mind, that my exertions have been successful in the introduction of a life-boat in the port of Scarborough, and, I trust, not unprofitable towards promoting a similar establishment in other places.—The services which have been recently performed at this port, by means of the life-boat, in contributing to the preservation of the lives of the crews of two vessels, more than compensate for every labour.—I am far from the ambition of aspiring



to any honorary testimony on this occasion. Actuated by the purest principles of philanthropy, my sole object is the benefit of the community, and to endeavour, by ardent recommendations, to excite a spirit of emulation in order to introduce the life-boat, with its invaluable properties, into more general use. I am induced to submit, with the utmost deference and respect, to the consideration of the Society of Arts, &c. the following description of the life-boat, with some miscellaneous observations. The construction of the boat, agreeably to Mr. Greathead's plan, is as follows.

The length is thirty feet; the breadth ten feet; the depth, from the top of the gunwale to the lower part of the keel in midships, three feet three inches; from the gunwale to the platform (*within*) two feet four inches; from the top of the stems (both ends being similar) to the horizontal line of the bottom of the keel, five feet nine inches. The keel is a plank of three inches thick, of a proportionate breadth in midships, narrowing gradually towards the ends, to the breadth of the stems at the bottom, and forming a great convexity downwards. The stems are segments of a circle, with considerable *rakes*. The bottom section, to the floor-heads, is a curve fore and aft, with the sweep of the keel. The floor timber has a small *rise*, curving from the keel to the floor-heads. A bilge plank is wrought in on each side next the floor-heads with

a double *rabbit* or groove, of a similar thickness with the keel; and, on the outside of this, are fixed two bilge-trees, corresponding nearly with the level of the keel. The ends of the bottom section form that fine kind of entrance observable in the lower part of the bow of the fishing boat, called a *coble*, much used in the north. From this part to the top of the stem it is more elliptical, forming a considerable projection. The sides, from the floor-heads to the top of the gunwale, flaunch off on each side, in proportion to about half the breadth of the floor. The breadth is continued far forward towards the ends, leaving a sufficient length of straight side at the top. The sheer is regular along the straight side, and more elevated towards the ends. The gunwale, fixed on the outside, is three inches thick.—The sides, from the under part of the gunwale, along the whole length of the regular sheer, extending twenty-one feet six inches, are cased with *layers* of cork, to the depth of sixteen inches downward; and the thickness of this casing of cork being four inches, it projects at the top a little without the gunwale. The cork on the outside is secured with thin plates or slips of copper, and the boat is fastened with copper nails. The *thwarts*, or seats, are five in number, *double banked*, consequently the boat may be rowed with ten \* oars. The *thwarts* are firmly stanchioned. The side oars are

\* Five of the benches are only used, the boat being generally rowed with ten oars.



short,\* with iron tholes and rope grommets, so that the rower can pull either way. The boat is steered with an oar at each end; and the steering oar is one third longer than the rowing oar. The platform placed at the bottom, within the boat, is horizontal, the length of the midships, and elevated at the ends, for the convenience of the steersman, to give him a greater power with the oar. The internal part of the boat next the sides, from the under part of the *thwarts* down to the platform, is cased with cork; the whole quantity of which, affixed to the life-boat, is nearly seven hundred weight. The cork indisputably contributes much to the buoyancy of the boat, is a good defence in going alongside a vessel, and is of principal use in keeping the boat in an erect position in the sea, or rather, of giving her a very lively and quick disposition to recover from any sudden *cant* or *lurch* which she may receive from the stroke of a heavy wave. But, exclusive of the cork, the admirable construction of this boat gives it a decided pre-eminence, the ends being similar, the boat can be rowed either way; and this peculiarity of form alleviates her rising over the waves. The curvature of the keel and bottom facilitates her movement in turning, and contributes to the ease of the steering, as a single stroke of the steering oar has an immediate effect, the boat moving as it were upon a centre. The fine entrance below is of use in dividing the waves when rowing

against them; and, combined with the convexity of the bottom, and the elliptical form of the stem, admits her to rise with wonderful buoyancy in a high sea, and to launch forward with rapidity, without shipping any water, when a common boat would be in danger of being filled. The *flaunching*, or spreading form of the boat, from the floor-heads to the gunwale, gives her a considerable *bearing*; and the continuation of the breadth, well forward, is a great support to her in the sea; and it has been found by experience, that boats of this construction are the best sea boats for rowing against turbulent waves. The internal shallowness of the boat, from the gunwale down to the platform, the convexity of the form, and the bulk of cork within, leave a very diminished space for the water to occupy; so that the life-boat, when filled with water, contains a considerable less quantity than the common boat, and is in no danger either of sinking or overturning. It may be presumed, by some, that in cases of high wind, agitated sea, and broken waves, that a boat of such a bulk could not prevail against them by the force of the oars; but the life-boat, from her peculiar form, may be rowed *a-head*, when the attempt in other boats would fail. Boats of the common form, adapted for speed, are of course put in motion with a small power; but for want of buoyancy and bearing, are overrun by the waves and sunk, when impelled against them: and boats constructed for burthen meet

\* The short oar is more manageable in a high sea than the long oar, and its stroke is more certain.



with too much resistance from the wind and sea, when opposed to them, and cannot, in such cases, be rowed from the shore to a ship in distress. An idea has been entertained, that the superior advantages of the life-boat are to be ascribed solely to the quantity of cork affixed. But this is a very erroneous opinion; and, I trust, has been amply refuted by the preceding observations on the super-eminent construction of this boat. It must be admitted, that the application of cork to common boats would add to their buoyancy and security; and it might be an useful expedient if there were a quantity of cork on board of ships, to prepare the boats with, in cases of shipwreck, as it might be expeditiously done, in a temporary way, by means of *clamps*, or some other contrivance. The application of cork to some of the boats of his majesty's ships\* might be worthy of consideration: more particularly as an experiment might be made at a little expence, and without inconvenience to the boats; or may prevent pleasure boats from upsetting or sinking.

The life-boat is kept in a boat-house, and placed upon four low wheels, ready to be moved at a moment's notice. These wheels are convenient in conveying the boat along the shore to the sea; but if she had to travel upon them on a rough road, her frame would be exceedingly shaken. Besides, it has been found difficult and troublesome to replace her upon these wheels on her return from the sea. Another plan has therefore been adopted. Two wheels, of nine feet diameter, with a moveable

arched axis, and a pole fixed thereto for a lever, have been constructed. The boat is suspended near her centre, between the wheels under the *axis*; toward each extremity of *which* is an iron pin, with a chain attached. When the pole is elevated perpendicularly, the upper part of the axis become depressed, and the chains being hooked to *eye-bolts* on the inside of the boat, she is raised with the utmost facility, by means of the pole, which is then fastened down to the stem of the boat.

The Scarborough boat is under the direction of a committee. Twenty-four fishermen, composing *two crews*, are alternately employed to navigate her. A reward, in cases of shipwreck, is paid by the committee to each man actually engaged in the assistance; and it is expected that the vessel receiving assistance should contribute to defray this expence. None have hitherto refused.

It is of importance that the command of the boat should be entrusted to some steady experienced person, who is acquainted with the direction of the tides or currents, as much skill may be required in rising *them* to the most advantage in going to a ship in distress. It should also be recommended to keep the *head* of the boat to the *sea*, as much as circumstances will admit; and to give her an accelerated velocity to meet the wave. Much caution is necessary in approaching a wreck, on account of the strong reflux of the waves, which is sometimes attended with great danger. In a general way, it is safest to go on the *lee-quarter*; but this depends

\* The launches.



upon the position of the vessel; and the master of the boat should exercise his skill in placing her in the most convenient situation. The boatmen should practise themselves in the use of the boat, that they may be the better acquainted with her movements; and they should at all times be strictly obedient to the directions of the person who is appointed to the command.

The great ingenuity which has been displayed in the construction of the life-boat, leaves scarcely any room for improvement: but some have supposed, that a boat of twenty-five feet in length, with a proportionate breadth, would answer every purpose of a larger one. A boat of these dimensions would certainly be lighter, and less expensive; but whether she would be equally *safe* and *steady* in a high sea, I cannot take upon myself to determine.

Mr. Greathead, of South Shields, the inventor, undertakes to build these boats, and to convey them to any port in the kingdom. He is a worthy man, in whom a confidence may be reposed, and will build upon moderate terms of profit.

THOMAS HINDERWELL.

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*Particulars relative to the construction of, and benefits received from, sundry Life Boats built by Mr. Henry Greathead, or under his directions, in and since the year 1789.*

#### ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTH SHIELDS LIFE-BOAT.

FROM the declaration of Sir Cuthbert Heron, Bart., of

South Shields, it appears that when the *Adventure* was wrecked in 1789, on the Herd Sands, he offered a reward for any seaman to go off to save the men's lives, which was refused; and that the greatest part of the crew of the *Adventure* perished within 300 yards of the shore, and in sight of a multitude of spectators. The gentlemen of South Shields immediately met and offered a reward to any person who would give in a plan of a boat, which should be approved, for the preservation of men's lives. Mr. Greathead gave in a plan, which met with approbation; a committee was formed, and a subscription raised for the building of a boat upon that plan. After it was built, it was with some difficulty that the sailors were induced to go off in her; but, in consequence of a reward offered, they went off, and brought the crew of a stranded vessel on shore. Since which time the boat has been readily manned, and no lives have been lost (except in the instances of the crews trusting to their own boats); and, in his opinion, if Mr. Greathead's boat had existed at the time of the wreck of the *Adventure*, the crew would have been saved.

From other accounts it appears, that in the year 1791 the crew of a brig, belonging to Sunderland, and laden from the westward, were preserved by this life boat, the vessel at the same time breaking to pieces by the force of the sea.

On January 1st, 1795, the ship *Parthenius*, of Newcastle, was driven on the Herd Sand, and the life-boat went to her assistance, when the sea breaking over the ship



ship as the boat was ranging alongside, the boat was so violently shaken that her bottom was actually hanging loose; under these circumstances, she was three times off to the ship, without being affected by the water in her.

The ship *Peggy* being also on the Herd Sand, the life boat went off, and brought the crew on shore, when the plug in her bottom had been accidentally left out; though she filled with water in consequence, yet she effected the purpose in that situation.

In the latter part of the year 1796, a sloop, belonging to Mr. Brymer, from Scotland, laden with bale goods, was wrecked on the Herd Sands; the crew and passengers were taken out by the life-boat; the vessel went to pieces at the time the boat was employed; the goods were scattered on the sand, and part of them lost.

In the same year, a vessel, named the *Countess of Errol*, was driven on the Herd Sand, and the crew saved by the life-boat.

October 15th, 1797, the sloop, called *Fruit of Friends*, from Leith, coming to South Shields, was driven on the Herd Sand. One part of the passengers, in attempting to come on shore in the ship's boat, was unfortunately drowned; the other part was brought on shore safe by the life-boat.

The account of Capt. William Carter, of Newcastle, states, that on the 28th November, 1797, the ship *Planter*, of London, was driven on shore near Tynemouth-bar, by the violence of a gale; the life-boat came out, and took fifteen persons from the ship, which the boat had scarcely quit-

ted before the ship went to pieces; that, without the boat, they must all have inevitably perished, as the wreck came on shore soon after the life-boat. He conceived that no boat, of a common construction, could have given relief at that time. The ships, *Gateshead* and *Mary of Newcastle*, the *Beaver*, of North Shields, and a sloop, were in the same situation with the *Planter*. The crew of the *Gateshead*, nine in number, took to their own boat, which sunk, and seven of them were lost; the other two saved themselves by ropes thrown from the *Mary*. After the life-boat had landed the crew of the *Planter*, she went off successively to the other vessels, and brought the whole of their crews safe to shore, together with the two persons who had escaped from the boat of the *Gateshead*.

Mr. Carter adds, that he has seen the life-boat go to the assistance of other vessels, at different times, and that she ever succeeded in bringing the crews on shore; that he had several times observed her to come on shore full of water, and always safe.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND LIFE-BOAT.

THE Northumberland life-boat, so called from its being built at the expence of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and presented by him to North Shields, was first employed in November, 1798, when she went off to the relief of the sloop *Edinburgh*, of Kincardine, which was seen to go on the Herd Sands, about a mile and a half from the shore. Ralph Hil- lery, one of the seamen who went out



out in the life-boat to her assistance, relates, that she was brought to an anchor before the life-boat got to her; that the ship continued to strike the ground so heavily, that she would not have held together ten minutes longer, had not the life-boat arrived; they made her cut her cable, and then took seven men out of her, and brought them on shore; that the sea was at that time so monstrously high, that no other boat whatever could have lived in it. He stated, that in the event of the life-boat filling with water, she would continue still upright, and would not founder, as boats of a common construction do; that he has seen her go off scores of times, and never saw her fail in bringing off such of the crews as staid by their ships.

It also saved (as appears from other accounts) the crew of the brig *Clio*, of Sunderland, when she struck upon the rocks called the Black Middens, on the north side of the entrance of Tynemouth Haven.

October 25th, 1799, the ship *Quintilian*, from St. Petersburg, drove on the Herd Sand, from the force of the sea wind at N. E. knocked her rudder off, and was much damaged; but the crew were brought on shore by the life-boat. The great utility of this life-boat is also confirmed by many other recent circumstances: one among which is that of the ship *Sally*, of Sunderland, which, in taking the harbour of Tynemouth, on December 25th, 1801, at night, struck on the bar: the crew were brought on shore by the life-boat, but the ship was driven among the rocks.

On the 22nd of January, 1802,

in a heavy gale of wind, from the N. N. W. the ship *Thomas and Alice*, in attempting the harbour of South Shields, was driven on the Herd Sand: the Northumberland life-boat went to her assistance; took, as was supposed, all the people out, and pulled away from the ship to make the harbour, when they were waved to return by a man who had been below deck. On taking this man out they encountered a violent gust of wind, under the quarter of the ship; the ship at the same time drove among the breakers; and, entangling the boat with her, broke most of the oars on that side of the boat next the ship, and filled the boat with water. By the shock, several of the oars were knocked out of the hands of the rowers, and that of the steersman. In this situation, the steersman quickly replaced his oar from one of those left in the boat, and swept the boat before the sea, filled with water inside as high as the midship gunwale: the boat was steered in this situation, before the wind and sea, a distance far exceeding a mile, and landed twenty-one men, including the boat's crew, without any accident, but being wet.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE SCARBOROUGH LIFE-BOAT.

SIR,

THE life-boat at Scarborough, which was built without the least deviation from the model and the plan which you sent here at my request, has even exceeded the most sanguine expectations; and I have now received experimental conviction of its great utility in cases of shipwreck, and of its perfect safety in



in the most agitated sea. Local prejudices will ever exist against novel inventions, however excellent may be the principles of their construction; and there were some at this place who disputed the performance of the life-boat, until a circumstance lately happened, which brought it to the test of experience, and removed every shadow of objection, even from the most prejudiced minds.

On Monday, the 2d of November, we were visited with a most tremendous storm from the eastward, and I scarcely ever remember seeing a more mountainous sea. The Aurora, of Newcastle, in approaching the harbour, was driven ashore to the southward; and, as she was in the most imminent danger, the life-boat was immediately launched to her assistance. The place where the ship lay was exposed to the whole force of the sea, and she was surrounded with broken water, which dashed over the decks with considerable violence. In such a perilous situation the life-boat adventured, and proceeded through the breach of the sea, rising on the summit of the waves, without shipping any water, except a little from the spray. On going upon the lee-quarter of the vessel, they were endangered by the main-boom, which had broken loose, and was driving about with great force. This compelled them to go alongside, and they instantly took out four of the crew; but the sea which broke over the decks having nearly filled the boat with water, they were induced to put off for a moment, when seeing three boys (the remainder of the crew) clinging to the rigging, and in danger of perishing, they immediately returned,

and took them into the boat, and brought the whole to land in safety. By means of the life-boat, built from your plan, and the exertions of the boatmen, seven men and boys were thus saved to their country and their friends, and preserved from the inevitable destruction which otherwise awaited them. The boat was not in the least affected by the water which broke into her when alongside the vessel; and, indeed, the boatmen thought it rendered her more steady in the sea. I must also add, that it was the general opinion that no other boat of the common construction could have possibly performed this service; and the fishermen, though very adventurous, declared they would not have made the attempt in their own boats.

We have appointed a crew of fishermen to manage the boat, under the direction of the committee, and the men are so much satisfied with the performance of the boat, and so confident in her safety, that they are emboldened to adventure upon the most dangerous occasion. I have been thus circumstantial, in order to shew the great utility of the life-boat; and, I should think, it would be rendering an essential service to the community, if any recommendation of mine should contribute to bring this valuable invention into more general use.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
THOMAS HINDERWELL.

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*Observations on the Cultivation and Growth of Oak Timber.*

*From the same.*

TO expatiate upon the vast importance of increasing the growth



of oak timber, seems to me unnecessary. The national advantages resulting from this source appear to be in general well understood; and yet the cultivation and management of this most useful plant has not hitherto obtained that degree of attention which it most certainly merits.

Entirely to obviate, or even in some measure to remove or lessen, the obstacles that still continue to impede the planting of oaks, would therefore be rendering an essential service to the nation. The desire of accomplishing so beneficial a purpose, has induced the judicious and public-spirited conductors of the Society of Arts to propose a premium for "ascertaining the best method of raising oaks"; in consequence of which this paper is submitted to their candid consideration. And as the statements here made are founded upon a sedulous and active experience of fifty years, it is presumed the *spirit* and *meaning* of the Society's proposal may have been observed, although it has not been possible (in this instance) *literally* to fulfil its terms; at least, the very intention of promoting and forwarding the views of so enlightened and highly useful a society, may, it is hoped, be accepted as an apology for calling their attention to these observations.

It forms no part of the present design to enter minutely into the various causes that continue to operate in obstructing the cultivation of oak; as there is one of peculiar magnitude, the consequences of which are highly detrimental and injurious, and which it is therefore the principal object of this paper to remove.

An opinion is generally prevalent, that the oak is particularly slow in its growth, and requires a great number of years before it affords any advantage. This idea too often deters from planting, on account of the very great length of time it is supposed the land must be occupied before any return of valuable produce can be obtained from it, after a considerable expence may have been incurred in forming plantations.

This opinion I consider as entirely founded in error, and to have taken its rise in a great measure from the want of proper management that has hitherto commonly prevailed in the raising of oaks: and in this paper I shall endeavour strongly to state, that the oak may be rendered very rapid in its growth, and that consequently land may be employed to great advantage in its cultivation, as a very considerable and profitable produce may, in a much shorter time than is generally supposed, be derived from proper parts of an estate thus employed.

Oak timber in this country, for the most part, appears in trees of a considerable extent of head, but seldom more than *twenty* or *thirty* feet in stem; and this, in many instances, the growth of a century. Now, by the course of management here proposed, it is conceived that trees, of at least *double this magnitude*, may be obtained in about half that time.

It is not my intention to attempt a proof of this proposition by theoretical deductions, but to appeal for its confirmation to the indubitable test of fact, which, from the event of repeated trials, impresses a conviction that experience will be found to support and establish



it in the most unequivocal manner.

It would be easy to enlarge much on the various qualities of soil, the nature and process of vegetation, and the peculiar properties of the oak; but as these topics may be found amply and judiciously discussed in many other authors, who have expressly treated on these subjects, I shall decline all such speculations; and, with the hope of being more essentially useful, shall confine myself to a statement as simple and practical as possible.

The oak, in the progress of its growth, spreads numerous roots near the surface of the ground, and in an horizontal direction: these assist in supporting and preserving the tree in its position, but seem to contribute very little to its increase and magnitude. The oak appears to derive its chief nutriment and strength from a root that always descends at right angles to the horizon, and is called the tap-root. The first thing therefore to be observed is, that upon a judicious attention to this peculiarity, the planter's success principally depends; and the neglect of this care is the constant source of error and disappointment. In all climates, and upon all soils, to preserve this tap-root from injury, and as much as possible to assist its growth, is a general, and indeed the most essential principle in the cultivation of oak. With a due regard to this circumstance, the management of a plantation may be resolved into the three following practical directions.

*Previously* to planting the acorns, *loosen* the earth intended for their reception, by *deep trenching*.

*Never transplant*, or in any way

disturb the saplings intended for timber.

Keep the plant carefully *pruned*, till arrived at a proper height.

More fully to elucidate the subject, and to prevent the possibility of misapprehension, it may be proper to give a more detailed statement.

In determining on a spot to form a plantation of oaks for timber, it must always be recollected that the plants are to remain, without removal, in their first situation: the clearing and fencing may then be attended to as usual; and in the course of the winter, from September to March, the particular spots intended for the reception of acorns, may be prepared for that purpose, by digging a trench about three feet in width, and from three to six feet in depth, according to the closeness and tenacity of the soil. If grass ground, the first spit should be placed at the bottom of the trench, and if more than one trench be necessary, they should be prepared in the same manner, preserving a distance of ten yards between each, if it be intended to employ the intermediate space in underwood, or for any other purpose.

Having made a careful selection of acorns, that are perfectly sound, and in good preservation, they are to be planted about the middle of March. Draw a drill in the centre of the trench; two inches in depth, if the soil be heavy and loamy, but three inches in a light and sandy earth. In this place the acorns two inches asunder, and cover them carefully with mould. When the plants appear, they must be weeded by hand in the rows, and the earth of the trench round them



them cleaned with a hoe, once a month during the summer. In October inspect the rows, and thin them by pulling up every other plant: attention will of course be paid to remove the weak and crooked plants, and leave those that are tallest and straightest. On the second year, the operation of thinning must be repeated, at the same time, and in the same manner; and should any of the remaining plants have made side shoots stronger than the general character, they must be smoothly cut off with a sharp knife, close to the leading stem. On the third year, the thinning is again to be repeated, and the general pruning commenced, by cutting off close to the leading stem all the side shoots of the first year; thus leaving the branches of two years to form the head of the following year. The removal of every alternate plant must be continued yearly, till the trees are about thirty feet apart, at which distance they may remain for timber. The pruning is to be continued, by removing every year, very smooth and close to the main stem, one years growth of side branches, till the plants are arrived at a stem of forty, fifty, or sixty feet, and they may then be permitted to run to head without further pruning.

The particular arrangement here recommended may be varied according to any peculiarities of situation, regard being constantly had to the general and most important principle of loosening the ground *very deep* previously to planting the acorns. By this mode of culture, oaks may be raised in almost any soil; but, where it is possible, a loam or marl is always to be

chosen. Oaks thrive much the best in such earth; and when assisted by *deep trenching* and *judicious pruning*, attain in a few years to an immense size.

Those who have been accustomed to notice the slow growth and stunted appearance of oak trees, when denied the assistance of art, and left to themselves in the common way, would observe with astonishment the vigorous and rapid increase of plants under the management now pointed out.

The plants thinned out the first three or four years, though not fit to be depended upon for timber, as transplanting generally injures very materially the future growth, may be replanted in the intermediate spaces between the rows, for the purpose of being afterwards removed; or they may be usefully placed in hedges, or other spare and unoccupied spots of ground. They should be headed down at the time of transplanting, as this operation assists the process of nature, in reproducing or remedying any injury the tap-root may have received from the removal: and, if proper attention be given to loosening the soil for their reception, and pruning them as they advance, in most instances an adequate profit will be derived from the labour bestowed upon them. After a few years, the produce of the timber plantation will be found very advantageous. The young trees that are to be removed yearly, will always find a ready market for a variety of purposes, unnecessary here to enumerate. In addition to these advantages, if by this treatment of *deep trenching* previous to planting, and *annual careful pruning* during the growth, timber can be produced in



in about fifty years, of equal quality, and much superior in size, to that which has been above one hundred years growing under improper management, or without the assistance of cultivation; it will doubtless be allowed that a most beneficial, if not absolutely the best possible method of "raising oaks," is here pointed out and ascertained.

This method of cultivation may perhaps be thought to occasion so much expence in manual labour as to prevent its being generally adopted; it might perhaps be sufficient to observe, that if the work be conducted with judgment and economy, the future produce would afford ample returns for all necessary expenditure: it should also be recollected, that the previous preparation of the ground, and the subsequent pruning of the plants, are both to be performed at that season of the year when a scarcity of work will enable the planter to obtain assistance upon easier terms: with this additional advantage also, of providing employment for the labourer at those times when the general state of agricultural business renders it difficult for him to find maintenance for himself and family without charitable relief.

In 1750, at Ingestrie in Staffordshire, the seat of Lord Chetwynd, some plantations were formed, and managed in a great measure according to the principles here stated, and the growth of the plants were so uncommonly rapid, and so extraordinary, that it could not but attract the notice of all concerned in the conduct of them. The attention to the subject, then excited, has been the occasion and ground of all the observations and

experiments made from that time to the present, the result of which is given in this paper.

The extensive plantations of the late Lord Denbeigh, at Newnham Paddox, in Warwickshire, are well known and much admired: the whole has been conducted with great judgment. About a square acre has been employed in raising oaks, upon a plan nearly similar to that now proposed, and affords the best and most convincing proof of the superior utility and efficacy of such management. Had the noble earl been now living, I should have been enabled to have laid before the society some more detailed particulars: that, however, is now impossible; this paper, therefore, in its present state, may perhaps be thought not altogether unworthy of notice, as tending to forward the liberal designs of the society, and contributing to the advantage of the public, the author conceiving that the best method of raising oaks is ascertained and stated in it.

Should the society be in any degree inclined to join in this sentiment, it may perhaps induce them to make some alteration in the terms of their proposal: as, according to the statements made in this paper, and indeed from what may be seen in every part of the kingdom, in the character and appearance of oaks growing without cultivation, it seems ascertained, that "acorns set with the spade or dibble, without digging or tillage," can never be depended on to form good timber; and even in the most favourable circumstances of this case, the growth will be exceedingly slow and precarious. The same may be said of "young plants, previously raised



raised in nurseries, and transplanted;" for if the tap-root be cut, broken, or in any degree injured, which in transplanting it is almost impossible to avoid, that plant will seldom become a vigorous and flourishing tree. To form a course of experiments on such a plant as the oak, is not a very easy matter. To fulfil explicitly the conditions of the society, would require a great length of time, and would be attended with considerable expence, from which future candidates may in a great measure be exonerated. The raising even one acre in the manner here ascertained might be productive of great pecuniary advantage, if the facts and experience detailed in this paper are permitted to prove the inutility of the other two methods, and consequently to remove the necessity of employing so much ground upon them, at an expence they will never repay.

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*Letter to the Proprietor of an Extensive Property, on the means of Promoting the Comfort, and Improving the Situation of the People in his Neighbourhood.*

*From Sir John Sinclair's Essays.*

YOU wish to know what are the best means of improving the situation of the people in your neighbourhood, and your partiality to me induces you to imagine, that it may be in my power to furnish you with some useful suggestions. I sit down without hesitation to obey your commands, as, next to the pleasure of doing good, and performing beneficent actions in person, there cannot be a greater gratification than

to assist others in the generous attempt. I am extremely apprehensive at the same time, that it will not be in my power to communicate any information, which has not already occurred to yourself, or which you might not receive from other quarters with much more advantage.

In drawing up the following observations, I shall confine myself to general hints. Were I to enter into minute details, this letter would extend to a most immeasurable length. If, however, the outline pleases you, there can be little doubt of your being able to complete the sketch, however imperfect, by your own zeal, abilities, and perseverance.

In any attempt to improve the situation of a numerous body of people, the following particulars require to be attended to, 1. Food; 2. Clothing; 3. Habitation; 4. Fuel; 5. Industry; 6. Health; 7. Amusements; 8. Manners and customs; 9. Mental information; and 10. Moral or religious instructions.

1. It is indispensibly necessary to secure a sufficient supply of wholesome provisions, as the basis of every comfort of life. For that purpose it is essential to direct the attention of the people to the best means of procuring articles of food, according to the situation in which they may happen to be placed, whether by the cultivation of the earth, by pasturage, by fisheries, or by a due proportion of each, where circumstances will admit of it. There is no country in Europe (with the exception of very extraordinary seasons) where abundance of food may not be raised for the existing number of inhabitants, unless where obstacles are thrown



thrown in the way of cultivation by injudicious laws; and if one district is deficient, it must be supplied from others, sending in exchange such commodities as are most saleable in other markets. I trust, however, that you will find no difficulty in raising on your own estate, even more than is necessary for maintaining all its inhabitants; and if the land now in cultivation is not sufficient for that purpose, it ought to be increased.

2. Substantial clothing tends much to promote the health and comfort of the people, particularly in cold climates; and here the information and assistance of an intelligent proprietor may be of great use to a whole neighbourhood. In most situations, the lower orders may be taught how to manufacture, and how to make up a large proportion of the clothes they use. The women may spin both woollen and linen yarn, at times that would otherwise be lost, which is so much additional wealth from labour gained by the community. It may be proper under this head to observe, that the use of flannel shirts cannot be too strongly recommended, as a great preservative against many disorders to which labouring people are subject.

3. Next to food and clothing, there is nothing more essential for the comfort of man, particularly in a northern climate, than shelter from the inclemency of the seasons. Every means therefore should be taken to procure comfortable habitations for the people. On that subject much important information has been collected by the board of

agriculture, but it has not yet been condensed into a regular system. There is no doubt that the habitations of opulent persons will always be made sufficiently comfortable, and in regard to inferior inhabitations, there is every reason to believe, that if proper encouragement were given by the government of the country, 1st, to ascertain the best and cheapest mode of building houses for the lower orders, and 2ndly, if premiums were granted to those by whom such plans were carried into execution, every individual in this country, with hardly any exception, would soon be comfortably lodged.

On the subject of cottages, the following particulars are recommended by an intelligent architect (the late Mr. Wood, of Bath) as essentially necessary to be attended to in such erections. 1. They should be dry and healthy; 2. Warm, chearful, and comfortable; 3. Convenient; 4. Of a proper width; 5. Built in pairs, that the inhabitants may assist each other in case of sickness or any other accident; 6. Built of the best materials, which in the end will be found the truest economy; 7. In the neighbourhood of a spring or stream of water, or where a well can be procured, and lastly, with a piece of ground or garden.\* Were it possible to enable industrious cottagers to keep cows, in addition to such accommodations as are above described their situation would be materially amended.

4. The importance of fuel, particularly in a cold country, cannot

\* For the details of Mr. Wood's plan, see communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. I. p. 115.



be questioned. It is of use, 1. For cooking victuals; 2. For warmth; 3. To remove damp, which I consider to be of more importance than even giving heat, for cold can be obviated by warm clothing, whereas fuel alone can prevent houses in moist countries from becoming damp and unwholesome; and, 4. For light, there being many a humble cottage, where, after sunset, the light they have is principally from the fuel they burn. On this particular head it is proper to observe, that it is of the utmost importance, not only to endeavour to procure fuel at a reasonable rate, but to economise it as much as possible.

5. It is necessary that every individual, in all well constituted political societies, should have it in his power to obtain the means of subsistence, either from the property with which he is invested, or by the exercise of some useful occupation. A wise government will, on the one hand, promote useful occupations, more especially those connected with agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and on the other hand will discourage such as are pernicious, by wise and judicious regulations. For the purpose of ascertaining whether the occupations of the people are injurious or otherwise, it is necessary, not only for the public, but for persons of extensive property, to make what may be called *statistical surveys of their estates*, with a view of ascertaining how the people are employed, and whether any improvement in that important particular can be suggested.

6. There is no object which merits more to be attended to by any beneficent landlord, than pre-

serving the health of the people under him; and for that purpose various steps may be taken. The climate of the country may be improved by draining any marshy parts in the district, and inclosing and planting the more exposed. The ravages of the small-pox may be prevented by inoculation, more especially under the new system discovered by Dr. Jenner; and the comfort of the people may be greatly extended by promoting the establishment of practitioners skilled in the most essential branches of medicine.

7. I have ever considered it to be a duty incumbent upon the leading characters in every district, to pay attention even to the amusements of the people, and to promote those which are of a harmless and innocent nature, more especially if they have a tendency to instruct the minds, or to promote humane and social dispositions among those who engage in them.

In Greece, where many of the most essential principles of a wise administration of public affairs were so well understood, public games, theatrical and other amusements, were objects thought well entitled to the attention of government itself; nor can any thing furnish more agreeable sensations, than to see the people of a district amusing themselves with music, dancing, and innocent gaiety, and indulging themselves in the pure delights of a genuine rural festival.

8. The happiness of every community must depend much on purity of manners, and the mode in which the people conduct themselves to each other. When addicted to vicious customs, (and, unfortunately, bad examples are extremely contagious)



gious) they cannot expect much real comfort in the humbler walks of life. In all countries there are judicious regulations of police, which ought to be strictly enforced as a curb on licentiousness. But nothing is more effectual than a good example from the higher orders. Where that is found, it rarely fails to improve the manners of any body of people, and to bring them from rudeness and barbarism itself, to a considerable degree of civilization.

9. To form a regular system for the mental instruction of any community, is another object of the most essential importance. In almost all societies, a few selected classes receive the benefit of a good education, but the improvement of the remainder is too often neglected. This ought not to be the case. The lower orders cannot expect the same advantages with the upper, but still they ought not to be left in darkness and ignorance; nor is it likely, whilst they remain in such a state, that they can possibly be such useful and valuable members of society, as if their minds were more enlightened.

10. But the object principally entitled to the attention of every beneficent mind is, the instruction of a people in their moral and religious duties. This, above every thing else, must tend to promote their happiness in this world, and in another. In almost all countries, some attention is paid by government to this most essential particular, but in many cases more with a view of making it an engine of state, than that of promoting the real interests of the people. When such a circumstance takes place, it cannot be expected that

the establishment, even of the best religious system, can be attended with those advantages which otherwise might be looked for. Far different, I am persuaded, will be your views in the exertions you will make for establishing the principles of true religion on your extensive domains, and from your success in that most important particular, (regarding which I entertain no doubt) you will derive, I am persuaded, more real satisfaction, than for any other pursuit, in which great labour, great influence, or great ability, could possibly be employed.

Such are the objects which I take the liberty of recommending to your attention, as including the principal particulars on which the comfortable circumstances, and general happiness of any community must depend. I sincerely hope, that by your exertions, the practicability of such a system will be ascertained. If it succeeded in one instance, it would soon spread itself with rapid strides, and the person by whom it is first carried into full effect, in addition to the approbation of his own conscience, will be justly entitled to the warmest applause and admiration of his fellow creatures.

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*Manufacture of Worcester China.*

*From Warner's Tour through the Northern Counties.*

AMONGST the shops which ornament the High-street, that of Messrs. Flight and Bar particularly engaged our attention, by the rich exhibition it affords of articles from their elegant manufactory; where that exquisite porcelain is made



made, known by the name of Worcester China, inferior to the French only in lightness and transparency. The civility of the proprietors allowed us not only to survey, at our leisure, the process which produces this ware, but also submitted to our inspection every article of any rarity or value which this large collection contains. Amongst others, we were presented with some coffee-cups, made by the order of the grand seignor, and intended to furnish a golden stand enriched with diamonds. Each contains about a third as much as a common tea-cup could hold, and its price is ten guineas; but the largeness of the sum dwindled, in our estimation, into nothing, when we observed the surpassing beauty of the paintings which covered their sides, and represent the brilliant success of Lord Nelson at the Nile, in different points of view. The set will consist of forty-six of these beautiful specimens of British china manufacture. The works, conveniently situated, close to the Severn, which flows by the city, are remarkable for their neatness and convenience; and display the whole process of making porcelain, from grinding the various articles to compose the clay used for the purpose, to packing the finished pieces for the market. Interesting as this manufactory is, you will excuse me for giving you its detail:—The mixture above-mentioned consists of fifteen articles, the chief of which are, a white granite, from Cornwall, and a steatite, or soap-stone, from Penzance, in the same county, the whole quarry of which belongs to Mr. Flight, who employs his own men there. These articles being first ground separately

are afterwards mixed and then calcined; the product of this process is a quantity of small blue and white lumps, which being thrown into a mill, and ground with soft water, a liquid of the consistence of thick cream is produced, perfectly white. This is passed through a lawn sieve, and then poured into vats, heated by outside flues in order to consolidate; the degree of heat applied to them being kept under the boiling temperature. The water gradually evaporating by these means from the contents of the vats, an hard clay remains in the room of the liquid, which is brought into a stone apartment to be *tempered*, that is, wetted with water, beaten with a wooden mallet, and trodden by a man with his bare feet. The material is now fit for the *thrower*, who *throws* a mass of it upon his *lathe*, an horizontal wheel, set in motion by a boy, (turning a vertical one) and whirled round with a degree of swiftness, either greater or less, as the *thrower* sees occasion. To this a guage is attached, to ascertain exactly the dimensions of the article. The hands of the thrower being kept steady, the rotatory motion of the wheel being quick, and the clay soft but tenacious, the eye is agreeably surprized with the instantaneous creation of beautiful forms out of a shapeless mass of clay, which every moment change their appearance according to the motion of the finger and thumb of the workman; now rising into a long cylinder, again sinking immediately, and approaching the rotundity of a sphere, and at length settling into the elegant shape of an ancient vase, a modern mug, or a fashionable tea-pot. The articles thus



thus prepared are then dried upon flues to consolidate their texture, and fit them for the *vertical lathe* of the *turner*. Placed upon this machine, they are reduced to their proper thickness and exact form; and if their pattern require handles or spouts, they are here fitted with them by a workman called the *handler*. From this workshop they are carried into the *kiln-house* to be burned, and placed in *saggers*, or circular pans, made of Staffordshire crucible clay, open at the top, and about eight inches deep, the flat bottoms of which are strewed with calcined flint, to prevent the adhesion of the articles to them. The kiln usually holds about one thousand five hundred of these *saggers*, and frequently from twenty-five to thirty thousand pieces of ware. Here they continue thirty-seven hours, exposed to such a violent heat as to render them red-hot, but carefully protected from flame. On coming out they are said to be in the *biscuit state*, that is, having the appearance of an unglazed tobacco-pipe. If any blue be in the pattern of the articles, the figures are traced upon them at this time with a hair pencil, dipped in a mixture of a purple colour; and being suffered to dry, they are then immersed in a red liquid, called the *glaze*, of the consistence of cream, chiefly composed of white lead and ground flint. This adheres to every part of the articles, which are placed to dry in a room of a certain temperature, from whence they come out with the ground of a pale pink colour, and the pattern of a dingy purple. Being perfectly dry they are given to the *trimmer*, who smooths the surface of the article, and rubs

off any little inequalities of the glaze; the most unwholesome part of the whole process, as he frequently inspires particles of the white lead, &c. to the great detriment of his stomach and lungs; which, indeed, he is obliged to relieve with frequent emetics. The articles are next placed in the *glaze kiln*, and remain there twenty-eight hours exposed to the fire; which being extinguished, the whole are suffered gradually to cool, and then taken out, when they exhibit a wonderful metamorphosis, effected by the chemical agency of fire. A vitrification having taken place on their surface, a beautiful glossy covering discovers itself within and without, in the room of the dull unpolished appearance they before had; and the figures of purple are converted into a vivid and beautiful blue. After passing through the *sorting-room*, they are given to the painters, who, with colours properly and nicely prepared, (for the hues are all changed by a subsequent firing) trace those beautiful patterns, figures, and landscapes upon them, which almost rival the force and effect of the canvas. Again they are placed in the kiln, in order to fix the colours, and remain there for six hours. This compleats the process of such articles as have no gold in their pattern; but those which are ornamented with this superb addition, undergo another burning after the enamel is laid on. They are also carried afterwards into the *burnishing shop*, where this final decoration is given them by a number of women, who soon change the dull surface of the gold into a most brilliant appearance, by rubbing the gilt part of the pattern with little instruments



ments pointed with blood-stones, and other polishing substances. They are now ready to be introduced into the world, and are sent forth to gratify vanity, decorate splendor, or accommodate luxury; to ornament the tea-table of high-life, the dressing-room of fashion, and the boards of the great;—for the Worcester manufactory soars above the humbler articles in use amongst the happier tribes of common life. It would surprize a modern fine lady, were I to tell her, that the cup from which she sips her tea had been through the hands of at least twenty-three dirty workmen before it met her lips; but such is the fact, for if we retrace the process, we shall find the following *croud* employed for the purpose:—the man who grinds the articles for the composition; the man that mills them; the persons that calcines them; the grinder of the lumps; the sifter;

the attender on the vats; the temperer; the thrower; the drier; the turner; the spout-maker, who forms the spouts and handles; the handler, who puts them on; the biscuit-fireman; the blue painter; the dipper, who immerses them in the glaze; the trimmer, who clears them from irregularities in the glazing; the gloss fireman; the forter; the painter; the enamel fireman; the burnisher.—It is to be observed, that many articles which could not be conveniently *thrown*, such as tureens, plates and dishes, are made on moulds of plaister of Paris, and when dry are given to the *turner* above-mentioned. The earnings of the workmen in this manufactory, who are all paid by the piece, are very considerable; throwers and turners making about 25s. per week; dippers and glazers 21s; and painters from 30s. to two guineas.



# ANTIQUITIES.

*Of the Evidence and Credibility of  
the genuine Story of the Siege of  
Troy.*

*From the History of Ilium.*

THE Greeks were solicitous to render the memory of an achievement, which continued for many centuries the most remarkable of any in their history, perpetual. They represented the various incidents on their public monuments and edifices in marble, on their gems and drinking cups. It was the favourite subject of their poets, painters, and sculptors. Several of their ancient temples were rich in spoils of Troy; and some exhibited, for ages, tools which had been employed in the siege; weapons and armour of the warriors, which had been suspended as votive offerings on the walls, or reposed in their treasuries; and the real or pretended relics of some of their chieftains, who had been present, were prized like those of modern saints; far distant cities making a boast of having them in their possession.

The Ilias was generally received, both in Europe and Asia, as an indisputable record. Its testimony

was confirmed by the annals and traditions of all the nations engaged in the war on either side; which jointly and separately demonstrated its main narrative not to be fiction or romance. Moreover, the posterities of several of the kings and princes mentioned by Homer remained, and were acknowledged as such for many successive generations. Another Ilium arose in the Tröia, to preserve the name and memory of that which had been destroyed. The port principally used by the ships under Agamemnon, continued, after their departure, to be called that of *The Achæans*; and the stations of the vessels of Achilles and Ajax Telamon were pointed out for ages; besides barrows, ruined cities, and other remaining evidences of the transaction. The knowledge of the principal events of the war, and of its consequences, would have been propagated and transmitted down, both in Asia and Europe, though not to the same extent, or with equal celebrity, if the Ilias and Odyssy had never been composed.

Many Greeks and Trojans perished, fighting in the plain, in storming or defending the out-works



works of the camp or the city wall. It was the usage of each people to consume the bodies with fire; but, while one heap of wood sufficed for the vulgar dead, and one pit received their ashes, a separate funeral, solemn and expensive ceremonies, a vast pile, blazing across the Hellespont, and a barrow, with a stela or stone pillar on it, distinguished the fallen chief.

The Greeks celebrated the obsequies of their slain, after the establishment of their camp, apart from it; those of the leaders generally near their quarters, or on the shore of the Hellespont. *There* Nestor tells Telemachus, in the *Odyssey*, lay Patroclus and Achilles, Ajax Telamon, and his own son Antilochus. *There* also lay other renowned warriors, whose monuments, though we find little or no notice taken of them in remaining authors, may have continued extant, and been distinguished in after ages by antiquaries and the people of the country.

The rites of the dead, as established by ancient usage, inspired a reverence for places of sepulture; and prevented the memory of their owners, whose names were frequently inscribed on the pillars fixed in the ground over them, from falling suddenly into oblivion. Libations of milk, wine, honey, and the like, were poured on the sod, or surface of the barrows, and other offerings were made, supposed to be grateful to the ghosts; which were believed to reside beneath, and to visit the altars placed near them. The heroes accounted demigods had temples, at which victims were slain before their idols. We shall find several of the barrows denominated long after from the

warriors whose relics they covered, and giving names to settlements made near them, and maintained in good measure by the resort of people attending the anniversaries and festivals held at them, or casually visiting them from curiosity or from devotion. That of Achilles and Patroclus was called from the former, as the more excellent and illustrious of the two Achilleion; that of Ajax, *Æantion*; and so on with others. Those of Protesilaus, Hector, and Memnon, the rival of Achilles in posthumous fame and fable, were planted with trees to protect them from cattle and from the sun.

The divine honours of Achilles were said to have commenced before the departure of the Greeks from the Hellespont, with the horrid sacrifice of Polyxena, a captive daughter of Priam. Pyrrhus, in the sequel of the *Ilias*, declares, that he had seen his father in a vision, and that he required this offering. He is described as holding the victim with his left hand, placing his right on the barrow, and praying to Achilles that the storm raised by him, to detain them until his manes should be gratified, might cease. Pyrrhus afterwards settled a colony in Epirus, where a dynasty or series of kings were named from him *Pyrrhidæ*, and where Achilles was worshipped under the title of *Aspetos, the Inimitable*.

The homage paid to Achilles and Patroclus, to Hector, to Ajax Telamon, Antilochus, and Protesilaus, at their barrows, by the circumjacent people of the *Tröia* and *Chersonesus*, was, at what time soever it began, of long duration; and, as will appear in the sequel, transmitted down from age to



age, until it was finally extinguished by the establishment of christianity in the Roman empire. A native or a traveller in these countries, before that period, seeing the barrows remaining, and still objects as well of public as private regard, would not have believed it possible that the time would come when the former existence of Troy and of the heroes would be called in question.

Many additions were made in after ages to the Trojan story. Some were the inventions or embellishments of the poets, especially the tragic; some of artists, who employed their pencil or chissel on select portions of it; some were grafted on passages of the *Ilias*; and more were not only not countenanced or supported by, but irreconcilable with Homer.

The legendary tales current, as well among the European as Asiatic Greeks, concerning the heroes, and, in particular, Achilles, to whom I shall confine myself, were almost innumerable. I dwell not on such fables as the immersion of her infant son by Thetis in the river Styx, and his consequent invulnerability; except in the heel; his education, not according to the *Ilias*, under Phoenix, but Chiron, who is there only said to have given him some instructions in the art of surgery; his concealment among women, and the detection of him by Ulysses, contrary to Homer; his intended marriage with Polyxena, daughter of Priam, the meeting for its adjustment or celebration in the temple of Apollo at Thymbra, and his being treacherously slain there by Paris. Some of these are interpolations utterly undeserving of notice,

had they not been occasionally adopted by writers; and in particular by M. Chevalier, in preference to the genuine story as delivered in Homer.

Achilles, Antilochus, and Ajax Telamon, are represented, in two edisodes of the *Odyssæy*, as companions in the Asphodel meadows, the dwelling-place of the shades of deceased heroes, in the kingdom of Pluto. Agamemnon, who in the first of them, which was regarded as an interpolation by Aristarchus, addresses Achilles, might have added other topics of congratulation, had they been known to the author; such as the admission reserved for him among the immortals, his marriage with Medea, (which is said to have been a fiction of the very ancient poet Ibycus, who was followed in it by Simonides), and his having a sacred island, of which tale the origin is given by Pausanias, on the joint testimony of the people of Crotona in Italy, and of Himera in Sicily.

The people of Crotona, says the relater, waging war with the Locri of Italy, their general, in an attack on the front line of the enemy, where he was told their patron hero, Ajax *Æileus*, (his image I apprehend) was posted, received a wound in the breast. The Delphic oracle directed him to repair to Leuce, an island in the Euxine Sea, to be cured by Ajax. On his return, he declared that he had seen Achilles, who resided there with Helen, Patroclus, Antilochus, and the two Ajaxes; and a message from Helen, which he delivered to the poet Stesichorus, of Himera, by whom some reflections had been cast on her, probably in his



his *Destruction of Troy*, was, they said, the occasion of his writing a palinode or recantation.

This island of Achilles, which is mentioned by Euripides, and by many other ancient authors, was formed by mud from rivers; and perhaps has since been connected with the continent of Europe. But, whatever it may now be, for the spot has not been explored, it was originally small, and is described as desert and woody, as abounding in living creatures, and much frequented by aquatic birds, which were regarded as the ministers of the hero fanning his grove with their wings, and refreshing the ground with drops, as it were of rain, from their bodies. He was said to be visited there by Proteus, and several of his friends, who had been likewise released from the regions of Pluto, to appear sometimes; and oftener to be heard, playing on his lyre, and accompanying it with a voice divinely clear. A long and narrow peninsula, in the same sea, was called *the course of Achilles*; being the place where he was reputed to take his exercise of running.

It does not often happen that ancient fiction can, as in this instance, be traced to its source; and scepticism, or incredulity, is frequently the result of difficulty in discriminating true history from its alloy. Mr. Bryant has contended, that the two poems of Homer are mere fables, and that no such war, no such place as Troy, has ever existed. Having made a large collection of idle and absurd stories from different authors about Jupiter and Leda, and Helen, (whom he will not allow to have been carried

away from Sparta by Paris) and several other persons concerned, he declares, and nobody, I imagine, will dissent from a position of so great latitude, that, "The account of the Trojan war, as delivered by Homer, and other Grecian writers, is attended with so many instances of inconsistency, and so many contradictions, that it is an insult to reason to afford it any credit."

In the description, says the same learned person, of the siege of Troy, and the great events with which it was accompanied, Homer "is very particular and precise. The situation of the city is pointed out, as well as the camp of the Grecians," and various objects, "with the course and fords of the river, are distinctly marked, so that the very landscape presents itself to the eye of the reader.—The poet also" mentions "several" subsequent "events—in medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit"—all which "casual references seem to have been portions of a traditional history well known in the time of Homer, but as they are introduced almost undesignedly, they are generally attended with a great semblance of truth, for such incidental and partial intimations are seldom to be found in romance and fable." Who, on reading these remarks, would suspect it to be the scope of the author, to prove the whole story of Troy as ideal as a fairy-tale?

I will not enter on a particular examination of the arguments used by Mr. Bryant on this occasion. Some of them I shall be obliged, though unwilling, to notice as we proceed. It may, however, be  
now



now mentioned, that among other novel opinions, for which I refer to his dissertation, he maintains, that the ground-work of the *Ilias*, if it had any, was foreign to the country on which we are employed; that the history never related, but has been borrowed and transferred, to it; that in short, the original poem of Troy, the parent of the *Ilias*, was an Egyptian composition. I shall add a companion or two to this notable discovery. A disciple of Epicurus undertook to prove the *Ilias* to be entirely an allegory; and I have somewhere read, that it was not first written in Greek, but is a translation from the Celtic language.

I subjoin the very different opinion of a respectable writer in the ancient universal history (Metrodorus) on the same subject. "The name of King Priam will ever be memorable, on account of the war which happened in his reign; a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowess and renown concerned in it, the battles fought, the length of the siege, the destruction of the city, and the endless colonies planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors." "Truly, says my author, the siege and taking of Troy are transactions so well attested, and have left so remarkable an epocha in history, that no man of sense can call them in question."

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*The Original Completion of the Roman Wall.*

*From Hutton's History of the Roman Wall.*

THIS first and most remarkable piece of antiquity in the whole

island, is known by several names, some of them erroneous. It bore that of *Agricola*, which is now lost. *The Picts wall*; but this seems inconsistent, for they had no concern with the wall, except to pull it down; and I think it should rather bear the name of the man who built it up. Sometimes *Hadrian's Wall*; but I cannot see how a bank of earth should bear the name of a wall. Our idea of a wall comprehends an erection of brick or stone. Perhaps Hadrian's *Bank* would be more in character, as agreeing with the materials of which it is composed. *Severus's Wall* is more proper, because he erected the stone wall, part of which is remaining. It is often called *the Roman Wall*, and, by way of pre-eminence, *the Wall*.

That *man* is born a savage, there needs no other proof than Severus's Wall. It characterizes two nations as robbers and murderers. Nineteen in twenty of our race sustain half this character during life. Some individuals correct the crude passions, adhere to justice, and avoid whatever is worthy of blame.

This wall is also a clear proof that every species of cruelty that one man can practise to another was here, and pronounces the human being as much a savage as the brute. This place has been the scene of more plunder and murder than any part of the island, of equal extent. During four hundred years, while the wall continued a barrier, this was the grand theatre of war, as well as during ages after its destruction.

Perhaps a Scotsman would consider this mighty bulwark a compliment paid to his country; and infer, "it was designed to bar a  
supe-



superior power, and was the effect of fear; for, if two nations could not meet upon equal terms, there would be no need to raise a wall between them."

A Roman would reply, "your country is mountainous, barren, and difficult to conquer. The rough *land* is your safeguard, not the people; and the inhabitants are so poor, they are not worth conquering. On these rests your security." There may be, in both these remarks, a wider opening for truth than for boasting.

This astonishing rampart, the production of three eminent persons, and at three different periods, was designed to remedy the mischiefs described.

When Agricola, the ablest general, and most accomplished statesman of the age, commanded the Romans in Britain, he led them into Scotland in the year eighty-four, to punish the depredations of the natives. He found *Galgacus*, their general, with an army of thirty thousand men, encamped upon the Grampian Hills, ready to receive them. He gave them battle, defeated them, and drove them back into the Highlands.

Being master of the country, and willing to prevent such evils as had occurred for ages, he erected what our historians call a *wall*, as a bar against the Picts. This was principally a bank and a ditch; on the borders of which he built, at unequal distances, a range of castles. This work extends from sea to sea, about seventy-four miles, beginning three miles and a half east of Newcastle, and ending twelve west of Carlisle, which, while guarded, curbed the enemy:

the spot suited as being the narrowest part of the island.

After Agricola's works had continued about thirty-seven years, often injured, as a bank of earth easily might, by an enemy constantly upon the watch; the Emperor Hadrian, in the year one hundred and twenty-one, repaired the works of Agricola, and added some of his own to strengthen them. These were joining to Agricola's small ditch, which lay towards the north, a large one, making a large rampart, and then finishing, as Agricola began, with a small ditch; all their works running in parallel lines.

From this time Agricola's lost its name, and the whole, to this day, has absurdly retained that of *Hadrian's Wall*. So that what now bears his name, as the work of one man, was really the work of two.

The northern adventurers were quiet while the works were new, and a regular defence continued. But military attention diminishing, the desire of the Picts increased.

Hunger is said to "break through *stone walls*!" then what security in walls of earth! It is difficult to keep out an enemy, who is determined not to be kept out. Inroads were quickly made, and former tragedies acted. No newspapers to convey the tidings of the day, no post to reveal distant transactions, nor commodious roads to convey either: the unfortunate residents were off their guard; and, had they been on, they could not have awarded off the blow. The first intelligence of an approaching enemy appeared to the eye, instead



stead of the ear, and he brought destruction in his hand.

Upon unprosperous adventures, the Picts sued for peace, always obtained it, and, to keep them quiet, upon easy terms.

When the unhappy Britons had fluctuated between life and death, eighty-seven years after Hadrian's work was completed, Severus was chosen emperor. Two years were spent in reducing his enemies on the continent, after which he came into Britain.

Penetrating into Scotland, the enemy fled where Severus durst not follow; and the Picts exulted, it is said, that their unwholesome water, their keen air, their bogs, meres, mountains, impenetrable woods, and slender sustenance, but particularly the incessant labour of Severus's men, had destroyed fifty thousand without a battle. Many skirmishes however were fought, chiefly in favour of the Romans. The Picts solicited peace, which was granted, upon condition that they should lay down their arms and retire.

Severus at rest, considered, that as many a fine army might be destroyed in reducing a people not worth reducing, he had better confine them within their own boundary. To accomplish this, he determined, in the year two hundred, to repair the works of the two former chiefs, injured by time, but more by the enemy, and erect a wall of stone, guarded by a ditch, which should run parallel with theirs, and make one grand and compact work. Thus every contrivance of man is set up against the knavery of man. And now the inhabitants of the borders rejoiced in the prospect of security:

instead of being plundered by their enemies, they would be protected by their friends, who had full power to protect.

It may seem surprizing, that by the erection of these works, the Romans must have relinquished to the enemy a vast tract of country, extending eighty miles north, and in breadth from the German ocean to the Irish sea, about ninety, the best land in Scotland. The human capacity is nearly the same in all ages; whatever reasons we can find for the conduct of the Romans, we may be assured they could find for themselves. They began to be apprehensive they should weaken the state by extending dominion, a thought which ought to strike us. And Severus considered, that building the wall was an arduous task; that this was the only place where he could shorten the work, the shorter the stronger, and the less force would guard it; besides, if the enemy were allowed the above fertile lands, favourable for agriculture, it would lessen the temptation to plunder. *Graham's Dyke* too, or rather the work of Antoninus, between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde, was by long neglect far gone in decay.

Another reason which induced him to fix here was, its affinity to Hadrian's work, which would strengthen his own; and he well knew the united efforts of human wisdom would be needful to guard against inclination and hunger. There was no fear of the Romans being molested in their operations, for two reasons: they were masters of the country to the Frith and Clyde, the above space of eighty miles, and the force employed at the wall was an ample security.

Some



Some authors have seriously disputed, "at which end of the wall Severus began." But this point will clear itself when we consider, that two legions were employed, the second and the sixth, consisting of about twelve thousand men. A plan of the wall was first determined upon, divided into four parts; the second legion was appointed to the first and third parts, beginning in the east; and the sixth legion to the second and fourth. This is proved by a variety of inscriptions. Perhaps every mile in this long range was begun at the same time. This was necessary, because the whole isthmus would be secured from one sea to the other.

In all laborious undertakings, the Britons were pressed into the service, and charged with the drudgery. In this case, however, where life and property were at stake, there was no need of compulsion.

The wall was about eight feet thick, and twelve high, to the battlements, which rose about four more; so that viewed in profile, it would appear much like a chair, the main part forming the seat, and the embattled part the back. Along the line of the wall, the emperor constructed, of stone, three kinds of fortifications, which were *stations*, *castles*, and *turrets*. The stations, or cities, are said to have been eighteen in number, with seventeen intervals, ranged at unequal distances, the average about four miles each. These were fortified inclosures, about one hundred and thirty-six yards square, the wall itself constituting the north side. They were designed for residence as well as guard, and were appropriated to the same use as our

modern barracks; also buildings for family use, suitable to various occupations.

If the cohorts were full, six hundred and sixty-six military men were probably the lot of each station. From this grand body of reserve were supplied the castles, of which there were eighty-one, called by the country people mile castles, because they were nearly a mile asunder, or rather seven furlongs. About four of these, on the average, were fixed between every station. They were about ninety-six feet square, the wall still forming the north side. The stations supplied the castles with a guard of perhaps one hundred men each. Every station commanded, on each side of it, about two castles.

As the stations furnished a guard for the castles, *they* supplied one for the turrets, which were small *castles*, *castlets*, or *watch-towers*, ranged along the wall, at the distance of about three hundred and eight yards each: consequently there must have been about three hundred and thirty. They were twelve feet square: each castle commanded about ten turrets, five on a side; which were daily supplied with a guard, probably of two or four men each.

These turrets being near together, the sound of the voice, trumpet or shell, would penetrate the whole length of the wall, if attention was paid, in a short time, when danger approached. This must have been the compleatest construction for the purpose ever invented by human wisdom. And the expence of the watch enormous.

What length of time these united  
and



and almost immortal works would cost in finishing, is impossible to tell; all our authors are silent; but it could not be so little as thirty years, nor could they be compleated for so small a sum as one hundred millions of our present money, exclusive of the land they occupy, which is more than five square miles, or than three thousand acres.

As Agricola's name was lost in Hadrian's, so Severus, being superior to both, nearly eclipses both, and the whole is frequently called Severus's Wall.

Thus we have carried the reader from the beginning to the completion of one of the grandest works of human labour, performed by the greatest nation upon earth. What shall we say of that production, which was the utmost extent of Roman effort, and which stands unrivalled in Europe? How much delight would it afford the modern antiquarian eye, could he survey the works of Agricola, Hadrian, and Severus, as they then appeared? the noblest sight ever beheld in this island! the work of strength, of genius, and of years! Men have been deified for trifles, compared to this admirable structure; a wall seventy miles in length; furnished with eighteen cities, eighty-one castles, and three hundred and thirty turrets, with all their mounds, roads, ramparts, and astonishing apparatus! One sight would raise the mind to a rapturous sublimity. Man would be lost in the wonder, nor satisfied with a single view. We have admired a wall which has secured only a private mansion; still more, when it surrounded a city; but what ideas can we fix to one which guarded a kingdom!

*Account of Tentyra.*

*From Denon's Travels.*

WE arrived at Tentyra. The first object which I saw was a small temple, on the left hand of the road, in so bad a style and proportions of architecture, that at a distance, I took it to be the ruins of a mosque. In turning back to the right, I found, buried in a gloomy heap of ruins, a gate, built of enormous masses, covered with hieroglyphics; and through this gate I had a view of the temple. I wish I could here transfuse into the soul of my readers the sensation which I experienced. I was too much lost in astonishment to be capable of cool judgment; all that I had seen hitherto served here but to fix my admiration. This monument seemed to me to have the primitive character of a temple in the highest perfection. Covered with ruins as it was, the sensation of silent respect which it excited in my mind appeared to me a proof of its impressive aspect, and, without being partial in favour of the antique, I may add, that the whole army experienced similar feelings.

Nothing is more simple and better put together than the few lines which compose this architecture. The Egyptians, borrowing nothing from the style of other nations, have here added no foreign ornament, no superfluity of materials; order and simplicity are the principles which they have followed, and they have carried them to sublimity. At this point they have stopped, and have attached so much importance to preserving the unity of design, that though they have loaded the walls of these edifices



with bas-reliefs, inscriptions and historical and scientific representations, none of these rich additions intersects a single line of the general plan, all of which are religiously preserved unbroken: the sumptuous and rich decorations which appear to the eye when close to the building, all vanish at a short distance, and leave full to view the grand elements of architectural composition, which are dictated by sound reason. It never rains in this climate; all that is wanted therefore is a covering of platbands to give shade, but beyond this, neither roof nor pediment are added; the plain slope is the principle of solidity; they have therefore adopted this form for every main supporter, doubtless with the idea that stability is the first impression that architecture should give, and is an essential constituent of this art. With these people, the idea of the immortality of the deity is presented by the eternity of his temple; these ornaments, which are always rational, always consistent, always significant, demonstrate a steadiness of principle, a taste founded upon truth, and a deep train of reasoning; and if we even had not a full conviction of the eminent height to which they had attained in the abstract sciences, their architecture alone, in the state in which we now find it, would give the observer of the present day a high opinion of the antiquity of this nation, of its cultivation, and the impressive gravity of its character.

I have already said, that I despair of being able to express all that I felt on standing under the portico of Tentyra. I felt that I

was in the sanctuary of the arts and sciences. How many periods presented themselves to my imagination at the sight of such an edifice? how many ages of creative ingenuity were requisite to bring a nation to such a degree of perfection and sublimity in the arts? and how many more of oblivion to cause these mighty productions to be forgotten, and to bring back the human race to the state of nature in which I now found them on this very spot? Never was there a place which concentrated in a narrower compass the well-marked memorial of a progressive lapse of ages. What unceasing power, what riches, what abundance, what superfluity of means must a government possess which could erect such an edifice, and find within itself artists capable of conceiving and executing the design, of decorating and enriching it with every thing that speaks to the eye and the understanding! Never did the labour of man shew me the human race in such a splendid point of view: in the ruins of Tentyra the Egyptians appeared to me giants.

I wished to take every thing on paper, but I could hardly venture to begin the work; I felt that not being able to raise my powers to the height which was before my admiring eyes, I should only shew the imperfection of the imitative art! for in no place had I ever been surrounded with so many objects to elevate my imagination. These monuments, which imprinted on the mind the respect due to the sanctuary of the divinity, were the open volumes, in which science was unfolded, morality dictated, and the useful arts promulgated; every thing spoke, every object was animated



inated with the same mind. The opening of the doors, the angles, the most private recess, still presented a lesson, a precept of admirable harmony, and the lightest ornament on the gravest feature of the architecture revealed, under living images, the abstract truths of astronomy. Painting added a further charm to sculpture and architecture, and produced at the same time an agreeable richness, which did not injure either the general simplicity or the gravity of the whole. To all appearance, painting in Egypt was then only an auxiliary ornament, and not a particular art: the sculpture was emblematical, and, if I may so call it, architectural. Architecture, therefore, was the great art, or that which was dictated by utility, and we may, from this circumstance alone, infer the priority, or at least the superior excellence of the Egyptian over the Indian art, since the former, borrowing nothing from the latter, has become the basis of all that is the subject of admiration in modern art, and what we have considered as exclusively belonging to architecture, the three Greek orders, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. We should, therefore, be cautious of entertaining the false idea, which is so prevalent, that the Egyptian architecture is the infancy of this art, since it is in fact the complete type.

I was particularly struck with the beauty of the gate which closed the sanctuary of the temple; all the ornaments which architecture has since added to this species of decoration, have only diminished the general style.

I could not expect to find any

thing in Egypt more complete, more perfect, than Tentyra; I was confused by the multiplicity of objects, astonished by their novelty, and tormented by the fear of never again visiting them. On casting my eyes on the ceilings, I had perceived zodiacs, planetary systems, and celestial planispheres, represented in a tasteful arrangement; the walls I had observed to be covered with groups of pictures, exhibiting the religious rites of this people, their labours in agriculture and the arts, and the moral precepts; I saw that the supreme being, the first cause, was every where depicted by the emblems of his attributes; every thing was equally important for my pencil, and I had but a few hours to examine, to reflect on, and to copy what it had been the labour of ages to conceive, to put together, and to decorate. Our national impatience was dismayed with the constancy of application exhibited by the people who had executed these monuments: throughout was shewn equal care, and equal assiduity, which would make one believe that these edifices were not the works of their kings, but that they were constructed at the expence of the nation, under the direction of colleges of priests, and by artists whose labours were circumscribed by invariable rules. A series of years might, indeed, have brought the arts to a higher degree of perfection in some particulars; but each temple is so equally finished in all its parts, that they appear all to have been executed by the same hand; no one portion is better or worse than any other; there appears neither negligence nor the bold



strokes of a more exalted genius, uniformity and harmony prevail throughout. The art of sculpture, here made subservient, and attached to that of architecture, appears to have been circumscribed in principle, in method, and in style of execution; a single figure expresses nothing when taken out of its exact station in the group in which it is a part; the sculptor had his design chalked out for him, and could not introduce any deviation which might alter the true meaning that it was intended to convey: it was with these figures, as with the cards that we use for our games, the imperfection of design is overlooked, that no obstacle may arise in instantly distinguishing the value of each. The perfection given by the Egyptians to the representations of their animals proves that they were not without an idea of that bold style which expresses much character in a few lines, and their execution tended to the grave, and to ideal perfection, as we have already remarked in the instance of the sphinx.

As to the character of the human figure, as they borrowed nothing from other nations, they could only copy from their own, which is rather delicate than fine. The female forms, however, resemble the figure of beautiful women of the present day, round and voluptuous, a small nose, the eyes long, half-shut, and turned up at the outer-angle, like those of all persons whose sight is habitually fatigued by the burning heat of the sun, or the dazzling white of snow; the cheeks round and rather thick, the lips pouting, the mouth large, but cheerful and smiling; in short,

the African character, of which the negro is the exaggerated picture, though perhaps the original type.

The hieroglyphics, which are executed in three different manners, are also of three species, and may take their date from as many distinct periods. From the examination of the different edifices which have fallen under my eye, I imagine that the most ancient of these characters are only simple outlines cut in without relief, and very deep; the next in age, and which produce the least effect, are simply in a very shallow relief; and the third, which seem to belong to a more improved age, and are executed at Tentyra more perfectly than in any other part of Egypt, are in relief below the level of the outline. By the side of the figures which compose these tabular pieces of sculpture, there are small hieroglyphics, which appear to be only the explanation of the subjects at large, and in which the forms are much simplified, so as to give a more rapid mode of inscription, or a kind of *short-hand*, if we may apply the term to sculpture.

A fourth kind of hieroglyphics appears to be devoted simply to ornament: we have improperly termed it, I know not why, the *arabesque*. It was adopted by the Greeks, and in the age of Augustus was introduced among the Romans; and in the fifteenth century, during the restoration of the arts, it was transmitted by them to us as a fantastic decoration, the peculiar taste of which formed all its merit. Among the Egyptians, who employed these ornaments with equal taste, every object



object had a meaning or a moral, and, at the same time, formed the decoration of the friezes, the cornices, and the surbasements of their architecture.

I have discovered at Tentyra the representations of the peristyles of temples in caryatides, which are executed in painting at the baths of Titus, and have been copied by Raphael, and which we constantly see in our rooms, without suspecting that the Egyptians have given us the first models of them.

On a second visit, as my time was very limited, I began with what had been the principal object in my journey hither, the celestial planisphere, which occupies part of the ceiling of a little apartment, built over the nave of the great temple. The floor being low, and the room dark, I was able to work at it only a few hours in the day; but neither this, nor the multiplicity of the details, and the great care required in not confounding them by the necessity of viewing them in so inconvenient a posture, abated my ardour: the desire of bringing to the philosophers of my native country the copy of an Egyptian bas-relief of so much importance, made me impatiently endure the tormenting position required in its delineation. I copied also the rest of the ceiling, which is divided into two equal parts, by a large figure, that seems to be an Isis: her feet rest upon the earth, her arms are extended towards heaven, and she appears to occupy all the space between. In another part of the ceiling is a large figure, probably representing heaven, or the year, with its hands and feet on the same level, and enfolding in the curvature of the

body fourteen globes, placed on as many boats, distributed over seven bands or zones, separated from each other by numberless hieroglyphics, but too much covered with stalactites and smoke to allow of being copied. I took, however, a sketch of this compartment of the ceiling, in order to give a general idea of its form.

Behind this first chamber is a second, which receives light only through the door; this also is covered with most interesting and admirably executed hieroglyphical pictures. Notwithstanding the darkness, and the difficulty of getting what little light there was to fall at the same time on the bas-relief and my paper, I made drawings of almost all that was contained on the ceiling or the walls. It is difficult to imagine what could be the use of this little edifice, so carefully finished and ornamented with pictures so evidently scientific: those on the ceilings appear to relate to the motions of the heavenly bodies, and those on the walls have probably some reference to the earth, and the influences of the air and water. The earth is universally represented by the figure of Isis, who was the presiding divinity in all the temples of Tentyra, and whose emblem or figure is found in every part; her head is seen forming the capital of the columns belonging to the portico, and the first chamber of the great temple: it is also in the centre of the astragal, and sculptured in gigantic proportions on the outside of the foundation wall: it is the distinguishing object in the ornaments of the frieze and the cornice, and is conspicuous in all the pictures, with her proper attributes. It is





Isis to whom all the offerings are made, when they are not presented by herself to her husband Osiris: her figure is inscribed on the outer gates of the enclosure, and to her are dedicated the little temples that are there represented; in that on the right hand of the entrance she is triumphing over two evil genii; in that which is behind the great temple, she is variously described as holding Horns in her arms, defending him from every hostile attempt, intrusting him only to figures like cows, and suckling him at every age, from infancy to puberty.

I employed all the time in which, for want of light, I was unable to work at the planisphere, in measuring the capitals and columns, in making plans and elevations, and taking views of the gates. There are now neither doors nor even hinges to these gates, which formerly secluded from prophane eyes those mysteries, of which the priests were so jealous, and also, perhaps, concealed the treasures of the state. The chambers consecrated to eternal night, the mysteriousness of the worship, obscure as the temples themselves, the secret initiation, so difficult to be obtained, and for ever shut against strangers, and the sudden overthrow, both of the government and religion, as soon as Cambyfes had violated the sanctuaries, overthrown the divinities, and carried off the treasures, all combine in announcing that, within these temples was contained the essence of all; and that hence emanated all the civil and religious authority of the state.

*Account of the Pyramids and Sphinx.*

*From the same.*

AS soon as we quitted our boats we found ourselves in the sands, and climbed the level on which these monuments rest. In approaching these stupendous buildings, their sloping and angular forms disguise their real height, and lessen it to the eye; and besides, as every thing regular is only great or small by comparison, and as these masses of stone eclipse in magnitude every surrounding object, and yet are much inferior to a mountain, (the only thing with which our imagination can compare them) one is surprized to find the first impression, given by viewing them at a distance, so much diminished on a nearer approach. However, on attempting to measure any one of these gigantic works of art by some known scale, it resumes its immensity to the mind; for as I approached to the opening, a hundred persons who were standing under it appeared so small, that I could hardly take them for men. It would be a good method for the artist to give an idea of the dimension of these edifices, by representing on the same ground plan as the building some procession or religious ceremony analogous to the ancient customs. As it is, these monuments standing alone, and without any living scale of comparison, excepting a few detached figures in front, lose both the effect of their grand proportions, and the general impressions which they would otherwise make. We have a good example of comparison in Europe in St. Peter's church at Rome, the magnitude of which is concealed by the



the exquisite harmony of proportion, and the crossing of the general outline, till the eye descends to a procession of the religious orders celebrating mass, and followed by a train of worshippers, which, in this situation, appears like a group of puppets attempting to act Athalia on the theatre of Versailles. Another point of resemblance between these two edifices is, that nothing but the despotism of a sacerdotal government could venture to undertake them, nor any thing but the stupid fanaticism of a people would submit to the labour of building. But to return to the actual state of the pyramids; let us first ascend a small heap of sand and rubbish, which is perhaps the remains of the trench of the first of these edifices which presents itself, and which now leads to the opening through which it may be reached. This opening, which is nearly sixty feet from the base, is concealed by a general stone facing, which forms the third or inner inclosure to the solitary intrenchment around this monument. Here begins the first gallery; its direction lies towards the centre and base of the edifice; but the rubbish, which has been but ill cleared out, or which, owing to the natural slope, has fallen back again into the gallery, added to the sand daily drifted in by the north wind, and which is never forced out again, has so blocked up the passage as to render it very inconvenient to cross. At the extremity of this gallery two large blocks of granite are met with, which form a second partition to this mysterious passage.

This obstacle appears to have perplexed all those who have under-

taken the research, and has led to several random attempts to surmount it. Endeavours have been made by former visitors to cut a passage through the solid stone, but this proving unsuccessful, they have returned some way, have passed round two blocks of stone, climbed over them, and thus discovered a second gallery, of so steep an ascent, that it has been necessary to hew steps in the ground in order to mount it. This gallery leads to a kind of landing place, in which is a hole usually called "the well," which is the opening to a horizontal gallery leading to a chamber known by the name of "the queen's chamber," without ornament, cornice, or any inscription whatever.

Returning to the landing-place, a perpendicular opening leads to the grand gallery, which terminates in a second landing-place, on which is the third and last partition, constructed with much more art, and which gives a striking idea of the importance which the Egyptians attached to the inviolability of their places of sepulture.

Lastly comes the royal chamber, containing the sarcophagus, a narrow sanctuary, which is the sole end and object of an edifice so stupendous, so colossal, in comparison of all the other works of man.

In reflecting on the object of the construction of the pyramids, the gigantic pride which gave them birth appears more enormous even than their actual dimensions; and one hardly knows which is the most astonishing, the madness of tyrannical oppression, which dared to order the undertaking, or the stupid servility of obedience in the people who submitted to the labour.



In short, the most favourable view, for the honour of human nature, in which these monuments can be considered is, that man was thereby ambitious of rivalling nature in immensity and eternity, and not without success, since the mountains contiguous to these edifices are less high, and still less exempted from the ravages of time than this work of human hands.

I had only time to view the sphynx, which deserves to be drawn with a more scrupulous attention than has ever yet been bestowed upon it. Though its proportions are colossal, the outline is pure and graceful; the expression of the head is mild, gracious, and tranquil; the character is African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a softness and delicacy of execution truly admirable; it seems real life and flesh. Art must have been at a high pitch when this monument was executed; for if the head wants what is called *style*, that is to say, the straight and bold lines which give expression to the figures under which the Greeks have designated their deities, yet sufficient justice has been rendered to the fine simplicity and character of nature which is displayed in this figure.

I had just snatched a glance of the tombs, of small temples, decorated with bas-reliefs and statues, of niches in the rocks, which might have broken the massiveness of the pyramids, and given them elegance; but so many objects worthy of investigation remained, that it would have required many such visits as the present to have undertaken even a sketch of them, much more to have endeavoured to remove the mysterious cloud which for ages has hung over these symbolical monuments. Almost the same un-

certainty exists as to the time in which they were first violated, as even that of their construction; the latter, which is lost in the night of ages, gives an immense period to the annals of art; and in this view we cannot too much admire the accuracy of the pyramidal structure, the permanency secured by their form and construction, and by such immense proportions, that these gigantic monuments may be considered as the last link in the chain of the colossi of art and nature.

Herodotus relates, that he was informed that the great pyramid, of which I have just been speaking, was the tomb of Cheops; that the adjoining pyramid was that of his brother Cephrenes, who succeeded him; that only the former had any inner galleries; that a hundred thousand men had been employed twenty years in building it; that the immense labour which it required had rendered this prince odious to his people; and that, notwithstanding the taxes which were levied on his subjects, the expence for the subsistence of the workmen alone was so enormous, that the prince was obliged to prostitute his daughter to finish this monument; and that the receipts of this prostitution were so great as to enable the princess, besides, to build the small pyramid adjoining, which served for her own tomb. We may add, that Cheops, having shut up the temples during his reign, found after his death no panegyrist among the priests, who were the historians of Egypt, and who related many idle fables to Herodotus, the first historian who has given us any light on this country.

*Description*



*Description of Syracuse.*

*From the Rev. Cooper Williams's  
Voyage up the Mediterranean.*

WHILE the ships were taking in water and live stock, I took the opportunity of viewing the curiosities of Syracuse and its environs. But before I begin my account of what I saw on shore, I must say a few words of the bay of Syracuse, in which the British fleet was anchored.

The form of this excellent harbour is nearly circular; the entrance, as I before observed, is very narrow; that without a tolerably fair wind, it would be dangerous, if not impossible, for a large ship to beat in or out. But when once entered, it is so spacious that it would contain with ease an immense fleet; and by being completely landlocked, ships may rest in perfect security during the heaviest gale, from whatever quarter it might blow.

Two small rivers disembogue themselves into this bay, that to which the boats of the Swiftsure proceeded on our arrival was so choaked with mud and weeds at the entrance, that it was with considerable difficulty any of the boats could approach the shore, many of the larger kind grounded at some distance, and, to my mishap, that in which I was: we were in consequence obliged to wade to land with the water and mud up to our middles. The people now discovered another and worse difficulty in their way; the fields on each side of the mouth of this river (I understand in ancient days it was called Anapus) produced a great abundance of hemp, which is steeped in the river

as soon as cut, and there left to soak. This operation renders the water pernicious to the health, as well as horribly unpleasant to the smell and taste. The mode adopted to obviate this difficulty was, rolling the empty casks, through the fields to where the waters were uncontaminated; this was found to be beyond a bridge about a quarter of a mile up the river, and here they were soon filled and floated down to the boats. Another and more convenient watering place was soon discovered; it was situated near the town, and supplied by means of water courses from an aqueduct some distance up the country. Here, by the able management and exertions of Captain Troubridge, the needful supplies were soon obtained. While he saw that the parties employed in filling the water-casks did their duty, he also negotiated with the people of the country for bullocks, sheep, and other stock, which were soon brought down in great profusion, and an ample store of fresh provisions supplied to all the ships of the fleet at a reasonable price.

In the afternoon, the landing-place at the gate of the city was a scene of much gaiety and show; the boats from the fleet pulling in towards the shore, the crowds that lined the strand, the long range of carriages, in which the principal nobility of the place came to view the British fleet, the gaudy liveries of their servants, with the variety of dresses which every where presented themselves in the appearance of the several orders of the people, formed a pleasing assemblage.

The town which now exists is built on what was formerly called the island of Ortygia. At the  
time



time when Syracuse was reckoned one of the first cities of the world, it was only the citadel or castle of Dyonisius; but then contained many buildings of eminence. Now it exhibits a melancholy contrast to its former grandeur, the streets being in general meanly built, and so narrow that two carriages cannot pass each other with safety; and the eye is offended at every turn with the most deplorable objects of poverty, filth, and misery. Among the most eminent buildings that adorned this quarter of the ancient city, was the temple of Diana, of which I saw no remains; but of which, according to Denon, a small vestige is to be found in an obscure house in a bye street, called *Refalibra*.

The temple of Minerva owes its preservation to Agio, the tenth bishop of Syracuse, who converted it into a cathedral, and so preserved it from that destruction which many of the other temples of antiquity have experienced. Although the corinthian front which now adorns the entrance does not coincide with the massive doric pillars of the ancient building, yet the whole edifice has a noble appearance. The majestic marble columns which support the roof are fluted from top to bottom, and gradually increase in size towards the base. Originally they were open, and discovered a second row of columns of the same order; but the space between them has been built up to form the walls of the cathedral.

On entering the building our ears were saluted with the harmony of church music; the rich melody of the organ filling the vaulted roof with its tones, and, aided by the

voices of the choir, formed an assemblage of solemn sounds that, at the moment, raised our minds in rapture towards that being whose praises were then chanting.

No man, I believe, feels the impressions of devotion more strongly than the seaman just landed from the perils of his dangerous occupation; his mind naturally raises itself in grateful acknowledgement towards that power by whose protecting arm he has been preserved.

When the service was ended, some of the clergy, in a friendly manner, offered to shew us the curiosities contained in their cathedral.

In an apartment behind the high altar, we found a good painting of the crucifixion, by Urbino; in this room also is kept an agate cup of great antiquity, and very beautiful workmanship, supposed to be coeval with the temple itself; but some of the monks, with more zeal than knowledge, had inlaid parts of it with legends of their saints. They produced also for our inspection two massive gold rings, that were many years since dug up among the ruins of the ancient city.

The fable of the river god Alpheus and the nymph Arethusa, is well known to all classical scholars. Every man of taste must remember, with particular delight, the tale as it is told by Ovid. The whole would be too long to copy here, but I cannot forbear extracting a few of the concluding lines, in which the nymph with such exquisite liveliness describes her own sudden conversion to a stream.



‘ Occupat obseffos fudor mihi frigidus artus;  
Cæruleæque cadunt toto de corpore guttæ.  
Quaque pedem movi, manat lacus, èque capillis  
Ros cadit: & citius, quam nunc tibi facta renarro,  
In latices mutor. Sed enim cognoscit amatas  
Amnis aquas, positoque vici, quod fumpferat, ore  
Vertitur in proprias, ut se mihi misceat, undas.  
Delia rupit humum: cæcisque ego merfa cavernis  
Advehor Ortygiam.\* Ovid Met. lib. V. ver. 632.

Led by curiosity to see the place thus celebrated, we paid a visit to what bears the name of the fountain of Arethusa; but alas! found nothing to justify the eulogiums paid to it by various writers of antiquity: repeated earthquakes, after changing its situation, have destroyed its former beauty; the sea has at times found its way through the riven rocks, the sacred fish are no longer inhabitants of its pellucid waters. It now exhibits only the appearance of a dirty pool issuing from a hollow rock; the waters at some periods dry up; at others are tainted by sulphureous effluvia. It is now used by the washer-women of the city, who, at this time, were employed in their occupation. Standing up to their waists in the water, they were beating the linen with flat boards, upon the broken rocks which had tumbled into the pool. Neither the delicacy of the ladies, the beauty of the fountain,

nor the elegance of the employment carried on there, recalled to our minds those pleasing images we had formed of it, and we quitted the place with disgust.

We next proceeded towards the land-gates, which are placed in the strongest part of the fortifications. After passing through two handsome gateways, and over several broad and deep fosses filled with water, we came to a large area that led us to the last gate, which is built in the outward walls of the fortifications. Crossing the draw-bridge, we entered on the site of that part of ancient Syracuse called Achradina, of which not a vestige remains. Proceeding through several highly cultivated gardens, well stored with vegetables, delightfully shaded by tall poplars, and watered by clear streams from the neighbouring hills, we arrived at the celebrated Latomixæ, or caverns, in which Dyonisius is said to

\* Cold dews at once my weary limbs appal,  
And azure drops from all my body fall;  
And where my foot was placed, a lake is spread,  
And moistures trickle from my trembling head;  
And quicker than these words, my person flows  
Chang'd to a stream. The amorous river knows  
The lovely current; instant lays aside  
His human figure, and begins to glide  
Again in wat'ry waves, with mine to mix his tide.  
Diana, still my virgin charms to keep,  
Cleaves the hard earth; and safe in caverns deep,  
To far Ortygia's shore my darksome way I weep.

have



have confined his prisoners, and to have enjoyed their groans by means of a chamber that communicated with one of them. How far this story is to be relied on, I shall not pretend to say, but must refer the reader to those historians who have made it their study, and whose leisure and opportunity have enabled them to investigate the matter. My business is to give the best description I can of the place as it now is. The cavern, known by the name of Dyonisius's ear, is supposed to have been the scene of that cruelty; and its shape certainly gives colour to the story, being formed to convey sound to a particular place. It is hewn out of the solid rock, into the form of a gothic arch, eighteen feet wide by fifty-eight high, and curved from the entrance to the end; throughout the upper part runs a groove, which communicates with a small chamber over the entrance, which must originally have been walled up to prevent the sound escaping. In this chamber the tyrant, according to tradition, used to place himself to hear the discourse of his prisoners who were chained to the walls of the cavern: and to give a colour to this idea, rings are discovered formed in the rock, to which possibly the hands and feet of the prisoners were fastened with thongs. On the right, half way the length of the cavern, is a large square chamber, also hewn out of the rock, but for what purpose it was formed, except to enlarge the place allotted for prisoners, we could not guess; yet, as it must in some measure have destroyed the conveyance of sound, the original purpose for which this cavern was formed, it may have

been a work of later date. The further end of the cavern terminates abruptly, like the gable end of a house; but near the top are seen several holes in the wall, as if a chamber had been there, and up to it, in regular gradations, smaller holes, apparently for iron cramps to support steps.

The dryness of this curious cavern, the effect of the echo, and the solemn appearance of the place, must render it a delightful retreat during the summer months, when the heat of the climate is insufferable; but it does not appear that the Syracusans have taste enough to enjoy so romantic a spot. Near this cavern is another, of a different form, being square, flat at the upper part, and subdivided into several spacious chambers by rude pillars formed of the rock, out of which the cavern was excavated; a work that must have cost infinite labour, and employed armies to accomplish. In the spacious area before the entrance of the caverns, is an high white insulated rock; on the top are the ruins of a building, perhaps a guard-house; and near are seen the remains of an ancient aqueduct. The rocks surrounding the area are so smooth, and so artfully project toward the summit, that to climb them would be impossible. Near the top appear the remains of an earthenware channel to convey water from the aqueduct to the caverns below. There is also another cavern, in the same direction with the last-mentioned, but blackened with the smoke of furnaces used to extract the salt-nitre: it is of a similar form, but of less dimensions.

Near these caverns we discovered the remains of a bath, of an oblong form;



form; the water within it perfectly clear, and of an icy coldness; from the top are suspended large masses of petrified stalactites, which daily increase by water dripping from above. The approach to this place is hid among plants, that have for ages been suffered to grow in wild luxuriance, and in festoons of various kinds overhang the entrance, forming a most romantic retreat.

We next visited the remains of a Roman theatre, hewn chiefly out of the rock: which, of course, has suffered little from the injuries of time, but all that was built on this foundation is destroyed. The situation is perfectly beautiful; the spectators having a full view of the bay, with the island of Ortygia, and the rich plains through which the Anapus winds; it even now presents a most picturesque appearance. The white steps are nearly hid by bushes and flowery shrubs of various kinds, and the waters escaping from a reservoir above, come tumbling down the rocks in broken torrents.

Being somewhat tired with our walk, we postponed making further researches till the next day, when we again, at an early hour, landed at the usual place. Before we proceeded to explore the venerable remains of past ages, we determined to inspect the more modern edifices that adorn the present city. The first place that we proceeded to was an open area, or piazza, in which are the principal buildings of the city. On the right is the bishop's palace, adjoining the cathedral, which I have before observed was built on the ruins of the temple of Minerva. This view shews the elevation of the modern façade erected on the site of the old por-

tico. History informs us, that on the summit of the ancient portico was suspended a shining buckler, which could be seen at a vast distance. No sooner did the Syracusan mariner lose sight of this talisman, than he threw offerings of honey, flowers, and ashes into the sea, to render Neptune and Minerva propitious to his voyage, and ensure his safe return. The modern front is perfectly incongruous with the rest of the building; it is of the corinthian order, and highly ornamented with colossal statues. The ascent to it is by a noble flight of steps, on each side of which is a statue of the two principal Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, has a fine effect.

Beyond the cathedral is a handsome square building, appropriated to the administration of justice, opposite to which is the palace of the Baron de Bosci, a nobleman of large property and consequence in this place.

We next paid our respects to some convents near the piazza. The first was dedicated to St. Lucia; where, over the high altar, in the chapel, is a good painting, by Caravaggi, of the martyrdom of the patroness. St. Lucia is represented as drawn by oxen to the place of execution; but, by a miracle, she is rendered immovable, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of the animals, who appear to strain every nerve in vain. However, the miracle seems to have no object, as a Saracen soldier comes behind her and cuts off her head.

The convent of Monte Virginis is appropriated to females of noble family only. As Englishmen, we could not but lament that so many lovely women should, by superstition, be thus secluded from the world,



world, which otherwise they might have contributed by their presence to adorn, as by their social virtues to have added to the general stock of domestic happiness.

We now once more emerged into the country, and proceeded to a farm-house, where the mode of raising water attracted our attention. A number of earthen pots, connected by bands of rushes, revolved round a wheel, (in the manner of a jack-chain) which was put in motion by an ox. As the pots fall into the well below they fill, and come up to the turn of the wheel, where they empty themselves into a trough connected with a large reservoir; from whence the neighbouring gardens are refreshed with constant streams during the heats of summer, and by this contrivance are blessed with a perpetual fertility.

From hence we visited the church of St. John, esteemed the oldest christian church in Sicily. The pillars are of the heaviest gothic, and the walls covered with miserable daubings. But our principal objects of research were the catacombs, or burying-places of the ancient Syracusans. We were conducted by an old capuchin friar into these celebrated tombs, and were obliged at the entrance to creep in on our hands and knees, but we soon found it sufficiently lofty. The streets and alleys into which these vaults are cut, cross each other in every direction, and had our guide extinguished his torch, we must have remained in this dismal abode till relieved by the hand of death, as it would be very difficult for a stranger to find his way out, even with a light, without it impossible. At certain distances

we came to large round chambers, whose dome-like roof admitted a small portion of light and air from an aperture in the upper part. The walls of these rooms were covered with a sort of stucco, and round them were placed, in uniform directions, a number of stone coffins, like those we saw on each side of the alleys; these were excavated from the solid rock, and of various dimensions; some appearing scarcely large enough for a new-born infant. We were informed that skeletons had been found in some of them with a piece of money in their jaws; perhaps to pay the ferryman of the Styx for their passage to the regions of Pluto.

The horrid idea of being, by any accident, left to starve in this labyrinth of death, made us glad to quit it, filled with astonishment at its vast capacity. For though we walked through a great many streets and alleys, on each side of which are arched tombs excavated from the rock, yet we also passed by the ends of many other passages which we did not penetrate, and could form no idea of the extent of, nor of the number of bodies the whole might be capable of containing.

We next proceeded to a monastery of capuchins, situated on an eminence near the sea. It is a neat and airy building, placed on a barren rock, without an appearance of any vegetation near it. But no sooner had we paid our respects to the reverend fathers, than we were conducted by them into subterraneous gardens, where verdure and vegetation flourished in the highest degree. The scene appeared like enchantment; nor could we at first devise the cause of it, till, on examination, we discovered



vered that we were in the same sort of excavations as those of the Latomiæ we had before visited. By labour and cultivation the ground, rendered rich and productive, is become a luxuriant orchard of orange, lemon, and olive-trees. But Mr. Swinburne's description of this place being far better than any I can hope to give, I shall take the liberty of using it.

'I descended by a slope into these extraordinary bowers, where my view was confined on all sides by shaggy walls of great height, either purposely hewn into shape, or rudely figured by the corrosive sea air. Huge masses have been broken off and rolled on the platform, where they contribute to the composition of a most wild yet solemn picture. The area is covered with a thick grove of trees, loaded with rich scented blossoms and beautiful fruit; I was delighted with their variety of kinds, vigour of growth, and brilliancy of foliage; the slim branches of the pale olive were interwoven with the bushy heads of orange, lemon, bergamot, and cedar trees; while the tender colour of the full-blown almond formed a fine contrast with the fiery buds of the pomegranate, just bursting into blow. The gardeners have skillfully increased the variety of their fruits by grafting and budding, and have procured a great diversity in their taste and colour. There are several sepulchres in these quarries, and some projections of the stone have been scooped into rings, by which I conjecture, that after the place ceased to be used as a quarry, it was converted into a prison.'

The undercroft, or cemetery of this monastery contains as curious

a scene as any we had yet witnessed. We entered it by a flight of steps through a trap-door in the nave of the chapel, and found it as light as the place we had just left, having windows in the vaulted roof. But our attention was immediately called off from other matters to an assemblage of venerable personages arranged along the wall, in niches formed for the purpose: they were all dressed in the habit of St. Francis, and, at first sight, had the appearance of life; but, on close examination, their skin appeared dry, shrivelled, and as hard as wood; some of them had been dead for near two centuries; many of them were decorated with long flowing beards, others with none; whether fallen off by time, or the fashion of the age they lived in, I cannot say: the monks of the present day being distinguished by a profusion of that ornament. Besides the bodies of the monks, we saw those of the nobility and gentry who could afford the expence of this mode of sepulture; for the worthy monks do not permit the intrusion of unhallowed laity into their society without receiving, besides the entrance fee, a handsome yearly compensation for it, which is paid in various ways. Some contribute annually a wax candle, of many pounds weight; and should any omission of the payment occur, the unfortunate ancestor of the defaulter is turned out of his place to make room for another. These strangers are generally habited in their best suits, and are laid in boxes, with lids fastened by locks, which were opened for our inspection: some of them had bag-wigs, ruffles, and laced coats, and presented a very frightful satire on human vanity.

No



No ladies are admitted of this silent party. The ornaments of this solemn repository are entirely appropriate; round the cornices, and over the altar, which has a crucifix on it, are skulls and cross-bones, and over the entrance of the chapel this motto, 'Commune mori, mors nulli parcit honori!'

On our return to Syracuse, we passed over the rough foundations of part of the ancient city, some of which we could perceive extend some yards into the sea. It was at this place Archimedes had his residence, from whence he annoyed the Roman fleet by the ingenuity of his inventions.



# MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*On the comparative Advantages of public and private Education; from Dr. Barrow's Essay on Education.*

TO determine upon what system the rising generation may be instructed with the greatest convenience and effect; by what measures in early youth his offspring may most successfully be trained to learning and virtue is a point of the utmost importance to a parent, and hardly less difficult than important. The inquiry is, indeed, both complicated and extensive; influenced by various and weighty considerations; and particularly by what the subject naturally suggests, the comparative advantages of public or private education.

This question has, indeed, been frequently agitated; not only with such deliberation and diligence, as its importance seemed to require; but sometimes with such zeal and acrimony, as were prompted by the private interest of the disputants, or the jealousy of rival talents. It appears to me, however, that it can hardly be a general question at all; at least, that it does not admit of any general decision. But it was discussed by Quintilian more than seventeen centuries ago; and has been since adverted to by almost every writer on the subject of education. Though it may not be determined, therefore it must not be wholly neglected.

Quintilian will not be suspected of wasting his reader's time or his own, in disquisitions foreign to his purpose; and in his treatise, indeed, the inquiry was not only natural but unavoidable. His system of education had but one object in view, to form the youth of his own nation to excellence in the oratory of the bar, or the senate; and it was both rational and necessary to consider by what means that excellence might be most successfully attained. In this country the objects of education are not only numerous and varied, but sometimes incompatible with each other; and its plans and pursuits, therefore, cannot always be the same. The question evidently becomes different as it regards every different student; and must be determined with respect to each, not so much by the comparative advantages of general systems abstractedly considered; as by what is most suitable to the individual concerned; to his rank, his health, his capacity, and his future destination. If the youth be designed for any active station in public life; for the bar or the senate; for the practice of medicine; or for the profession of arms; I have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that he ought to have a public education. And by a public education, I mean an education at one of those schools universally known amongst us by the denomi-



nation of public schools; at one of the larger of those endowed schools, which are established in every considerable town, and almost in every district of the kingdom; or at one of those academies, where the number of pupils is not limited, and where the discipline approaches to the model, and possesses some of the vigour of our public schools.

The objections to this system of education stated by Quintilian, and which, indeed, comprise the strongest objections that have yet been urged against it, consist wholly in the danger, either that the morals of the pupil will be corrupted by the corruption of his fellows; or that his improvement will be neglected in the confusion naturally incident to numbers.

Were the former of these objections well founded; it ought certainly to be decisive. The purity of morals must not be sacrificed to the acquisition of learning. But fortunately this dreaded corruption is far from certain. The danger of it is not greater, perhaps, than in other situations; and at least, if public schools furnish the bane of morals, in them too the most powerful antidotes may be found. I shall give the result of my own experience and observation without disguise; not certainly because this result offers any novelty; but because it has been called in question. The truth in this case, as in many others, does not require so much to be discovered or proved, as to be published and enforced.

The common notion that boys corrupt each other, is not, I think, just to the extent generally supposed. Its rise and continuance may be very reasonably accounted for,

without admitting its truth. The partiality natural to a parent inclines him to believe that his son is dismissed from his own hands innocent and spotless; and to conclude when the son is afterwards found to be vicious, that he has been seduced by others more vicious than himself. The son, indeed, in order to soften his own offences, imputes the guilt and blame to his companions; and the father is willing to give credit to his assertions, to condemn the school, rather than the child; and the conduct of the master rather than his own. But the truth is, that when boys of various dispositions and habits meet promiscuously in a school, they usually discover one another's inclinations, with a quickness and penetration resembling the effects produced by the private signals of free masonry; and each associates with those, whose temper and pursuits best correspond with his own. The corrupt attach themselves to the corrupt, with the rapidity natural to those, who are careless of the character of their friends; and leave the diligent and virtuous to form their intimacies among themselves without interruption or molestation. The former do not frequently succeed in their endeavours to seduce the latter; and usually respect them too much to make the attempt. The mutual encouragement and assistance of numbers will undoubtedly sometimes push them further in culpable pursuits than each singly would have had the means or the resolution to proceed. But I have seldom known a youth deeply involved in depravity at school, who did not bring the seeds of it along with him. Where, indeed, the previous connection of their parents, or some other



other incidental and external cause, has occasioned an intimacy, which the dispositions of the sons themselves never would have produced; in such cases, an individual will sometimes greatly influence the manners of his friend; and from the weakness or the propensities of our nature it unfortunately happens, that the boy already depraved will more frequently seduce his associate into mischief, or into vice, than the virtuous youth will be able to restrain his less virtuous companion from it. But it is only, where a considerable superiority in age or fortune, in rank or talents, has given an extraordinary influence, that any single boy can corrupt the general manners of a school; and it is perhaps still more rare, that where the manners of a school are generally corrupt, a single youth, whatever may be his disposition and habits, can wholly escape the contagion. An arch fiend may sometimes seduce a number of inferior spirits from their duty and allegiance; but we can rarely hope to find the integrity and resolution of Abdiel in a school boy.

In a numerous school the noise and riot of the pupils have more merriment than mischief; and their mischief has more frolic than malignity. Care, however, must be taken, that occasional frolic do not ripen into habitual cruelty; that repeated transgression do not sink into settled corruption. Here, indeed, is the place and necessity for the vigilance and authority of the teachers; and these, if wisely exerted, will seldom fail of their effect. It is an easy task, on one hand, to introduce every pupil to proper connections, when he first enters the school, and to caution

him, on the other, against such as are distinguished only by their vicious propensities and seductive manners. It is easy, whenever any instance of vice is detected, to inflict some appropriate punishment, and to expose it to contempt or disgrace: and it is not less easy, and still more pleasing, to shew constant favour and encouragement to truth, integrity, and diligence; to let it appear, upon all occasions, that if a studious and virtuous youth happen to be sometimes exposed to the ridicule or the malice of his less meritorious school-fellows, he will find himself abundantly compensated by the esteem of his master and his friends. Such conduct in the teachers seldom fails to be rewarded by the gratitude, as well as the virtues, of those intrusted to their care.

The exertion required in the students to perform the tasks appointed in every well regulated school, is itself highly favourable to the vigour and activity of the intellect; and eventually, therefore, to the interests of virtue. There is always amongst the pupils of a large school a sort of public opinion, and certain laws of honour, which though sometimes founded upon erroneous principles, generally tend to the prevention of mean or malignant vices: and such manliness of sentiment and spirit is acquired as paves the way to the subsequent correction of any errors, into which the warmth or negligence of youth may surprize them. Let sound learning give a young man strength of mind to conquer himself, and from any other moral enemy he will have soon little to fear. And if such a school be found, as, it is hoped, will soon appear, the most favour-



able to the promotion of learning and knowledge, it will not be much less favourable to the soundness of moral principle. Notwithstanding some extraordinary exceptions, which by the wonder they excite are proved to be rare, it is commonly true, that as the mind is enlarged, the affections are rectified. *A fool, says Rochefoucault, has not materials enough to make a good man.* But none are so likely to perform their duty well, as those who best understand it. And were the most illustrious examples to be selected from our history of men, who had united virtue and learning, professional skill with integrity of conduct, they would be generally found amongst the pupils of our public schools.

The next objection, that the youth's improvement may be neglected amidst the confusion incident to numbers, is founded wholly upon mistaken notions of a large school, or of human nature. Order and regularity in its business are of the very essence of a public school, and preserved and enforced there with a degree of steadiness and uniformity, which can rarely elsewhere be found. Those who have the superintendence of such seminaries are convinced by the strongest of all testimony, their own experience, that by system only can application produce its proper effect; that by system only can any art or science be successfully taught. Nor does a larger portion of his time bestowed by the master produce a correspondent benefit to the pupil. His progress in literature does not depend so much upon what is done for him by others, as upon what he can be stimulated to do for himself. The teacher, indeed, will naturally

exert the greater zeal and diligence where greater numbers are to profit by his instructions, and to judge and report his conduct; and the same circumstance is every way favourable to the improvement of his scholar. The voice of the preceptor to adopt the similitudes of Quintilian, is not like the food provided for an entertainment; where each man's share must be diminished in proportion as the numbers are increased. It should rather be compared with the sun, which dispenses with the same degree of light and heat to each individual of a multitude, however numerous and extensive. The attention of the student seldom fails to be roused and fixed by the attention of his teacher. The opposition of his rivals, the assistance of his friends, the praise or censure of his master and his schoolfellows, the hope of reward and the fear or shame of punishment; all these motives united produce such exertions, as no domestic teacher can hope to secure. By every exertion too his faculties naturally expand; confidence in his own powers increases by success; and the pupil of a public school often attains to an eminence in literature, which a youth differently circumstanced would not attempt; and which himself, perhaps, had not presumed to expect. Each, indeed, is aware, that a character established amongst a numerous class of schoolfellows will be very widely diffused in the world, and promote his advantage or his reputation in all the subsequent transactions of his life. And he to whom the palm of merit is adjudged, after an examination for honours and promotion; probably feels greater pride and pleasure, and with better reason than



was ever felt by the successful champion on the plains of Olympia or in the circus of antient Rome.

As another objection to our public schools properly so called, many parents have lately urged the increased and extravagant expence. But against this charge the vindication of the schools is not difficult; though a remedy for the evil may not so easily be found. The proper and necessary expences of our public schools are not encreased, either beyond the proportion of other places of education, or beyond the general encrease of the expences of life; and upon what principle, or by what expedient, the charges there are to be kept below the level of charges every where else, it is surely not necessary to enquire. There is no cheap labour for their accommodation; no cheap market for their supply. There is, indeed, one article of expence, of which the teachers complain, as loudly as the parents; and with much better reason; the large sums entrusted to boys at their own disposal, and for their private indulgence and gratification. Against this practice I seize the first opportunity of entering the strongest protest in my power. It is not only the true cause of the complaint against the expences of our public schools; but one principal source of those vices, which are so justly condemned. I do not wish to prevent, for I would by all means recommend, such a regular allowance of money to every youth at school, as should teach him the use and management of some property of his own, and purchase for him such instruments of amusements, or such harmless luxuries, as are proper for his age and station. But if parents will return

their sons to school, after every recess, with their pockets filled with gold; and if every friend at every visit will augment the mischief by injudicious liberality, let them not blame the times or the teachers for the natural effects of their own folly. While any part of the money remains, little else will be attended to, than how it may be most agreeably expended. It is in vain to prohibit to the youth the use of those luxuries, which he is himself furnished with the means to procure. It is in vain to expect from the teacher any effectual restraint upon the vicious propensities of his pupil, while he is supplied by the mistaken kindness of his friends with the power, not only of purchasing criminal indulgence, but of bribing those about him to connive at his pleasures, or to assist him in the pursuit.

To the scheme of private and domestic tuition there are objections of at least equal weight with those which have been urged against public education. To engage a private tutor for a single pupil is, perhaps, of all others the least eligible mode of giving literary instruction. Men of talents and spirit can seldom be prevailed upon to undertake the task; and it is in vain to expect the due discharge of it from teachers of any other description. The preceptor does not exert much zeal or diligence for his solitary pupil; and the exertions of the pupil will not be more than proportionate to those of his preceptor. To prevent any severity of discipline is generally one of the first principles of domestic tuition. Compulsion and correction, therefore, are in a great measure excluded. The youth has no rivals of



his own age to stimulate his efforts, and no friends to assist or applaud them. Honour and shame, of the first importance in all other cases, have hardly any place in the system. Every thing therefore is languid and inefficient. Even the sports of the private pupil, for want of associates and competitors, have little animation and little pleasure. He cannot compare his own acquisitions with those of others; and therefore estimates them rather by the measure of his own vanity, than the standard of truth. He is a coxcomb before he is a scholar. His books, indeed, will engage less of his attention, than those amusements, in which he is too liberally indulged, and for the sake of which, in some degree, the plan of domestic education was adopted; and he will value himself less upon his progress in literature and science, than upon his taste in dress, or his dexterity in the sports of the field.

Nor is the boasted advantage of purity of morals much better secured. The perpetual restraint, under which the private pupil lives, and the constant presence of those much older than himself, do not suffer his propensities and passions to appear in their true colours; and, consequently their course cannot be sufficiently regulated, nor their excesses restrained. He does not grow open and ingenuous by unreserved communication with his equals; but artful and designing by watching the sentiments of those more advanced in age; and the self command, which he appears to possess, is often policy, not principle; hypocrisy, not virtue. He is almost inevitably taught insolence

and pride; for he is constantly attended, not as a helpless creature that perpetually stands in need of assistance; but as a person invested with rank and authority, by which he may demand that assistance as a privilege and right. There is always danger, that he will be too much in the company of servants; and unlearn in the kitchen and the stable, what he has been taught in the library and the drawing room. If, indeed, the restraint imposed upon him be not sufficient to guard him against vulgarity and vice, it loses the very benefit, which it most professes to secure; and if sufficient for the present, there is some reason to apprehend still greater excess, when that restraint shall be removed. The time must come when the private pupils shall be trusted at large in the world; and such men have sometimes been observed to plunge more deeply in the most licentious pleasures, than those for whom these pleasures had less novelty, and therefore less attraction. This, indeed, is not much to be feared, where the moral and religious principles have been duly cultivated and firmly established. But the indulgence, in which the private pupil is reared, seldom gives much strength of mind, or firmness of principle. He has been accustomed to deference and flattery. He will be still ambitious of distinction: and it is but too probable that he will endeavour to compensate the inferiority of his talents, by taking the lead in all the extravagancies of fashion, or affecting a disgraceful pre-eminence in vice.

A school with a small and limited number of pupils, though liable to some-



somewhat fewer objections, is not entitled to much greater praise. Such seminaries are, indeed, the favourites of the present day. But almost every circumstance, which recommends them to popularity forms an objection to them, as places of literary education. To consult by every means the ease and comfort of the boys; to supply them with a full share of such amusements and luxuries, as can be permitted with safety only to men of the maturest age and understanding; to allow them on all occasions the freedoms and familiarities of equals and friends; these arts may answer the purposes, for which they were probably designed; they may conciliate the favour of the parents through the medium of indulgence to their sons: but their natural tendency is to make the pupils men of pleasure, not men of learning; to fit them for the fashionable ceremonial of the drawing-room and the tea-table; not for the bustle of publick stations, or the honourable labours of virtue. The master professes to bestow his whole time upon a small number; and therefore a larger portion of attention upon their improvement; a profession seldom fulfilled; and when fulfilled seldom beneficial. When the pupils of such a seminary are in early youth, a female relation or upper servant of the master, often attends them in their walks and diversions; a system as captivating in appearance, as it is in reality contemptible. Boys should be compelled to exert their own powers in their lessons, and permitted to indulge their own fancies in their relaxations. Their natural gaiety is checked by the

presence or the direction of their superiors; and the youth, who does not play with alacrity and spirit, will seldom study with diligence or success. Some of these schools again profess wholly to exclude the discipline of the rod. Yet perhaps without the use or the fear of it, not a single scholar was ever made. The acquisition of learning must always be laborious; and by what motives, but the fear of a greater evil, shall boys be induced to labour with regularity and perseverance! They cannot, or they will not, understand the force of arguments drawn from distant and future advantage; the policy of suspending enjoyment for the present, in order to increase it hereafter. The forbearance and the virtues of a stoick, indeed, suit their comprehension as little as their inclination. They are, when left to themselves, the genuine disciples of Epicurus; they grasp with avidity, the pleasures of the present hour, with little thought, and less apprehension, of what may happen to-morrow.

There are cases, however, in which a publick education, notwithstanding its general advantages would be wholly improper. It ought never to be chosen for such unhappy youths, as labour under the misfortunes of an imbecility of mind, deformity of person, or permanent want of health.

In the case of imbecility of mind, domestick care and tenderness are necessary till a much later period, than where nature has been more liberal of her endowments. Nothing less than the constant presence, and the most unwearied patience of his teachers,



can communicate such a portion of useful information, or establish such habits of action, as may conduct the unfortunate youth with propriety and comfort through one of the humblest walks of life. The ordinary modes of instruction cannot give learning to him, to whom nature has denied the capacity to receive it. The common operations of agriculture will not create the powers of vegetation in the sand.

Where a youth labours under great deformity of person, he ought certainly to be concealed in the shades of domestic education. In a large school he cannot always join in the amusements, with which he sees others delighted. A thousand incidents daily remind him of the unkindness of nature. He is frequently mortified by the ridicule, and the insults of his school-fellows; till at length his comfort is destroyed, his temper rendered irritable and fretful, and his heart, I fear, sometimes corrupted. For to these circumstances must probably be ascribed, that malignity of mind, which has been too often observed to accompany deformity of person. No degree of literary improvement can make amends for evils such as these; and under their influence it is not probable, that any great degree will be obtained.

In cases of permanent want of health, public education is not only improper, but in a great measure impracticable. Without health, few of the advantages of education can any where be obtained. And it would be as cruel, as it is absurd, to expose a youth to the tumult and accidents of a numerous school, whose infirmities

require rather the tenderness of a nurse, than the instruction of a teacher. Some station of life must be chosen, which will not require either that health and strength, which nature has denied, or that learning, which the want of health does not permit him to obtain.

To these cases must be added, that of a youth approaching to manhood; whose literary education was neglected at the proper season, and the neglect of which it is now proposed to repair. Such a student should not be mortified by being joined in the same class with children; the same modes of instruction cannot be the most suitable both to him and to them; and he ought to be pushed forward with a rapidity, which is not practicable in the lower forms of a school. To a youth of this description, however, I cannot very strongly recommend the pursuit of classical literature; because I cannot very confidently promise him, either that he will succeed in his pursuit; or that success will recompense the time and labour, which it will require. The languages of Greece and Rome are seldom completely attained, unless undertaken at a very early age; while the memory is yet fresh and tenacious; while the understanding is not yet distracted by the cares of life and the passions of our nature; and while the authority of the teacher can confine his pupil to irksome and continued application. As the mind approaches to maturity, it wants either resolution to begin the study in question, patience to persevere in it, or aptitude to succeed: and even suppose all difficulties to be overcome, that time is employed upon



upon words, which is due to things; those hours are wasted in speculation, which ought to be devoted to action. The ingenious historian of the *British Colonies in the West Indies* has candidly acknowledged, that not having been grounded in the grammar in his childhood, he afterwards found the study of the learned languages insupportably disgusting: and Quintilian has observed, that a child will learn in a few months to speak his native tongue; but that to teach it to a foreign slave will require as many years.

Our public schools, properly so called, are unsuitable places of education for those who are designed for any private station, for the retirement and tranquillity of the country, or the patient diligence of trade. Young men do not there learn the sciences best adapted to such purposes; and they usually acquire notions; habits, and connections, and sometimes vices too incompatible with their future destination. The mechanic does not willingly receive his apprentice, nor the merchant select his clerk, from among the pupils of a public school; nor has the pupil of a public school more inclination than aptitude to become the clerk or the apprentice. Our academies are the places where education suitable to such stations are to be sought; and in many of them, it may undoubtedly be found. Sometimes, indeed, an attempt is made to unite the advantages of both. For, in the conduct of education, what absurdity can be named, which human folly has not in some instance endeavoured to reduce to practice? From a principle of mistaken pride,

from the hope and prospect of valuable connections, or from some other personal or general motive, a youth is not unfrequently fixed for a few years at Eton or Westminster, and afterwards placed at an academy to learn the qualifications requisite for trade. But the first part of this scheme usually frustrates the last. The master of an academy generally finds a youth of this description amongst the most turbulent and refractory of his pupils. He comes prepared to despise alike the persons, the instructions, and the authority of his teachers; and determines not to submit to what he deems the intolerable confinement and degrading drudgery of his destined occupation. He insists too resolutely to be refused, on an appointment in the navy or the army; and leaves his parents to repent at leisure the disappointment of their hopes, and the folly of their plan.

Our public schools are improper places of education, whenever classical literature is not indispensably required; or where time for a deep and critical acquaintance with the authors of antiquity cannot be allowed. If this, indeed, be necessary as the basis of general knowledge, or of professional skill, it can no where else be obtained with equal rapidity and success. Their unquestionable superiority in this point, however, will excite the less surprise, when we reflect, that it is almost the sole object of their attention: and that it is the sole object of their attention is abundant evidence, that for other purposes, other instructors must be sought. Wherever an ordinary acquaintance with the Greek



Greek and Roman tongues is sufficient; wherever dexterity in the humble talents of writing and arithmetic, or the more dignified accomplishments of skill in the elegant arts, and the knowledge of modern languages and mathematical science, are necessary to the future destination of the student, then indeed, recourse must be had, either to the assiduity of a private teacher, which in some cases is the most eligible, or to some one of our numerous academies, where the requisite accomplishments are taught.

It is sometimes supposed to be highly eligible to place a youth at one of our public schools, with a view to his forming such connections, as may be creditable or beneficial to him in all the subsequent transactions of his life. If the design be to form interested connections with the great, and to court the future patronage of the powerful, it is contemptible in its principle, and seldom successful in its object. It must begin or end in meanness and sycophancy; and does not so often advance the fortune, as corrupt the heart of the student. But if the purpose be to form early and pleasing intimacies upon equal terms; to cement those friendships, which when they endure through life, sweeten it at every step; this is, indeed, a desirable and honourable object; but it is not confined exclusively to our public schools. It will be accomplished equally at every other place of education, where a variety of ingenuous youth are brought together, and each is at liberty to select from the number those, whom a similarity in years, sentiments and pursuits

seems to have destined for his companions and friends. This recommendation of a public education, however, can only be considered as a sort of counterpoise to the objection that has been urged, from the supposed danger to the morals of the pupils. If a youth may select companions, who will afterwards improve his fortune, he may equally select such, as will induce him to waste it. If he may choose associates, that will confirm the principles of virtue; he may also attach himself to such, as will allure him to licentiousness and vice. Considered merely in this point of view, the chances of good or evil are naturally equal. Either side of the balance may appear to preponderate, according to the judgment or inclination of the parent; and the advantage, or the mischief will depend at last upon the principles and prudence of the pupil, and the skill and diligence of the instructor.

It may perhaps appear extraordinary, that, in order to determine the preference between private and public education, I have not yet adduced on either side the authority of any of those learned and judicious teachers, who have expressed their sentiments on the subject. I have not neglected these sentiments, because I am not fully sensible of the respect and deference that are due to them; but, because so many authorities may be urged in favour of either of the systems under consideration, that I think authority will not satisfactorily decide the question between them. In the civil war of his country, Lucan was unable or unwilling to determine the justice of the cause, when Cato was on one side, and fortune



fortune on the other. On these authorities, however, one general observation may be made. Of all the men who have enjoyed the opportunity and the advantages of a public education, Locke alone, perhaps will be found generally to condemn it; and of the advocates for the domestic system, the greater number have been either interested teachers, whose employment and profits were involved in the question; or men more willing to listen to the flattering promises of theory and innovation, than to the sober truths of practice and experience. By this time the reader does not want to be told, that I am not disposed, like the Roman poet, to suspend my judgment on the point before me; that I willingly give up the speculative opinions even of Cato himself; and adhere steadily to the cause which has been sanctioned by fortune and success.

In the observations that have been made upon the comparative advantages of public and private education, it is not to be supposed, that the result will always be precisely what has been stated. A thousand circumstances continually intervene to vary the effect of every system, and disappoint the conclusions of every calculation. Whatever mode be adopted, a wide difference will be made in the success by the various degrees of ability and diligence exerted by different teachers, and still more by the varieties of capacity and temper in their different pupils. Private tuition has sometimes produced men of the most brilliant talents; and dulness and stupidity have often issued from our public schools. But supposing the different

students equally endowed by nature, and the same judgment and exertions in the respective preceptors, the effects that have been stated from the different modes of instruction, may most reasonably and usually be expected. The natural fertility of the soil cannot even by mismanagement be wholly suppressed; nor can its sterility by any skill and care be so successfully cultivated, as to yield a rich and luxuriant produce.

Nor is it to be supposed, that any system of education can be adopted, which shall comprehend every possible benefit, and exclude every possible inconvenience. In almost every thing human, a compromise must be made. As we approach one advantage, we generally recede from another; and a greater evil can sometimes be avoided only by submitting to a less. Though in the important business of education, we must relinquish speculative perfection, or attainable excellence; yet happily something like an union between private and public instruction may be formed. While the student attends his school during the day, he may in the evening receive the assistance of a private teacher; not, certainly, to save him the labour of performing his own exercise, not to prevent, but stimulate, the exertion of his own powers; to explain to him the subject proposed; to illustrate the principles of composition; to relieve him from any difficulty, that may impede his progress; to enable him to proceed aright, or to correct what is amiss; to supply, in short, whatever the regulations of the school may not admit, or the thoughtlessness of the youth may have



have neglected. Even this scheme is not without its difficulties and objections. And while some of our public schools continue it, from their experience of its utility; others have rejected it, from a knowledge of its abuses. This however, is the plan which I can venture to recommend with the greatest confidence; because I have seen it attended with the most beneficial effects. No system, however, it may deserve success, can always command it. No future event, depending on human wisdom and human passions, can be considered as certain.

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*On Longevity. From Sinclair's Essays.*

THE means of preserving health, and of attaining great age, are subjects which seem to be well entitled to the peculiar attention of every thinking man. In regard to the former, there is no question: the pleasure that arises from the possession of health, and the distress which sickness occasions, are perpetual mementos that health cannot be neglected. But as to the latter, the propriety of aspiring to long life, has been doubted; and it is said, that after a person has lived for fifty or sixty years, and has fulfilled his duties as a man, that he had better retire to make way for others, and that the sooner he quits these sublunary scenes the better. Such sentiments, however, ought not to be indulged. If persons lived only for themselves, and for the gratification of their own passions, and to promote their own interests alone, this might be the case. But if we

live, as we ought to do, to promote the happiness of others, as well as of our own, and if by living long, we can be of more service, from the knowledge which greater experience, and longer observation must necessarily furnish, the result is, that we ought to live as long as we have health and strength to perform good actions to others, and that the power of doing good, ought to be the proper limit by which our wishes for existence ought to be bounded: nor ought it to be omitted, that there is an evident and necessary connection between good health and longevity, as it is impossible to possess the one without its contributing to the enjoyment of the other.

In sketching out some observations on this important subject, it is my intention to state. 1. The circumstances which tend to promote longevity. 2. The rules which have been adopted by those who have attained great age. 3. The peculiar description of countries most remarkable for long life; and, 4. To add some tables of longevity, and the duration of human life.

*I. Circumstances tending to promote Longevity.*

The circumstances tending to promote longevity, may be considered under the following general heads:—1. Climate. 2. Form of the individual. 3. Parentage. 4. Natural disposition. 5. Situation in life. 6. Professions. 7. Exercise or labour. 8. Connubial connexions. 9. Sex; and, 10. Renewal of age.

*I. Climate.* In the first place, climate



climate seems to be of considerable importance; and it may be laid down as a general rule, that the moderate, or even the coldest climates, are the most favourable to long life. Heat seems to relax and enfeeble, cold to strengthen and brace, the human frame. The diet also of hot countries, is not so nourishing as that of cold\*; and there is in general a greater disposition, and greater opportunities to indulge in various excesses in the former, than in the latter. But if the climate be cool, a rainy atmosphere seems to be less unfavourable to longevity, than could be well imagined; for Ireland, which is a wet country, boasts of a great number of old people. And a very large proportion of the aged, who have lived in England and Scotland, have resided in the western, and, consequently, the rainiest counties in the island†.

2. *Form.* The next circumstance to be considered, is, the form and size of the individual. It is generally admitted, that persons of a compact shape, and of a moderate stature, are the most likely to live long. Height often originates from the disproportioned growth of some particular part of the body, which necessarily has a tendency to engender weakness and disease. Tall persons also are apt to acquire a habit of stooping,

which contracts the chest, and is a great enemy to free respiration; whereas the short sized find little difficulty in keeping themselves erect, and are naturally much more active, by which the animal functions are retained in a state of much greater perfection. The only disadvantage attending a short stature is, that it is frequently accompanied with corpulence, which is rather unfavourable to long life.

3. *Parentage.* Being born of healthy parents, and exempted from hereditary disease, are circumstances evidently favourable to longevity. A puny frame, like Cornaro's, may, by the greatest care and anxiety, be preserved in existence; but those who inherit health and strength, and are born with robust constitutions, can alone expect not only to live long, but to enjoy the pleasures and comforts of life, whilst they continue to possess it.

4. *Natural Disposition.* Longevity also seems to depend much upon good temper, mixed at the same time with a cheerfulness of disposition, or good spirits‡. Neither the irascible, nor those who, from despondency, sink under the crosses of life, can expect to live long. Even those who suffer their strength and spirits to be exhausted by severe study, or other mental exertions, seldom reach great age. In the long list of

\* In cold countries they live more upon animal, in hot countries upon vegetables, food and fruits, a judicious mixture of both is the best plan to pursue, but of the two, animal food is the most nourishing.

† Moisture, it would appear, is not prejudicial to health, if it does not affect the purity of the air. Even stagnated water, if in peat bogs, or morasses, is not unwholesome, as the water, by the astringency of the peat, is prevented from becoming putrid. Lincolnshire, also, and several of the marshy counties of England, can produce a number of instances of great age, but probably they were from the more elevated parts of these districts.

‡ Hence the great age to which many of the French nobility lived, particularly before the regency of Orleans.



1712 persons, who lived about a century, Fontenelle, (who did not quite reach 100 years,) is the only author of any note; and his great age is ascribed to the tranquil ease of his temper, and that liveliness of spirits for which he was much distinguished; for he retained to the last *the youth of old age*, as the French happily express it.

5. *Situation in life.* It is commonly observed, "that it is not the rich and great, not those who depend on medicines, who become old, but such as use much exercise, are exposed to the fresh air, and whose food is plain and moderate\*." And it is certain that persons of that description, in general, stand the best chance of living long. At the same time, though instances of old age in great and noble personages, are not often to be met with, yet they may be as many, *in proportion to the smaller number of such persons*, as those in the lower but more numerous classes of society. Nor is there any thing inconsistent in power, rank, or wealth, being accompanied with a long period of existence, provided other circumstances are favourable to longevity.

6. *Professions.* In the next place, it is evident that long life must depend much on the manner in which the individual is employed. Unhealthy occupations generally become fatal. Yet Peter Prin, a glass blower, is said to have attained the great age of 101 years; and John Tyler, a miner at Leadhills, in Scotland, is supposed to have reached even 132

years†. His age, indeed, could not be proved by direct, but it rests on very strong circumstantial evidence, and a person of the most undoubted authority, (Dr. Walker, Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh,) informs me, "that in his muscles, joints, and in his whole conformation and aspect, he wore the appearance of more remote antiquity than he had ever seen in any human creature." But on the whole, farmers, gardeners, and labourers in the country, are in general the longest lived. Foot soldiers also, who have survived the dangers of war, are remarkable for long life. They are generally stout and vigorous men, and the regularity to which surviving soldiers must have accustomed themselves, whilst the careless and disorderly drop off, the erect posture to which they have been trained, and being of course men well formed by nature, and habituated to march and walk well, (which familiarizes them to a natural and healthy exercise,) all combine in their favour.

7. *Exercise or labour.* It is also proper to remark, that not only moderate exercise, but even labour, if not too severe, contributes to good health and old age. In many instances, persons have worked at threshing, and other laborious occupations, exposed to a current of fresh air, after they had passed beyond the age of 100, and, if accustomed to them, they do not appear to have suffered any inconvenience from such exertions.

\* See Easton on Human Longevity, Introduction, p. 11.

† It is said, that neither of these instances ought much to be wondered at, as a glass blower is constantly exposed to fresh and dry air, and the labour of miners underground is not for many hours, and they generally reside in hilly districts.



8. *Connubial connexions.* Nor ought it to be admitted, that a large proportion of the long lived, have preferred a married to a single state, and in general have left behind them a numerous family. Whether a life of Celibacy occasions disease, or leads to irregularity, or sours the temper, or to whatever other cause it ought to be attributed, may be a subject of dispute, but it is certain, that the number of single persons who live long, bear no proportion to the married\*.

9. *Sex.* Farther, though a greater number of males are born than of females, at least in European countries, yet there is reason to believe, that of the two sexes, women reach old age in the greatest proportion. For this, various causes may be assigned as the greater regularity and temperance of their mode of living, their being less exposed to dangers and hardships, less subject to violent agitations, and generally endowed with more cheerfulness and gentleness of disposition.

10. *Renewal of Youth.* In the last place, among the symptoms of longevity, none is more striking than when nature seems to renew itself, by producing, even in old age, new teeth, new hair, &c. but the instances of this are extremely rare.

## II. *Rules tending to promote long Life.*

We shall now proceed to state such rules as have been followed by those who have attained great age,

as they may furnish some hints that may be serviceable to others.

The plan laid down by the celebrated Cornaro, is well known, and the abstemious manner in which he lived, has often been recommended to the imitation of others; but I question much whether many would wish to lead the same life, for the sake of mere existence. Life is no longer desirable, than whilst it can be enjoyed with some degree of satisfaction, and it is of little consequence, if a person merely vegetates, whether he lives or not.

Without entering therefore into various particulars, fitter for the discussions of experimental philosophy, than for real life, (as weighing the food taken, &c. &c.) we shall proceed to mention the rules which have been found the most effectual, and which are the most likely to be carried into practice. They may be classed under the following heads:—1. Food. 2. Clothing. 3. Habitation. 4. Labour or exercise. 5. Habits or customs. 6. Medicine; and, 7. Disposition of mind.

1. *Diet.* The importance of wholesome food, for the preservation of health and long life, and the avoiding of excess, whether in eating or drinking, need not be dwelt upon. Some instances, indeed, are mentioned of persons who have continued to commit excesses, and have lived long; but these are to be considered in no other light, than as exceptions to the general rule; it may reasonably be contended, that if such persons

\* This applies to both sexes, in particular to the male. Dr. Rush of Philadelphia asserts, that he never saw but one unmarried man exceed fourscore years.



lived to a great age, notwithstanding their intemperance, they would have lived much longer had they followed a different course.

2. *Clothing*. It is equally unnecessary to detail at any length, the necessity of warm clothing, more especially in advanced life, and during the cold seasons, as the best mode of preventing a number of diseases, to which old men are particularly exposed, and which by no other means, can be avoided.

3. *Habitation*. The health of every individual must greatly depend on the place where he resides, and the nature of the house which he inhabits; and as it has frequently been remarked, that the greatest number of old people die in winter, and that many individuals, in a weak and consumptive state, are obliged to fly to warmer climates, as the only means of safety, it has thence occurred to Dr. Pearson, that it would be of service, both to the aged and to the consumptive, to have houses erected, of such a peculiar construction, that the air could always be preserved, not only pure, but nearly of the same, and of rather an elevated temperature, so that the invalids who resided in them, should never be affected by the vicissitudes of the seasons. Such an idea, it must be admitted, cannot be a general remedy or resource, but it is well entitled to the attention of those who are in affluent circumstances, by some of whom, it is to be hoped, an hospital for the aged and the consumptive will be erected, and the experiment fairly tried, both for their own sakes, and for that of human nature in general.

4. *Exercise and labour*. That either exercise or moderate labour, is necessary even to aged persons, for the purpose of preserving the human frame in order, can hardly be questioned, provided any great exertion is avoided, than which nothing is more likely to destroy the springs of life, particularly when these become feeble. Travelling in moderation also, from the change of air and scene, has been found of great use.

5. *Habits and Customs*. In the next place, good health, and consequently longevity, depends much on personal cleanliness, and a variety of habits and customs, or minute attentions, which it is impossible here to discuss. It were much to be wished, that some author would undertake the trouble of collecting the result of general experience upon that subject, and would point out those habits, which taken singly, appear very trifling, yet when combined, there is every reason to believe, that much additional health and comfort would arise from their observance.

6. *Medicine*. It is a common saying, that every man, after the age of forty, should be his own physician. This seems, however, to be a dangerous maxim. The greatest physicians, when they are sick, seldom venture to prescribe for themselves, but generally rely on the advice of their medical friends. Persons who pretend to be their own physicians, are generally much addicted to quackery, than which nothing can be more injurious to the constitution. It is essential to health, that medicines should never be taken, but when necessary, and never without the best advice, in regard to the



commencement, which ought not to be too long delayed, otherwise much benefit cannot be expected from them, and also with respect to nature or sort, quantity, and continuance.

At present, the power of physic, it is generally acknowledged, is extremely bounded. The medical art however, is probably still in its infancy, and it is impossible yet to say, to what perfection it may reach, not only in consequence of the new improvements which chemistry daily furnishes, but also of those which may be made, by the discovery of new and valuable plants, in countries either already known or hitherto unexplored, and indeed the new uses to which old medicinal plants may be applied. Perhaps such discoveries will be much accelerated, when, instead of being left to the zeal and industry of individuals, they shall meet with that public encouragement and protection, to which they are so peculiarly well entitled.

7. *Disposition of Mind.* In the last place, nothing is more conducive to longevity, than to preserve equanimity and good spirits, and not to sink under the disappointments of life, to which all, but particularly the old, are necessarily subjected. Indeed, this is a point which cannot be too much incul-

cated, for experience sufficiently demonstrates, that many perish from despondency, who, if they had preserved their spirit and vigour of mind, might have survived many years longer.

### III. *Countries remarkable for Longevity.*

The countries the most remarkable for long life, are those of a hilly nature. We are informed by Pallas, that the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of the province of Ilesk, in the northern parts of Siberia, live to a great age; that people of 100 years are very common; and that he saw an invalid soldier aged 120. The inhabitants of the plains in their neighbourhood, are at the same time, by no means so healthy or so long lived. Buffon places the mountainous districts of Scotland at the head of a list containing those parts of Europe, the most distinguished for longevity; and, indeed, there is no country in Europe, where, in proportion to its population, a greater number of individuals reach to 60, and thence to 80, and even 90 years of age, in full possession of all their faculties, both personal and mental, than is the case in that part of Great Britain\*. There is also every

\* In a work containing a collection of instances of longevity, for no less a period than, 733 years, namely, from A.D. 1066 to 1799, (by J. Eatton) in which there is given the name, age, place of residence, &c. of 1712 persons, from all parts of the world, who had attained to a century and upwards, 170 are stated to have been natives of Scotland, and the two most remarkable in the whole list are Kentigern, a native of Scotland, and Peter Torton of Ternefwar, in Hungary, both of whom attained the great age of 185 years. This Kentigern, also known under the name of St. Mungo, was the founder of the Bishopric of Glasgow. The following verses were made on his extraordinary age and place of interment:

“Cum octogenus centum quoque quinque vir annos,

“Complerat, Sanctus est Glasgow funere functus.”

*Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 11, & 112.*



reason to believe, that many of the departments of France, and the mountainous districts of Germany, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, and even those of Spain, Portugal, Italy and America, will produce extraordinary instances of longevity, whenever any particular enquiry is made regarding that interesting circumstance.

#### IV. *Tables of Longevity.*

Having thus discussed the subject of longevity in general, it may not be improper to lay before the reader the following table, explaining the shortness of human life, and pointing out how few there are, in proportion to the number born, who reach even the period of 60 years\*.

Of a hundred men who are born, there die, according to Hufeland,

Under—————10	-	-	50
Between 10 and 20	-	-	20
20 and 30	-	-	10
30 and 40	-	-	6
40 and 50	-	-	5
50 and 60	-	-	3

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Hence it would appear, that there are only six out of a hundred, who stand a chance of living beyond sixty years.

Of persons who have lived above a hundred years, the industrious Haller has collected 1113 instances, and gives the following statement of the duration of their lives.

Of those who lived from 100 to 110 years, the instances have been above 1000

From 110 to 120 about	-	-	62
120 to 130	-	-	29
130 to 140	-	-	15
140 to 150	-	-	5
152 (Parr)	-	-	1
169 (Jenkins)	-	-	1
			<hr/>
			1113
			<hr/>

But in a recent publication, the following table is given as the result of a more extensive collection of instances of longevity.

Of males and females, who lived from 100 to 110 years, both inclusive, the instances have been 1310

Above 110 to 120	-	-	277
120 to 130	-	-	84
130 to 140	-	-	26
140 to 150	-	-	7
150 to 160	-	-	3
160 to 170	-	-	2
170 to 185	-	-	3
			<hr/>
			1712
			<hr/>

#### CONCLUSION.

Such is the substance of the observations, which have occurred to me on this interesting subject. I shall conclude with remarking, that on the whole, it is more than probable, by proper attention and good management, persons in general, might not only live longer, but might enjoy life with more relish, than is commonly the case at present; and it is to be hoped in respect of this, as well as of many other particulars, that human nature is still in the threshold of acquirement, that it will yet obtain

\* On the art of prolonging Human Life; a work written by Professor Hufeland of Jena, in Germany.



greater and more important acquisitions of knowledge, and may reach further improvement, both with regard to the extent of personal and mental gratifications, which our species may be found capable of enjoying, and also the means of possessing them, with more satisfaction and comfort, and for a much longer period of time.



## P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1802.*By* HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

**L**O, from Bellona's crimson car  
 At length the panting steed unbound,  
 At length the thunder of the War  
 In festive shouts of Peace is drown'd :  
 Yet, as around her Monarch's brow  
 Britannia twines the Olive bough,  
 Bold as her eagle eye is cast  
 On hours of recent tempest past :  
 Thro' the rude wave and adverse gale,  
 When free she spread her daring sail,  
 Immortal glory's radiant form,  
 Her guiding load-star thro' the storm ;  
 Directed by whose golden ray,  
 Thro' rocks and shoals she kept her steady way ;  
 " My sons," she cries, " can honour's guerdon claim,  
 " Unfoil'd my parent worth, unstain'd their Sovereign's fame ?"  
 Albion ! tho' oft by dread alarms,  
 Thy native valour has been tried  
 Ne'er did the lustre of thy arms  
 Shine forth with more refulgent pride,  
 Than when, while Europe's sons dismay'd,  
 Shrunk recreant from thy mighty aid ;  
 Alone, unfriended, firm you stood,  
 A barrier 'gainst the foaming flood.—  
 When mild and soft the filken breeze  
 Blows gently o'er the rippling seas ;  
 The pinnace then may lightly sweep,  
 With painted oar the halcyon deep :  
 But when the howling whirlwinds rise,  
 When mountain billows threat the skies ;

With



With ribs of oak the bark must brave  
 The inroad of the furious wave ;  
 The hardy crew must to the raging wind  
 Oppose the sinewy arm, the unconquerable mind.  
 In ev'ry clime where ocean roars,  
     High tho' thy naval banners flew ;  
     From where by Hyperborean shores,  
     The frozen gale ungenial blew,  
 To sultry lands that Indian furies lave,  
 Atlantic Isles and fam'd Canopa's wave ;  
 Tho' from insulted Egypt's coast  
 Thy armies swept the victor host,  
 From veteran bands where British valour won  
 The lofty walls of Ammon's god-like son :  
 Useless the danger and the toil,  
 To free each self-devoted soil,  
 Auxiliar legions from thy side,  
 Recede, to swell the Gallic Conqueror's pride ;  
 While on Marengo's fatal plain,  
 Faithful to honour's tie, brave Austria bleeds in vain.  
 Not fir'd by fierce Ambition's flame,  
     Did Albion's Monarch urge his car,  
     Impetuous thro' the bleeding ranks of War ;  
 To succour and protect his nobler aim.  
 His guardian arm, while each Hesperian vale,  
 While Lusitania's vine-clad mountains hail,  
 Their ancient rights and laws restor'd,  
 The Royal Patriot sheaths the avenging sword ;  
 By Heaven-born Concord led, while Plenty smiles,  
 And sheds her bounties wide to bless the Sister Isles.

ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth-Day, June 4, 1802.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.

I.

NO more the thunders of the plain  
     The fiery battle's iron show'r,  
 Terrific, drown the duteous strain  
     That greets our Monarch's natal hour ;  
 Peace, soaring high on seraph wings,  
 Now strikes her viol's golden strings ;  
 Responsive to the thrilling note,  
 Symphonious strains of rapture float,  
 While grateful myriads in the Pæan join,  
 And hail her angel voice, and bless her form divine.



## II.

Thro' many a whirlwind's blast severe,  
 The rage of elemental war,  
 Stern heralds of the op'ning year,  
 Sol urges on his burning car ;  
 Tho' dark the wint'ry tempest lours,  
 Tho' keen are April's icy snow'rs,  
 Still, still, his flaming courfers rise,  
 'Till high in June's refulgent skies,  
 'Mid the blue arch of heav'n he victor rides,  
 And spreads of light and heat the unextinguish'd tides.

## III.

Glory's true sons, that hardy race,  
 Who bravely o'er the briny flood,  
 Smiling serene in danger's face,  
 Uncheck'd by tempest, fire, and blood,  
 Britain's triumphant flag unfurl'd,  
 The terror of the wat'ry world,  
 Now freely to the fav'ring gale  
 Of Commerce, spread the peaceful sail,  
 And friendly waft from ev'ry shore,  
 Where Ocean's subject billows roar,  
 The gifts of Nature, and the works of toil,  
 Produce of ev'ry clime and ev'ry soil.  
 The Genius of the Sister Isles  
 On the rich heap exulting smiles,  
 " Mine the prime stores of earth's remotest zone,  
 " Her choicest fruits and flow'rs, her treasures all my own."

## IV.

Nor second you 'mid glory's radiant train,  
 Who o'er the tented field your ensigns spread:  
 Whether on Lincelles' trophied plain  
 Before your ranks superior numbers fled ;  
 Or on Ierne's kindred coast  
 Ye crush'd invasion's threat'ning host ;  
 Or on fam'd Egypt's sultry sands  
 The banner tore from Gallia's vet'ran bands ;  
 Your sinewy limbs with happier toil  
 Now till your country's fertile soil,  
 Mow with keen scythes the fragrant vale,  
 Or whirl aloft the sounding flail,  
 Or bow with many a sturdy stroke,  
 King of our groves, the giant oak ;  
 Or now the blazing hearth beside,  
 With all a foldier's honest pride,  
 To hoary fires and blooming maidens tell  
 Of gallant Chiefs who fought, who conquer'd, or who fell.

V. Yet,



## V.

Yet, in the arms of Peace reclin'd,  
 Still flames the free, the ardent mind;  
 And should again Sedition's roar,  
 Or hostile inroad threat our shore,  
 From Labour's field, from Commerce wave,  
 Eager would rush the strong, the brave,  
 To form an adamantine zone  
 Around their patriot Monarch's throne.  
 But long, with Plenty in her train,  
 May Concord spread her halcyon reign,  
 And join with festive voice the lay sincere  
 Which sings the auspicious morn to Britain ever dear.

*Ode to the Volunteers of Britain, on the Prospect of Invasion. - From the  
 Poetical Register for 1802.*

O FOR the death of Those,  
 Who for their Country die,  
 Sink on her bosom to repose,  
 And triumph where they lie!

How beautiful in death  
 The Warrior's corse appears,  
 Embalm'd by fond Affection's breath,  
 And bathed in Woman's tears!

The loveliest spot of earth  
 Be sacred to the Brave;  
 The womb of Her that gave them birth,  
 Their Country's womb, their grave.

—But the wild waves shall sweep  
 Britannia's foes away,  
 And the blue Monsters of the deep  
 Be surfeited with prey!—

No!—they have 'scaped the waves,  
 'Scaped the Sea-Monsters' maws;  
 They come!—but O shall Gallic slaves  
 Give English freemen laws?



By Alfred's Spirit, No!  
 —Ring, ring, the loud alarms;  
 Ye drums awake, ye clarions blow,  
 Ye Heralds shout, "to arms!"

To arms our Heroes fly;  
 And leading on their lines,  
 The British Banner in the sky,  
 The star of conquest, shines.

The lowering battle forms  
 It's terrible array:  
 Like clashing clouds in mountain-storms,  
 That thunder on their way;

The rushing armies meet;  
 And while they pour their breath,  
 The strong Earth shudders at their feet,  
 The day grows dim with death.

—Ghosts of the mighty Dead!  
 Your Children's hearts inspire;  
 And while they on your ashes tread,  
 Rekindle all your fire.

The Dead to life return;  
 Our fathers' Spirits rise!  
 —My Brethren! in your breasts they burn,  
 They sparkle in your eyes.

Now launch upon the foe  
 The lightning of your rage;  
 Strike, strike the' assailing Giants low,  
 The Titans of the age.

They yield,—they break,—they fly;  
 The victory is won:  
 Pursue!—they faint,—they fall,—they die;  
 O stay!—the work is done.

Spirit of Vengeance! rest:  
 Sweet Mercy cries, "forbear!"  
 She clasps the vanquish'd to her breast;  
 Thou wilt not pierce them there?

—Thus vanish Britain's foes  
 From her consuming eye!  
 But rich be the reward of Those  
 Who conquer,—Those who die!

O'ershadow-



O'ershadowing laurels deck  
 The living Hero's brows ;  
 But lovelier wreaths entwine his neck,  
 —His children and his spouse !

Exulting o'er his lot,  
 The dangers he has braved :  
 He clasps the dear ones, hails the cot,  
 Which his own valour saved.

—Daughters of Albion! weep ;  
 On this triumphant plain,  
 Your fathers, husbands, brethren sleep,  
 For you and freedom slain.

O gently close the eye,  
 That loved to look on you ;  
 O seal the lip, whose earliest sigh,  
 Whose latest breath was true :

With knots of sweetest flowers  
 Their winding sheet perfume ;  
 And wash their wounds with true-love showers,  
 And dress them for the tomb :

For beautiful in death,  
 The Warrior's corse appears,  
 Embalm'd by fond Affection's breath,  
 And bathed in Woman's tears.

—Give me the death of Those,  
 Who for their Country die ;  
 And O be mine like their repose,  
 When cold and low they lie !

Their loveliest native earth  
 Enshrines the fallen Brave :  
 The womb of Her that gave them birth,  
 That womb shall be their grave.

*Sheffield, August 29, 1803.*

ALCÆUS.



*Epigram imitated from an ancient Greek Author. From the same.*

1.

WITH me the rosy goblet share,  
     With me enjoy the youthful hours,  
 With me carefs the frolic fair,  
     With me compose the wreath of flowers :

2.

Now drive with me dull thought away,  
     With me defiance bid to sorrow,  
 Be merry Thou with Me to day ;—  
     And I'll be wise with Thee to-morrow !

EDMUND L. SWIFT. 1802.

*Ode, to the Zephyrs. From the same.*

YE ; before whose genial breath,  
     Hovering Death,  
     Girt with troops of wan diseases,  
 Quits the usurp'd domain of air ;  
 Where, oh ! where  
     Linger ye, propitious breezes ?

Hither, where my languid maid  
 Wooes your aid,  
     Come, with balmy spirit blowing ;  
 Gentle harbingers of Spring,  
 Hither bring  
     Health in rosy beauty glowing,  
 Bright-eyed Joy to Youth allied  
 At her side ;  
     While with giddy gesture after  
 Trip gay Sports of wilder glance,  
 Tiptoe Dance,  
     Dimpled Smiles and sleek-brow'd Laughter :

Joy-born Mirth shall lead the train ;  
 Soon again  
     Her each sprightlier Love shall follow,  
 All who from the front defy,  
 All who lie  
     In the dimple's treacherous hollow.



So your praise my song shall tell ;  
 So my shell  
     Pour to you the liquid measures ;  
 Soft as when your downy wings  
 Fan the strings,  
     Murmur'ing sweetly-pensive pleasures.

Ah ! no such reward you seek ;  
 O'er that cheek  
     Blushing if she meet my gazes,  
 O'er that bosom's living snow  
 Free to go,  
     Little you regard my praises.

Yet, if to my sober ear  
 Ever dear  
     Sound your voices sadly fighting,  
 Where from lonely shades my grief  
 Courts relief,  
     To your airy woe replying ;  
 Mindful now, in amorous play  
 Boldly gay  
     As around her charms ye hover ;  
 Oh ! in whisper'd sighs reveal  
 What I feel,  
     What to you alone discover.

††.

*Ode, on the 4th of November, the Anniversary of the Revolution, 1688.*

*From the same.*

IN IMITATION OF ALCÆUS.

“ Ὅυ λιθοὶ εἰς ξυλά.”

WHAT constitutes the Bard ?  
     Not silver sounds, nor numbers that compel  
 Proud Tyranny's regard ;  
 Not the sweet witchery of Fancy's spell,  
     That can at will entrance  
 The captive sense, and bid the charmed soul,  
     To faery measures dance :  
 No—but an energy that spurns controul,  
     An intellectual fire,  
 That fann'd by Freedom, to sublimest heights  
     Impels us to aspire,  
 And from base earth the spirit disunites :

This



This constitutes the Bard.  
 Then in the shouts that “ring from side to side”  
 Loud o’er the rest be heard,  
 The Muse’s hail! which at this season wide  
 May pour the patriot rage,  
 She, Freedom’s best ally, whose voice alone  
 Through ev’ry clime and age  
 Prevailing, mocks the thunders of the throne.

T. P.

*St. John’s College, Oxon.*

*The Helot’s Song. By WILLIAM PRESTON, ESQ. From the same.*

GOD of Armies, break my chain :  
 Lead me to th’ embattled plain,  
 Where thy daring Sons advance,  
 Bend the bow, and wield the lance ;—  
 Shafts are whizzing on the string :—  
 Hark—the shouts of combat ring ;  
 Nerve the limbs, the bosom steel ;  
 Men their wounds no longer feel,  
 God of Armies hear.

Long these eyes have pour’d a flood ;  
 Others, now, shall weep in blood :  
 Now, the fierce insulting foe  
 Shall partake the Helot’s woe ;  
 Gasping on the well-fought field,  
 Tyranny her scourge shall yield.  
 Couch the javelin—urge the steed—  
 Try how gallant men can bleed,  
 God of Armies hear.

Hear the proud exulting cry,  
 When the noble spirits fly,  
 Soaring from the mortal cage,  
 Only subject of your rage,  
 Baffled Tyrants ;—“ weep forlorn,  
 “ Break the scourge, your rage we scorn,—  
 “ Mars, receive our votive breath,—  
 “ Give us Freedom, give us Death.”  
 God of Armies hear.

When the bones on earth shall lie,  
 Weltering to the Summer’s sky ;

The’



Tho' no sepulture they find,  
 Tho' they whiten in the wind;  
 Yet, exult not, haughty foe,  
 Deem them not a sight of woe:  
 On the field they shall remain,  
 Trophies of the glorious slain.  
     God of Armies hear.

Strains of war let clarions sing,  
 Let the shouts of battle ring;  
 Let the volley'd weapons fly,  
 Dust of combat dim the sky;  
 In the dread conflicting hour,  
 Freedom, let me own thy power;  
 Freedom, take my parting breath,  
 Godlike trance, ennobled death!—  
     God of Armies hear.

Freedom, now, revives, tho' late,  
 Maid divine, to wed with Fate;—  
 For the nuptial pomp—around  
 Banners wave, and trumpets sound,  
 Veins of men libations pour,  
 Sacred to the genial hour:  
 Be their offspring Death, or Life,  
 Lead me to the generous strife.  
     God of Armies hear.

'Mid the din of mortal harms,  
 Fold me, Freedom, in thine arms:  
 Let me in thy lap be laid,  
 When the final debt is paid.—  
 Still, the foe, posselt with dread,  
 Shall confess A MAN lies dead:—  
 Valiant *Helots*, never yield—  
 Follow, follow, to the field.  
     God of Armies hear.

TO A FRIEND. *From the same.*

HER image, who enslaves my mind,  
     Urge me no longer to discover;  
 Fain would I sing, but ah! I find,  
     The Bard can ill express the Lover.

Yet trust me he whose happier skill,  
     For terms could ransack earth, air, ocean;  
 Might shew, perhaps, more wit at will,  
     But less of genuine emotion.



Though Art the florid phrase deny,  
 Yet Truth can never want expression,  
 For that best language of the eye;  
 Is still in her's, and Love's possession.

T. P.

*St. John's College, Oxon.*

*The Maid with bosom cold. By W. Smythe, Esq. From the Metrical Miscellany.*

OF me they cry, I'm often told—  
 “ See there the Maid with bosom cold!  
 “ Indifference o'er her heart presides,  
 “ And love and lovers she derides;  
 “ Their idle darts, unmeaning chains,  
 “ Fantastic whims and silly pains;  
 “ In pride secure, in reason bold,  
 “ See there the Maid with bosom cold.”

Ah! ever be they thus deceived!  
 Still be my bosom cold believed,  
 And never may enquiring eyes  
 Pierce thro' unhappy Love's disguise:  
 Yet could they all my bosom share,  
 And see each painful tumult there,  
 Ah! never should I then be told  
 That I'm the Maid with bosom cold.

A fate severe my suffering mind,  
 To endless struggles has consign'd.  
 I feel a flame, I must not own,  
 I love, yet every hope is flown;  
 Too strong to let my passion sway,  
 Too weak to teach it to obey,  
 I agonize, and then am told  
 That I'm the Maid with bosom cold.

The joy o'er all my looks express,  
 Conceals a bosom ill at rest;  
 To balls and routs I haste away,  
 But only imitate the gay:  
 I jest at Love and mock his power,  
 Yet feel his triumph every hour;  
 And lost to every bliss—am told,  
 That I'm the Maid with bosom cold.



Unable from myself to fly,  
 I catch each word, I read each eye;  
 Antonio comes—I die with fear  
 Lest others mark my faltering air;  
 My eye perhaps too fondly gazed,  
 My tongue too much—too little praised;  
 Suspicion's trembling slave—I'm told  
 That I'm the Maid with bosom cold.

With anxious toil, with ceaseless care,  
 Content and careless I appear;  
 All mirth beneath another's eye,  
 Alone I heave the helpless sigh,  
 Hang musing o'er his image dear,  
 Feel on my cheek the unbidden tear,  
 And think, ah! why should I be told  
 That I'm the Maid with bosom cold.'

The flower may weave its foliage gay,  
 And flaunt it to the garish day,  
 Unseen the while a canker's power  
 May haste its honours to devour;  
 And thus, while vainly round me play,  
 Youth's zephyrs breath, and Pleasure's ray,  
 My fate unknown, my tale untold,  
 Thus sinks the Maid with bosom cold.

*Stanzas. From the same.*

**I**F to gaze on thee waking with love never ceasing,  
 And fondly hang o'er thee in slumber when laid,  
 Each tender dear moment my Passion increasing,  
 If that was betraying—thou hast been betray'd.

If thy comforts by every fond art to enhance,  
 Thy sorrows to lighten, thy pleasures to aid;  
 To guess every wish, and obey every glance,  
 If that was betraying—thou hast been betray'd.

*The Visionary. By W. Spencer, Esq. From the same.*

**W**HEN midnight o'er the moonless skies  
 Her pall of transient death has spread,  
 When mortals sleep, when spectres rise,  
 And nought is wakeful but the dead.



No shivering ghost my way pursues,  
 No bloodless shape my couch annoys,  
 Visions more sad my fancy views,  
 Visions of long-departed joys.

The shade of youthful Hope is there,  
 That linger'd long, and latest died;  
 Ambition all dissolved to air,  
 With phantom honours at her side.

What empty shadows glimmer nigh.  
 They once were Friendship, Truth, and Love,  
 Oh! die to thought, to memory die,  
 Since lifeless to my heart ye prove.

*To the Evening Star: from the Greek of Moschus. From Miscellaneous Translations and Imitations of the Minor Greek Poets. By J. B. S. Morritt, Esq.*

**H**AIL, Hesperus! bright torch of Beauty's queen,  
 Dear sacred gem of dewy evening, hail!  
 So shine thy rays above her spangled sheen,  
 As glows the moon above thy radiance pale.

When to th' accustomed fair my footsteps stray,  
 Now timely shine, for lo! the changeful moon  
 Drives her dim chariot in the blaze of day,  
 And envious sets ere half the night be done.

No plunder tempts me through the treacherous shade,  
 For me no nightly traveller shall mourn;  
 'Tis Love that calls thee, be his voice obey'd;  
 Sweet is her Love, and claims a sweet return.

**FRIENDSHIP: AN EPISTLE. FROM POEMS, BY THOMAS DERMODY.**

*Donec eris felix multos numerabis Amicos.*

OVID.

**I**N sonnet trim, and ditty quaint,  
 I've often read the trite complaint,  
 That truth, search all the nation round,  
 Untainted truth, will scarce be found;  
 Yet trust me, which I wot you will,  
 I know a shyer stranger still.  
 Let Bow-street send her myriads forth,  
 From east to west, from south to north;

“ Cry



"Cry havoc!" and, inspiring awe,  
 Let slip the hungry dogs of Law;  
 Direct at once, on different journeys,  
 Bums, Setters, Runners, Spies, Attorneys;  
 Keep TOWNSEND in perpetual hire,  
 With Catchpoles and "Chimeras dire;"  
 'Fore heaven, in vain will be their trouble,  
 This Bilk will give them all the double,  
 And tho' they 're often in "view hollow;"  
 'Tis merely loss of time to follow.  
 Come, bend thy serious brow, and furl  
 Thy front's most formidable curl,  
 Excogitate, perpend, unloose  
 The mystery of this Gordian noose,  
 Break its inextricable links  
 And solve this riddle for a Sphinx!  
 What, Master Œdipus! you 're hamper'd,  
 Your syllogistic schemes have scamper'd,  
 You 've scann'd old Euclid and the school-men,  
 Grave whisker'd Charlatans that fool men,  
 Yet cannot answer this plain question:—  
 Well, as 'tis tough for your digestion,  
 And may your puzzled wits endanger,  
 'Tis FRIENDSHIP is the wondrous stranger.  
 FRIENDSHIP, soft cement of the soul,  
 Clear flame, above all base controul,  
 Whose light can shed a radiance pure,  
 Thro' Sorrow's palpable obscure,  
 Tho' much of thee is sung and spoken,  
 Frail ware! how often art thou broken!  
 FRIENDSHIP! in Life's conflicting storm,  
 Where may we grasp thy fleeting form?  
 How oft, sublime on borrow'd plume,  
 Does Interest vile thy shape assume;  
 How often, pompously bely'd,  
 Art thou the vaunting puff of Pride?  
 Nay, Avarice self, unfeeling crone,  
 Not seldom takes thy honey'd tone.  
 But should Misfortune once torment us,  
 Then thou 'rt a mere—*non est inventus*.  
 This, now, to prove in mode most ample,  
 Take me, myself, then—*par exemple*.  
 When, late, enforc'd by powerful spell,  
 I visited the Debtor's hell,  
 And did, tho' earthly-born, presume  
 Into dread Hades' central gloom;  
 Ah me! where no Orphean squeak  
 Drew iron tears down Jailor's cheek;



When, so unluckily he tript,  
 Pegasus' wings were fairly clipt;  
 His tail, too, batter'd to a stump,  
 Nay, scarce a hair upon his rump;  
 When told by each rich Dunce's damn'd Song,  
 "The Philistines are on you Sampson;"  
 And I had hardly breath to call,  
 "Why dost thou persecute me, Paul?"  
 What great man, pitying my story,  
 Unlock'd the gates of Purgatory,  
 And whisper'd Cerberus, the Porter,  
 "This fellow keeps a Miss, I court her,  
 Miss MUSE, a dame extremely lavish,  
 Tho' many a dolt attempts to ravish:  
 For sake of this celestial fair,  
 Do, let him taste the outward air,  
 Lo! here the glittering dross he owes you;  
 This conduct, certainly, may pose you,  
 But I 've done more, as I 'm an Earl,  
 For Eunuch, or an Opera girl,  
 Besides, the yellow trash encumbers,  
 And he'll repay in heavenly numbers."  
 Then turn to me, and say, "Sir Poet,  
 I 've friendship, and I 'm come to show it,  
 Fly from this dreary-looking barrack,  
 Go, pen ode, madrigal, pindaric;  
 Chaunt, quaver, whistle, trill, or warble,  
 Songs, sweet enough to melt a marble;  
 Catch flying Fancy by the neck fast,  
 And write an Epic—before breakfast."  
 Did any wight this course pursue?  
 You shrug! The de'il a one but you.  
 To you, tho' late your worth I 've known,  
 True friend! To you I 'm bound alone.  
 And may the only spark that warms  
 My heart, so cold to other charms,  
 Oh! may my tuneful art expire  
 My faint touch tremble on the lyre,  
 May it be strew'd with mouldering dust,  
 Nor I have power to wipe its rust,  
 Dew'd be each chord with many a tear,  
 All tuneless to its master's ear,  
 Its feeble frame may dulness rend,  
 When I forget the cordial friend.



*Song. From the Same.*

WHEN I sat by my fair, and she tremblingly told  
 The soft wishes and doubts of her heart,  
 How quickly old Time then delightfully roll'd,  
 For Love lent the plume from his dart;  
 From the blush of her cheek how my bosom caught flame,  
 And her eyes spoke a fondness, her lips would not name.

But her cheek that once rivall'd the Summer's full rose,  
 Now as April's sad primrose is pale,  
 In her eye, now, no bright sensibility glows,  
 Though I breathe forth Truth's rapturous tale;  
 And thy moments, old Time, that on downy feet fled,  
 Ah me! are now fetter'd and weighty with lead.

Yet surely, tho' much of her passion is past,  
 Some sparks of affection remain;  
 And the clouds that her meek-beaming brow have o'ercast,  
 May be melted in Pity's soft rain;  
 If not, my wrung breast to Distraction I bare,  
 Distraction itself is less hard than Despair.

*Market Night. From Rural Tales, Ballads and Songs. By Robert  
 Bloomfield.*

‘ O WINDS, howl not so long and loud;  
 ‘ Nor with your vengeance arm the snow:  
 ‘ Bear hence each heavy-loaded cloud,  
 ‘ And let the twinkling star-beams glow.

‘ Now sweeping floods rush down the slope,  
 ‘ Wide scattering ruin.—Stars, shine soon!  
 ‘ No other light my love can hope,  
 ‘ Midnight will want the joyous Moon.

‘ O guardian Spirits!—Ye that dwell  
 ‘ Where woods, and pits, and hollow ways,  
 ‘ The lone night-traveller's fancy swell  
 ‘ With fearful tales, of older days,—

‘ Press round him:—Guide his willing steed  
 ‘ Through darkness, dangers, currents, snows;  
 ‘ Wait where, from shel'ring thickets freed,  
 ‘ The dreary Heath's rude whirlwind blows,



‘ That, rushing o’er the unshelter’d waste,  
 ‘ Bears the old thorn’s white load on high :  
 ‘ Or plows the earth with furious haste,  
 ‘ The dried grafs mounts ; the hail-stones fly.

‘ Then o’er the Hill with furious sweep,  
 ‘ It writhes, it rends the shivering tree,—  
 ‘ Sure-footed beast thy road thou’lt keep :  
 ‘ Nor storm nor darkness startles thee !

‘ O blest assurance, (trusty steed,)  
 ‘ To thee the buried road is known ;  
 ‘ *Home*, all the spur thy footsteps need,  
 ‘ When loose the frozen rein is thrown.

‘ Between the roaring blasts that shake  
 ‘ The naked Elder at the door,  
 ‘ Though not one prattler to me speak,  
 ‘ Their sleeping sighs delight me more.

‘ Sound is their rest :—they little know  
 ‘ What pain, what cold, their Father feels ;  
 ‘ But dream, perhaps, they see him now,  
 ‘ While each the promis’d orange peels.

‘ Would it were so !—the fire burns bright,  
 ‘ And on the warming trencher gleams ;  
 ‘ In Expectation’s raptur’d fight  
 ‘ How precious his arrival seems !

‘ I’ll look abroad !—’tis piercing cold !—  
 ‘ How this bleak wind assails his breast !  
 ‘ Yet there the parting clouds unfold :  
 ‘ The storm is verging o’er the West.

‘ There shines a *Star* !—O welcome sight !—  
 ‘ Through the thin vapours brightning still !  
 ‘ Yet, ’twas beneath the fairest night  
 ‘ The murderer stain’d yon lonely Hill.

‘ Mercy, kind Heaven ! such thoughts dispel !  
 ‘ No voice, no foot is heard around !  
 ‘ Perhaps he’s near the haunted Well,  
 ‘ Or by the Gibbet, or the Pound !

‘ Distressing hour ! ’tis very late !  
 ‘ O Mercy, Mercy, guide him home !—

‘ Hark !



‘ Hark!—then I heard the distant gate,—  
 ‘ Repeat it, Echo; quickly, come!

‘ One minute now will ease my fears—  
 ‘ Or, still more wretched must I be?  
 ‘ No: surely Heaven has spar’d our tears:  
 ‘ I see him, cloath’d in snow:—’tis he—

‘ Where have you stay’d! Put down your load.  
 ‘ How have you borne the storm, the cold?  
 ‘ What horrors did I not forebode—  
 ‘ That Beast is worth his weight in gold!

‘ Thus spoke the joyful wife; then ran  
 ‘ In grateful steams to hide her head:  
 ‘ Dapple was hous’d; the weary Man  
 ‘ With joy glanc’d o’er the children’s bed.

‘ What all asleep!—so best,’ he cried;  
 ‘ O what a Night I’ve travell’d through!  
 ‘ Unseen, unheard, I might have died;  
 ‘ But Heaven has brought me safe to you.

‘ Dear partner of my nights and days,  
 ‘ That smile becomes thee!—Let us then  
 ‘ Learn, though mishap may cross our ways;  
 ‘ It is not ours *to reckon when.*’

NANCY: *a Song. From the Same.*

YOU ask me, dear Nancy, what makes me presume  
 That you cherish a secret affection for me?  
 When we see the flowers bud, don’t we look for the bloom?  
 Then, Sweetest, attend, while I answer to thee.

When we young men with pastime the twilight beguile,  
 I watch your plump cheek till it dimples with joy:  
 And observe, that whatever occasions the smile,  
 You give me a glance, but provokingly coy.

Last month, when wild strawberries pluckt in the grove,  
 Like beads on the tall-seeded grass you had strung;  
 You gave me the choicest; I hop’d ’twas for love,  
 And I told you my hopes while the nightingale sung.

Remember the viper—’twas close at your feet,  
 How you started and threw yourself into my arms;



Not a strawberry there was so ripe or so sweet  
As the lips that I kiss'd to subdue your alarms.

As I pull'd down the clusters of nuts for my fair,  
What a blow I receiv'd from a strong bending bough;  
Though Lucy and other gay lasses were there,  
Not one of them show'd such compassion as you.

And was it compassion? by Heaven 'twas more!  
A tell-tale betrays you;—that blush on your cheek.  
Then come, dearest Maid, all your trifling give o'er,  
And whisper what Candour will teach you to speak.

Can you stain my fair honour with one broken vow?  
Can you say that I've ever occasion'd a pain?  
On Truth's honest base let your tenderness grow;  
I swear to be faithful, again and again.

WINTER SONG. *From the Same.*

DEAR Boy, throw that icicle down,  
And sweep this deep snow from the door;  
Old Winter comes on with a frown;  
A terrible frown for the poor.  
In a season so rude and forlorn,  
How can age, how can infancy bear  
The silent neglect and the scorn  
Of those who have plenty to spare?

Fresh broach'd is my cask of old ale,  
Well-tim'd now the frost is set in;  
Here's Job come to tell us a tale,  
We'll make him at home to a pin.  
While my wife and I bask o'er the fire,  
The roll of the seasons will prove,  
That Time may diminish desire,  
But cannot extinguish true love.

O the pleasures of neighbourly chat,  
If you can but keep scandal away!  
To learn what the world has been at,  
And what the great orators say:  
Though the wind through the crevices sing,  
And hail down the chimney rebound,  
I'm happier than many a king  
While the bellows blow bass to the sound.



Abundance was never my lot :  
 But out of the trifle that's given,  
 That no curse may alight on my cot,  
 I'll distribute the bounty of Heaven;  
 The fool and the slave gather wealth;  
 But if I add nought to my store,  
 Yet, while I keep conscience in health,  
 I've a mine that will never grow poor.

THE VOICE OF HIM I LOVE. *From Poems by Mrs. Opie.*

HENCE, far from me! ye senseless joys  
 That fade before ye reach the heart,—  
 The crowded dome's distracted noise,  
 Where all is pomp and useless art!

Give me my home, to quiet dear,  
 Where hours untold and peaceful move;  
 So fate ordain, I sometimes there  
 May hear the Voice of Him I love.

I hate even music's pleasing power,  
 When giddy crowds my tones attend,  
 But love to sing at evening's hour  
 To soothe the sorrows of a friend.

I love to breathe the plaintive lays  
 That HENRY'S heart and taste approve;  
 For, oh! how sweet in tones of praise  
 Appears the Voice of Him I love!

The praises I from others hear  
 Some joy may to my pride impart;  
 But Henry's wake the rapturous tear,  
 For his applauses touch my heart.

From busy crowds o'erjoy'd I fly,  
 With him in lonely shades to rove,  
 For even in gayest scenes I sigh  
 To hear the Voice of Him I love.

I woo the drama's magic powers,  
 Seek music's ever-crowded shrine,  
 In learning pass the studious hours,  
 Or try the Muse's wreath to twine.





Yet still I feel a joy more dear,  
 Though I these pure delights approve,  
 When in retirement's scenes I hear  
 The soothing Voice of Him I love.

*Stanzas. From the Same.*

GO, youth belov'd, in distant glades,  
 New friends, new hopes, new joys to find!  
 Yet sometimes deign, 'midst fairer maids,  
 To think on her thou leav'st behind.

Thy love, thy fate, dear youth, to share,  
 Must never be my happy lot;  
 But thou may'st grant this humble prayer,  
 Forget me not! forget me not!

Yet should the thought of my distress  
 Too painful to thy feelings be,  
 Heed not the wish I now express,  
 Nor ever deign to think on me.

But, oh! if grief thy steps attend,  
 If want, if sickness, be thy lot,  
 And thou require a soothing friend,  
 Forget me not! forget me not!

*Of Dress and Action in Speaking.—Of Ore Tenus Examination, and the best and most approved Method of extracting Truth from EVIDENCE. From the Pleader's Guide.*

'TIS strange, dear JOB, among the rules  
 Of tutors, in the ancient schools,  
 For rhetoric renown'd, nor less  
 For judgment in their pupils' dress,<sup>a</sup>  
 Tho' some have learnedly laid down  
 The pattern of a pleader's gown,<sup>b</sup>  
 No common lawyer, or civilian,  
 Not even TULLY, or QUINTILIAN,  
 One single syllable have said  
 Touching the dressing of his head;—  
 A science, though in former ages  
 Unknown to orators and fages,  
 In these politer days we find  
 One great employment of mankind;

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Quintilian Instit. Liber undecimus de cultu Oratoris.

<sup>b</sup> De Togæ formâ. Ibid.



And since, while fashion bears the sway,  
 Your heads its dictates must obey,  
 Must run through scratches, crops, and queues,  
 Of questionable shapes and hues;  
 And after all its changes past,  
 In grizzle-wig must end at last,  
 I think, dear JOB, upon the whole,  
 'Twere best at once to shave your poll,  
 Lest while the wordy war is raging,  
 And you the foe with warmth engaging,  
 That grizzle we may chance to see  
 Revolting from a black toupee,  
 And when too forward 'tis inclin'd,  
 A pig-tail sticking out behind;  
 Be you in other guise array'd,  
 Your tie-wig decently display'd;  
 And when before the bench you stand,  
 Words apt, fit weapons at command,  
 Altho' the gods, as well you know,  
 On you such wond'rous gifts bestow!  
 A face so fortified with brass,  
 I trust it would my own surpass,  
 And voice which Envy must admire,  
 And own that you excel the crier!  
 \* At first, with accent mild and meek,  
 And looks that diffidence bespeak,  
 With modest air and timid hand  
 † Hold up your brief, and stroke your band,  
 \* For Modesty, whose gentle mien,  
 If haply at the bar she's seen,  
 The court with that respect will treat  
 Which strangers may expect to meet;  
 ‡ But when grown warm in your narration,  
 Proceed to loud vociferation,  
 Strong phrase, and bold gesticulation;  
 Then, like a prisoner from the bilboes,  
 Stretch out your legs, your arms, and elbows,  
 Till you manœuvre them at length,  
 With all the spirit, ease and strength,  
 Of some young hero, first essaying  
 The noble art of cudgel-playing,

\* Proœmio lenis convenit pronunciato non protinus est erumpendum, sed danda brevis cogitationi mora. *Ib. Quintilian. Lib. I.*

† Paulum commorandum est ut amictus sit decentior. *Ibid.*

\* Nihil est enim ad conciliandum gratius Verecundia. *Ibid.*

‡ Ast ubi jam calor eam concitaverit etiam Gestus cum ipsâ orationis celeritate crebrescat, *Quint. Lib. II.*



Or *Fugelman*, an active part  
 Performing in the tactic art;  
 Flourish your brief, look boldly round,  
 \* And stamp your foot against the ground,  
 Then smack your forehead, and your thighs, }  
 † Like one that's bit by gnats or flies,  
 And so go thro' your exercise:  
 For when a counsel tells his story,  
 As Tully says, *de oratore*,  
 Arms, legs, and thighs, must play their part,  
 And aid the rhetorician's art.  
 † *Action* must all his words enforce,  
 And make his body hold discourse,  
 As nothing props a rotten case  
 Like strength of lungs, save power of face;  
 I ask no wart so near my nose,  
 \* Or scraggy neck, like Cicero's,  
 Or some provincial's face I've seen,  
 Gaunt, oblong, ossified, and lean;  
 Grant me, ye Gods, for pleading causes,  
 Some breadth of cheek, some depth of *fauces*;  
 A strength and dignity of feature,  
 Something I can't express in metre,  
 That cheerful confidence of visage,  
 Which gives of wit and sense a presage;  
 Whene'er a counsel's pinch'd and prest,  
 Much will depend on width of chest;  
 The strength and tone of the *epiglottis*,  
 And state in which his learned throat is;  
 For if 'tis true, as I conjecture,  
 (And hinted in a former lecture,)  
 That process is a LEVER, pleading  
 Is some *mechanical* proceeding,  
 Combining somewhat of the SCREW,  
 The PULLEY, and the LEVER too,  
 By which great advocates compel  
 Truth from the bottom of her well,  
 And drag her by her dripping locks  
 Disguis'd, into the jury-box:  
 While judges yawn, and patient sit,  
 To hear th' encounters of their wit;

\* Id in Callidio, Cicero desiderat, non frons, inquit, percussa, non femur; pedum  
 (quod minimum est) nulla supplotio. Cicero in Bruto. Quintilian. Lib. XI.

† Nunquam, inquit, Octavi, Collegæ tuo Gratiam referer, qui nisi fuisset istic hodiæ  
 murce comedissent. Cicero in Bruto.

† Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Est enim actio, quasi sermo corporis.

Cicero de Orat.

\* Procerum & tenue Collum. Cicero de seipso Bruto.

For



For wit, although the lot of few,  
 All counsel think their lawful due;  
 And when it fails, as wit is wont,  
 When too much labour's used upon't,  
 A witness ever and anon  
 Serves like a hone to wet it on,  
 Or like a butt, is fix'd and shot at,  
 That Truth the better may be got at,  
 Who baffled in the first attack,  
 Stares like the man in the almanac,  
 Perplex'd with problems multifarious,  
 And pierc'd with darts thro' members various,  
 Quite down from ARIES to AQUARIUS. }

THE VISION OF BRUCE. *From Wallace; or the Vale of Ellerslie, with  
 other Poems.*

“ YE spirits of the days of old!  
 Who dwell amid this forest rude,  
 And fill with strange mysterious fears  
 The gloomy depth of solitude;  
 Oh! deign, in mortal shape array'd,  
 Before a mortal eye to stand;  
 Ye spirits of the days of old!  
 Ye patriots of a sinking land!”

’Twas thus, with nameless awe impress,  
 Appall’d, he form’d his midnight prayer,  
 When lo! a sound commingled rose,  
 And loudly struck th’ affrighted air!  
 Far-beaming round the shield and spear,  
 Shone like the varying fires of Even,  
 And glancing to the moon’s white flame,  
 Illum’d the wide expanse of Heaven!

The northern lights with flick’ring gleam,  
 Burnt dismal o’er the blasted view,  
 And thro’ the forest’s deepening gloom  
 Shed far around a silver hue;  
 And ever and anon was heard  
 A voice, that rose the woods among,  
 And thus, in thrilling accents wild,  
 Pour’d loud the valour-breathing song:—

“ King of the dark vindictive soul!  
 Tho’ lofty be thy sword in war,  
 Tho’ fierce thine eye of vengeance gleam,  
 And dart wild ruin from afar;



Say, shall thy soul in quiet sleep,  
 When terror points thy homeward way,  
 When Scotland's injur'd realm shall hail  
 The sun that lights her better day!

“ Tho' now in desolate dismay  
 She mourn her chiefs and warriors slain,  
 Tho' now aloft thy bloody plume  
 Wave terrible along the plain,  
 Tho' Falkirk's field with many a corse  
 And spurning steed be scatter'd o'er,  
 And many a knight's wan ghastly form  
 Floats silently by Carron's shore!

“ Yet soon thy tow'ring crest shall stoop,  
 And soon on Biggar's crimson'd field  
 Thy breathless chiefs in thousands fall—  
 Vain the long lance, the sounding shield!  
 And soon thine eyes, aghast, shall view  
 Albion's pale dames in anguish mourn  
 Their lords, who fell untimely slain  
 On the dreary fields of Bannockburn!”

HOPE. *From Metastasio. From the same.*

FAREWELL the deep sigh and the fast-falling tear,  
 My sorrows have fled like a cloud of the night,  
 For sweet steals the whisper of Hope on my ear,  
 And my heart revels wild 'mid its dreams of delight.

Perchance they are faithless—perchance 'mid the shade  
 That long hung o'er my path I am destin'd to stray,  
 The tints that have deck'd them in beauty may fade,  
 And the visions so lovely be melted away.

Perchance they are faithless—once more I may brood  
 On joys wither'd by death in the pride of their bloom;  
 Love and friendship once more my fond heart may delude;  
 And again I may sigh for the rest of the tomb.

And let them deceive, they are lovely the while;  
 For their moment the suffering heart they can cheer,  
 On the pale cheek of sorrow awaken a smile,  
 And illumine the eye that was dimm'd by a tear.



STANZAS. *From the Same.*

SHE fairer was than any rose  
 With deepest flush that softly glows,  
 Breathing sweet odours from its parent stem—  
 Who has not seen a rose display  
 His glories to the eye of day,  
 Nursing in balmy folds the dewy gem.—

How soon the hopes of man decay—  
 The glimmering of a wintry day!  
 The dancing sun-beam on a breaking wave!  
 The rose-buds bloom—their colours fade—  
 So sweet, so lovely bloom'd the maid—  
 So sweet, so lovely dropt into the grave!

SONG. *From Poems by Mrs. Hunter.*

WHEN hollow burst the rushing winds,  
 And heavy beats the shower,  
 This anxious aching bosom finds  
 No comfort in its power.

For ah, my love! it little knows  
 What thy hard fate may be;  
 What bitter storm of fortune blows,  
 What tempests trouble thee.

A wayward fate hath twin'd the thread  
 On which our days depend,  
 And darkling in the chequer'd shade,  
 She draws it to an end.

But whatsoe'er may be thy doom,  
 The lot is cast for me;  
 Or in the world, or in the tomb,  
 My heart is fix'd on thee.

SONG. *From the Same.*

THE season comes when first we met,  
 But *you* return no more!  
 Why cannot I the days forget,  
 Which time can ne'er restore?



O! days too sweet, too bright to last,  
Are you indeed for ever past?

The fleeting shadows of delight  
In memory I trace;  
In fancy stop their rapid flight,  
And all the past retrace:  
But, ah! I wake to endless woes,  
And tears the fading vision close!

SONG. *From the Same.*

THE fatal moment I beheld  
Those eyes so fondly fix'd on me,  
Some magic sure my heart compell'd  
To place its dearest hopes on thee!  
And my true faith can alter never,  
Though thou art gone perhaps for ever.

Nor dangers past nor woes to come,  
Thy image from my soul can part;  
Through years of anguish, to the tomb  
'Twill follow this devoted heart:  
And my true faith can alter never,  
Though thou art gone perhaps for ever.



## ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1802.

*Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole, selected from his Correspondence and Papers, and connected with the History of the Times, from 1678 to 1757. Illustrated with Portraits. By William Coxe, M. A. F.R.S. F.A.S. Rector of Be-  
merton.*

IT is unnecessary to inform the reader how much pleasure and information the British public have derived from the literary labours of Mr. Coxe. His travels in Switzerland and the northern parts of Europe, are perhaps the best specimens of that kind of composition, and, in an age of travelling, still maintain their credit for various, new and interesting information. His account of the Russian discoveries contains every thing which could be collected on so obscure and distant a subject. The Historical Tour in Monmouthshire, though on a scene more confined, does no less honour to his descriptive powers, than to his talents and discrimination as an antiquary and a biographer.

Much as Mr. Coxe has distinguished himself as a traveller, his name stands still higher as a bio-

grapher and historian. The Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, which were published in 1798, comprised a luminous and interesting account of foreign and domestic history, from the accession of Anne to 1742. It presents a new and faithful picture of that great but calumniated minister's administration, illustrated by a collection of documents and papers as copious and curious as ever were given to the public, and dissipated the misrepresentations and partial accounts of less candid writers.

The work now under consideration may be viewed as a sequel to the former. In this however, Mr. Coxe has judiciously varied his plan; instead of publishing the correspondence and papers separately, he has interwoven them with the narrative, as well for the purpose of avoiding that sameness which would otherwise have arisen, from a recapitulation of the same events, as of reducing the expence and size of the publication.

The best idea of the services performed by the subject of these memoirs, as well as of the aim of the author, may be collected from his own words.

From



From an early period of his life, Lord Walpole was in a public capacity. In 1706 he accompanied General Stanhope to Barcelona, as private secretary, and was employed in various missions of consequence. In 1707 he was appointed secretary to Mr. Boyle, first as chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards as secretary of state; and in 1709 accompanied the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townshend, who were plenipotentiaries at the congress of Gertruydenburg. Soon after the accession of George the first, he was successively under secretary of state, secretary to the treasury, and envoy at the Hague, until the schism of the whig ministry, which terminated in the resignations of Lord Townshend and his brother, as well as his own.

In 1720 he became secretary to the Duke of Grafton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, was re-appointed secretary to the treasury, and again deputed to the Hague.

In 1723 he commenced his embassy to Paris, and continued to fill that important station until 1730. In 1733 he was nominated ambassador to the states-general, and remained at the Hague until 1739, when he returned to England.

During the whole period of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, Lord Walpole was an able and useful coadjutor to his brother, both in and out of parliament; and was consulted in all business of state, particularly foreign transactions. During his residence abroad, besides official dispatches, he maintained a private intercourse with his brother, and even a confidential correspondence with Queen Caroline, who reposed the fullest reliance on his talents and integrity.

Although from the time of his brother's resignation he filled no official station, yet, in consequence of his abilities, experience, and weight among his party, he retained a considerable influence over many of the ministers; he was confidentially consulted by Mr. Pelham and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and often gave his opinion in the most frank and unreserved manner to the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Cumberland, and even to the king.

The importance of his correspondence and papers will fully appear from this sketch of his life, and it would be difficult to point out another character who, for so long a period, was more trusted with the secrets of government, more acquainted with motives and springs of action, and who possessed more influence in the direction of foreign and domestic affairs.

After giving a list of the important documents and papers, from which the narrative has been principally drawn, he adds,

During the era of the Walpole administration, I have avoided as much as possible a repetition of the same events and reflections which occur with the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole; but have principally confined myself to the foreign transactions and domestic incidents, which did not fall within the plan of that work, or tended to illustrate the conduct and character of Lord Walpole.

From the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, I have expatiated more largely on the history of the times. I have attempted to develop the characters and administrations of Lord Granville, Mr. Pelham, and the Duke of Newcastle;

to



to sketch the state of parties, particularly the contests for power between Lord Granville and the Pelhams, and between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; and to form a connected narrative of political transactions from 1742 to the death of Lord Walpole in 1757. With this view, besides the correspondence of Lord Walpole, I have introduced various letters from the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Fox.

I therefore hope that this work, which may be considered as a companion and supplement to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, will not only place the talents, character, and services of Lord Walpole in a new point of view, but will throw additional light on a period of English History, of which we have few authentic documents.

The work is illustrated with the portraits of twenty-two distinguished persons, many of which have never been before engraven.

The style is equally natural, pure, elegant, and simple, adapted to the subject, and free from that affectation which is now so fashionable; the arrangement is perspicuous, the events selected with judgment, the characters ably drawn and skilfully grouped, and the execution in general according with the copiousness, variety, and importance of the materials.

These opinions will be best supported by a few extracts, which are made from amidst many other passages, all equally interesting to those who know how to estimate that most useful species of biography, which affords a knowledge of the minds and motives of those who guide the fate of nations.

The short administration of Lord Granville is thus described: "The

king was indignant at the manner in which he had been compelled to dismiss Lord Granville, and to admit into his service Lord Chesterfield, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and several other persons, who had been in constant opposition to his government. His indignation was still farther increased by a strong remonstrance, made by the lord chancellor, on his want of confidence in his servants, which he heard with silence and disgust. He accordingly treated the Pelhams with great coolness and reserve, even before his departure for the continent in the spring of 1745; and seemed to wait only for the first favourable opportunity of dismissing them from his counsels on his return. But this resolution was suspended on account of the rebellion; and the king's resentment might gradually have subsided, had not the Duke of Newcastle, in conformity with his promise to Lord Cobham, proposed the appointment of Mr. Pitt to the office of secretary at war; and pressed it upon the king with repeated importunities.

At this period the friends of Lord Granville asserted, that the king was a prisoner on his throne, and that an administration on a broader bottom was necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the emancipation of the sovereign. The prosperous turn of affairs, the retreat of the rebels into Scotland, the zeal which the nation had displayed in the support of his government, and the reproaches cast against the weakness and inability of the ministry, inspired the king with confidence, and his friends with courage.

Lord Granville inculcated the necessity of the most vigorous measures, and proposed to revive the



spirit of the grand alliance which had actuated the European states during the reigns of William and Anne, and reduced the power of France. England he wished to become the soul of the confederacy, and, by means of large subsidies, to obtain the co-operation of the Austrian court, induce the Dutch to declare war against France, and concur in support of the common cause.

In conformity with this system, the Dutch minister in England transmitted a plan for an immediate augmentation of their respective forces, and for a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the Netherlands. The king approved this plan, and warmly urged the execution of it, in his speech from the throne on the 14th of January. But the cabinet, affecting an aversion to involve the country in continental alliances, while the finances were embarrassed by the effects of the rebellion, opposed this plan; Lord Harrington even wrote to the Dutch minister in London, observing that the security of the Netherlands was a foreign though important consideration to England, but a domestic concern to the Dutch, and declined the proposed augmentation unless the Dutch should declare war against France.

This discordance of political views, on his favourite object, increased the dissatisfaction of the king; he lamented that, on the death of Lord Winnington, he had not placed Lord Bath at the head of the treasury, instead of conferring on Mr. Pelham that office, and the chancellorship of the exchequer, which had given to his party the preponderance in the cabinet, and the sole power in the government. In this crisis the king complained to Lord Bath, that he was under

the dominion of an aristocracy, and was hemmed in on all sides; he conjured him to break the combination, and set him at liberty, and offered him full powers to form a new administration. Lord Bath expressed his willingness to obey his majesty's commands, but candidly displayed the difficulty he had to encounter, and declared, that success must ultimately depend on the king's steadiness and resolution. The king promised his support; and Lord Bath concerted with his friend, Lord Granville, the means of dividing the Whigs, conciliating the Tories, and gaining the co-operation of the Prince of Wales. He then summoned a meeting of the monied men, and obtained from them a promise of furnishing the supplies on terms more advantageous to the nation than those they had already settled with Mr. Pelham.

These preliminary arrangements being made, the king flattered himself that he could secure part of the cabinet, particularly Lord Harrington, whom he had endeavoured to conciliate in his journey to Hanover, both personally, and by means of his daughter the Princess of Orange, who possessed great influence over him. He also expected to obtain the co-operation of Mr. Winnington, of whom he had a high opinion by appointing him chancellor of the exchequer, with the management of the House of Commons.

In the beginning of February, the importunities of the Pelhams, in favour of Mr. Pitt, brought the affair to a crisis. On the 6th, Lord Bath coming from the closet, observed to Lord Harrington, that he had advised the king to negative Mr. Pitt's appointment, and to pursue proper measures on the continent.



ment. Lord Harrington coldly replied, "They who dictate in private should be employed in public." On the 7th, the king perceiving his attempts to detach Lord Harrington from his party ineffectual, gave way to his indignation, and reproached him with obstinacy and ingratitude. The whole phalanx, no longer doubting of his intention to dismiss them, held a meeting at the lord chancellor's, on the evening of the 8th, and determined on instant resignation.

On Monday the 10th, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington gave up the seals of their respective offices; and on the 11th, Mr. Pelham, to whom Lord Granville had made overtures, also resigned, and told the king that he would avoid going into opposition as long as possible; but frankly added, that the united body of Whigs were averse to the Earls of Bath and Granville. On the same day Lord Gower gave up the privy seal, the Duke of Bedford the place of first lord of the admiralty, and all the members of the boards of treasury and admiralty followed their example, excepting the adherents of the Prince of Wales, Lord Middlesex, and Lord Archibald Hamilton.

In delivering the key of groom of the stole, the Earl of Pembroke drew an unfavourable picture of the characters of Bath and Granville, and expatiated on their unpopularity. More resignations were hourly expected, particularly Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, the Dukes of Devonshire, Dorset, Grafton and Richmond. Mr. Winnington also declared his intention of resigning his office of paymaster of the forces; and when the king offered him the chancellorship of the exchequer, he returned the seals into his majesty's

hands, adding, "The new ministry, Sire, can neither support your majesty nor themselves; they cannot depend upon more than 31 lords, and 80 commoners."

During this scene of confusion, the king in vain attempted to fill the places of his former servants. On the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington, his page of the back stairs, Evans, came to Bath-house privately, in a chair with the curtains drawn, with a message from the king, desiring Lord Bath to repair to the palace. His lordship waited on the king, accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, and received the two seals of the secretaries of state, which he conveyed to Lord Granville, who was indisposed. Granville was immediately constituted secretary of state, and announced his appointment in a circular dispatch to the foreign ministers. Lord Winchelsea was destined for the admiralty, and Lord Carlisle for the office of lord privy seal.

But the new arrangements were suddenly suspended. The king, surprised and intimidated at the numerous resignations, and the unexpected firmness of the old cabinet, faltered in his resolution, though Lord Bath exhorted him to persevere, and offered, through the medium of the Prince of Wales, to secure the Tories. He would not venture, however, to provoke the Whigs, who had supported his family on the throne while the rebellion was uncrushed; he was averse to a tory administration, and still more unwilling to owe the formation of his ministry to the intervention of his son. Perplexed and embarrassed, he shut himself up in his closet, and refused to admit those persons who were pouring in upon him



him with white staves, gold keys, and commissions. On the 12th he sent for Mr. Winnington, told him he was the honestest man about his person, and should have the honour of the reconciliation, and commanded him to inform Mr. Pelham, that he would accept no more resignations, and was desirous that his old servants should be re-instated in their employments.

Thus terminated a ministry of forty hours. Lord Granville, the only person who had kissed hands, resigned his office; the seals were re-delivered on the 14th to the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Harrington, the old cabinet resumed their employments, and Mr. Pitt was constituted vice treasurer of Ireland, and, on the death of Mr. Winnington, became paymaster of the forces.

Although the king thus wisely yielded to the torrent, yet, with that elevation of character which disdained dissimulation, he did not affect to conceal his displeasure; he dismissed Lord Bath with marks of favour and confidence, desired him to write an account of the whole transaction, and even declared that it was a shame that a man (alluding to the Duke of Newcastle) who was not fit for a chamberlain to a petty court in Germany, should be forced on him and the nation. But he carried his resentment against Lord Harrington to a degree unworthy of his character. In November his majesty ungraciously dismissed him from the office of secretary of state, and was, not without great difficulty, persuaded to appoint him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The friends of the Prince of Wales continued in office; and a few changes in the subordinate departments of government took place, which added still greater weight to

the cabinet. Mr. Fox succeeded to the office of secretary at war, in the room of Sir William Yonge, who, on the promotion of Mr. Pitt, became vice-treasurer of Ireland. Lord Barrington was placed at the board of admiralty, and Mr. Welbore Ellis at that of the treasury.

The author, in another chapter, delineates the characters of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. "This event (the death of Mr. Pelham) was a great loss to his country and to his party. England being on the eve of a war with France, great exertions were necessary, and unanimity requisite to enforce those exertions, and to excite spirit and zeal among all orders of men in the kingdom. His loss to his party was almost irreparable; his integrity was universally acknowledged, his complacent temper and conciliating manners, had cemented the discordant parts of his heterogeneous administration; his preponderating influence in the House of Commons repressed those ambitious spirits who aspired to the supreme direction of affairs, and his death opened a new scene of competition, which distracted the counsels of the cabinet.

Mr. Pelham was succeeded in the treasury by his brother the Duke of Newcastle, who, though a nobleman of high honour, unblemished integrity, and considerable abilities, yet was of too jealous and unstable a temper to manage the House of Commons with equal address and suavity, and to guide the reins of government, without a coadjutor, at so arduous a conjuncture. The seals of chancellor of the exchequer and of secretary of state, vacant by the death of Mr. Pelham and the promotion of the Duke of Newcastle, became the objects of contention. The persons who now aspired



to the management of the House of Commons, were Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, whose parliamentary abilities had for some time divided the suffrages of the nation; who had long fostered reciprocal jealousy, and who now became public rivals for power. Both these rival statesmen were younger brothers, nearly of the same age; both were educated at Eaton, both distinguished for classical knowledge, both commenced their parliamentary career at the same period, and both raised themselves to eminence by their superior talents; yet no two characters were ever more contrasted.

Mr. Fox inherited a strong and vigorous constitution, was profuse and dissipated in his youth, and after squandering his private patrimony, went abroad to extricate himself from his embarrassments. On his return he obtained a seat in parliament, and warmly attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, whom he idolized, and to whose patronage he was indebted for the place of surveyor-general of the board of works. In 1743 he was appointed one of the lords of the treasury, and in 1746 secretary at war, which office he now filled. His marriage, in 1744, with Lady Caroline Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond, though at first displeasing to the family, yet finally strengthened his political connexions. He was equally a man of pleasure and business, formed for social and convivial intercourse; of an unruffled temper and frank disposition. No statesman acquired more adherents, not merely from political motives, but swayed by his agreeable manners, and attached to him from personal friendship, which he fully merited by his zeal

in promoting their interests. He is justly characterized, even by Lord Chesterfield, "as having no fixed principles of religion or morality, and as too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them." As a parliamentary orator, he was occasionally hesitating and perplexed; but, when warmed with his subject, he spoke with animation and rapidity, which appeared more striking from his former hesitation. His speeches were not crowded with flowers of rhetoric, or distinguished by brilliancy of diction; but were replete with sterling sense and sound argument. He was quick in reply, keen in repartee, and skilful in discerning the temper of the House. He wrote without effort or affectation; his public dispatches were manly and perspicuous, and his private letters easy and animated. Though of an ambitious spirit, he regarded money as a principal object, and power only as a secondary concern.

Mr. Pitt, at an early period of his life, suffered extremely from the attacks of an hereditary gout; hence, though fond of active diversions, and attached to the sports of the field, he employed the leisure of frequent confinement in improving the advantages of his education, and in laying the foundation of extensive and useful knowledge, which he increased during his travels by an assiduous attention to foreign history and foreign manners. He is generally represented of a haughty, unbending, and imperious temper, and too proudly conscious of his own superior talents; but they who thus characterize him, are ill acquainted with his real disposition. The repeated attacks of a painful disorder did not sour his temper, but render-



ed him more susceptible of the comforts of domestic, and the pleasures of social life. He was an agreeable and lively companion, possessed great versatility of wit, adapted to all characters and all occasions; excelled in epigrammatic turns, and light pieces of poetry, and even condescended to join in songs of mirth and festivity.

On his return to England, he obtained a cornetcy of horse, which, with a small annuity from his family, was his only provision, until he received a legacy of 10,000*l.* from the Duchess of Marlborough. From family connexions and early habits, he formed strict intimacy with his schoolfellows Mr. Lyttleton and the Grenvilles; attached himself to Lord Cobham, and became a partizan of Leicester-house. In 1736, he came into parliament for the borough of Old Sarum, and instantly commenced his opposition to the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. His bitter invectives drew on him the resentment of the minister; and he was deprived of his cornetcy; but was recompensed by his own party with the appointment of groom of the bed chamber to the Prince of Wales. He continued in opposition until the arrangement of the broad bottom ministry, when all the friends of Lord Cobham were gratified with places, except Mr. Pitt, who received the promise of some future employment when the king's antipathy could be removed. The attempt to introduce him into the office of secretary at war occasioned the temporary resignation of the Pelhams, which terminating in their re-establishment, Mr. Pitt was successively promoted to the posts of vice treasurer of Ireland and paymaster of the forces.

It is difficult to describe the precise characteristics of his parliamentary eloquence; his speeches were not so remarkable for methodical arrangement and logical precision, as for boldness of language, grandeur of sentiment, and the graces of metaphorical and classical allusion. They were not, however, distinguished by a continual glow of animated language, but illuminated with sudden flashes of wit and eloquence, which have been compared to the transient and dazzling splendour of lightning. "His invectives;" to use the words of a contemporary statesman, "were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant of his sublime genius."

Among his eminent qualifications as an orator, that of turning his vindication into an attack, and from the defender becoming the accuser, was not the least conspicuous. Another excellence, not generally attributed to him, he also displayed in an eminent degree; the art of explaining what he had uttered with too much warmth, and of soothing the person whom he wished to conciliate.

Mr. Pitt possessed great elevation of mind, and his ruling passion was the love of power; he was distinguished for his disinterestedness and contempt of money, which, being attended with a total want of economy, often involved him in pecuniary distresses. Although this sketch is principally confined to the public character of this great statesman,

yet



yet it would be unjust to omit one amiable trait of his domestic life. Though deeply immersed in the most important affairs of state, he never forgot the duties of a father, but always paid the most unremitted attention to the education and morals of his children.

The character of the principal subject of the work is accurately and judiciously displayed in the following sketch.

No character was ever more wantonly misrepresented by the malignance of party than that of Lord Walpole. As he was the brother of a minister who so long directed the helm of government, and had so considerable a share in the conduct of foreign affairs, he partook of the obloquy heaped on Sir Robert Walpole in the numerous party pamphlets and periodical papers which deluged the public during his administration. Smollett, blindly adopting the malevolence of his opponents, described him, "as employed, in despite of nature, in different negotiations; as blunt, awkward and slovenly; an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address." But the continuator of Tindal has done justice to his abilities and character; and the late earl of Hardwicke, who cannot be suspected of interested flattery, has paid a just tribute of applause to his memory:

"Mr. Robinson (afterwards Lord Graham) was secretary to Mr. Walpole, ambassador in France. The annals of this country will record the abilities of both; and the editor, with gratitude, remembers the friendship and confidence with which they indulged him. Mr. Walpole had the greatest weight

with Cardinal Fleury, till Monsieur Chauvelin gained the ascendant over him, and then the former desired to be recalled from his station. His dispatches (were they published) would do credit to his unwearied zeal, industry, and capacity. He was a great master of the commercial and political interests of this country; he was deservedly raised to the peerage in 1756, and died soon after. It was the fashion of the opposition of this time to say, that he was the dupe of Cardinal Fleury; his correspondence would shew, no man was ever less so. He negotiated with firmness and address; and, with the love of peace, which was the system of his brother, Sir Robert, he never lost sight of that great object, keeping up the sources of national strength and wealth. One of the most cordial leave-takings, which any public minister ever had, was that which he exchanged with the states-general in 1739, on presenting his letters of recall."

It is hoped that this observation of so able a judge of political talents will be proved and justified by these memoirs; and that Lord Walpole will be vindicated from the unjust obloquy heaped upon his person and abilities.

Lord Walpole, in his person was below the middle size; he did not possess the graces recommended by Lord Chesterfield as the essential requisites of a fine gentleman; and his manners were plain and unassuming. Notwithstanding his long residence abroad, he was careless in his dress; though witty, he was often boisterous in conversation, and his speech was tinged with the provincial accent of Norfolk. But these trifling defects, which the



prejudices of party highly exaggerated, and which rendered his personal appearance unprepossessing, he was, himself, the first to ridicule. He was frequently heard to say, that he never learnt to dance, that he did not pique himself on making a bow, and that he had taught himself French.

He was by nature choleric and impetuous; a foible which he acknowledges in a letter to his brother; "You know my mother used to say that I was the most passionate, but not the most positive child she ever had." He corrected, however, this defect so prejudicial to an ambassador; no one ever behaved with more coolness and address in adapting himself to circumstances, and in consulting the characters and prejudices of those with whom he negotiated. Notwithstanding his natural vivacity, he was extremely placable, and easily appeased. He behaved to those who had reviled his brother's administration, and derided his own talents and person, with unvaried candour and affability; and no instance occurs of his personal enmity to the most violent of his former opponents.

In conversation he was candid and unassuming; and communicated the inexhaustible fund of matter, with which his mind was stored, with an ease and vivacity which arrested attention. In the latter part of his life he fondly expatiated on past transactions, removed the prejudices of many who had been deluded by the misrepresentations of party, and induced several of his former opponents candidly to confess their errors.

With regard to his moral conduct, he was sincere in his belief of

christianity, and zealous and constant in performing the duties of religion. His private character was irreproachable; he was a tender husband, an affectionate father, a zealous friend, and a good master; he was particularly careful in superintending the education of his children, and had the satisfaction of seeing his cares repaid by their good conduct.

He maintained an unimpeached character for truth and integrity, as well in his public as in his private capacity. He gave a striking proof of his invariable attachment to his word, by refusing to sign the triple alliance between the Emperor, Great Britain and France; because he had solemnly assured the states, that no treaty should be concluded with France without their participation. This attachment to truth, which has been too often supposed an incumbrance to ministers in foreign transactions, established his credit, and contributed to his success in many difficult negotiations. He was equally trusted by the sagacious Fleury, the cautious Heinsius, and the irritable Slingelandt.

He was by nature and habit, arising from the original smallness of his fortune, and from the necessity of providing for a numerous family, strictly economical; yet he was liberal in rewarding services, and magnificent whenever the dignity of his station required. During his embassies he acted with a laudable spirit, which few ambassadors have imitated; even in his absence a regular table was maintained, and the same establishment (except in his equipages) kept up as when he was present. He was accustomed to say, that the best intelligence is obtained by the convivial intercourse



course of a good table; and was anxious to give the same opportunities to his secretary.

He was always an early riser, and usually finished his dispatches, and transacted his business before the hour of dinner, unless he was pressed by urgent affairs. Being fond of society, and of a convivial temper, though strictly sober in his habits, he usually relaxed his attention after dinner, and passed a cheerful evening in domestic enjoyments, or mixed society.

During the whole administration of his brother, he was not only assiduous in fulfilling the drudgery of his own official departments, but had a share in directing every negotiation, and superintended the whole system of foreign affairs. Even after his retirement from office, he spontaneously submitted his thoughts to the king or ministry; and, on account of his extensive knowledge in political affairs, he was constantly consulted, and drew up memorials, abstracts of treaties, and other diplomatic papers. Although many of these documents were destroyed by himself, and others unavoidably lost; yet those which remain are so numerous as to excite astonishment at his incredible perseverance.

Lord Walpole also gave to the public several pamphlets, (of which an enumeration is attempted in a note) and it may be truly said, that few treaties of importance issued from the press, on the side of the ministry with whom he acted, which were not submitted to his inspection, or corrected and improved by his hand.

During the time of his embassies, and when almost the whole affairs of Europe passed through his hands,

Lord Walpole was no less employed at home. He constantly spent the summer and autumn at his post, and returned to England just before the meeting of parliament; he was always consulted by his brother, and often by the king on the current affairs, and took an active share in those debates which related to foreign transactions.

Lord Walpole was intimately acquainted with the history both of ancient and modern times, and his political knowledge was accurate and comprehensive; being the result of sagacious observation, improved by long practice in momentous business.

He paid great attention to the trade and manufactures of his country, and particularly to those which Great Britain carried on with the American colonies, and which the place of auditor of the foreign plantations rendered, according to his own expression, "no less an object of duty than of information." The treatises which he published, and many which he left in manuscript, prove his minute and extensive knowledge of those subjects. There is scarcely an article of trade, commerce and manufacture, both native and foreign, on which documents are not found among his papers, interspersed with occasional remarks in his own hand writing. These remarks shew great liberality of sentiment, and the most extensive views with respect to the freedom of trade, the abolition of monopolies, and the prevention of smuggling. His acquaintance with these subjects was so well known and appreciated, that, not only during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, but even in subsequent periods, he was consulted, and had the principal share in preparing many acts of parliament



liament relating to the increase of trade, or the improvement of manufactures.

From the time of his brother's resignation, till his own death, he neither desired nor courted any official employment. During this period he acted a part which every man of moderation and integrity will admire and imitate. Instead of going into petulant opposition, or publicly combating the measures of government, he thought it his duty openly to support them, whenever they deserved approbation. When he differed from the king and ministers in essential points, he always privately delivered his opinion, either in person, or by letter. Whenever he was convinced that government was pursuing weak or improper measures, he gave his sentiments with respect and firmness, and was not discouraged by observing that his advice was not acceptable. His private correspondence, in this publication, displays many instances in which his frankness and perseverance offended the king and the ministers, and drew on himself the imputation of officiousness.

Lord Walpole understood and wrote French with great fluency and propriety, and spoke it with equal facility, though with a foreign accent. Cardinal Fleury, alluding to his pronunciation, used to say of him, "Il est diablement eloquent avec son mauvais françois." His knowledge of classical literature was very considerable, and formed a great fund of amusement during his retirement in the country, and in the latter period of his life. In his letters to his friends he often dwells with peculiar pleasure on the writings of antiquity, and proves his knowledge and taste by frequent

and apposite quotations. He maintained a constant intercourse with men of letters, both native and foreign. Pope presented him with a copy of his works, which is still preserved in the library of Wolterton, as a mark of gratitude for obtaining from Cardinal Fleury a benefice for his friend the Abbé Southcote; and he maintained an epistolary correspondence with Maittaire, the learned author of the *Annales Typographici*, and editor of *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*.

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*Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans; in the years 1789 and 1793. With a preliminary account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Fur trade of that country. Illustrated with maps. By Alexander Mackenzie, Esq.*

**I**MPELLED by various motives, travellers visit the different parts of the globe. Some, urged by the love of classic literature, and animated by the desire, at once rational and elegant, of seeing the spots celebrated in the annals of antiquity, pursue their researches through the regions of Greece and Italy, and instruct the world by rescuing fading memorials from the hand of time, and by comparing the present with the past state of those celebrated countries. Others trace the governments, laws, and manners of modern nations, by viewing their courts and colleges, and conversing with their most distinguished and best instructed inhabitants, while a different class exhibit light sketches of life and manners,



manners, collected in the easy mode of daily familiar intercourse with those of the people who have had the least propensity to disguise. Affairs of state have occasioned the deputation of ambassadors into some regions, and the public have been gratified and instructed by the details of the voyage; religion has employed its missionaries in Asia, Africa, and America, while the spirit of discovery and pursuit of science has produced able accounts of voyages around the world and to different parts. Commerce has been at all times one of the leading motives to the voyages of enterprize, and from the desire of extending commerce the perilous attempts of Mr. Mackenzie derive their origin.

I was led, he says, at an early period of life, by commercial views, to the country north-west of Lake Superior, in North America, and being endowed by nature with an inquisitive mind and enterprising spirit; possessing also a constitution and frame of body equal to the most arduous undertakings, and being familiar with toilsome exertions in the prosecution of mercantile pursuits, I not only contemplated the practicability of penetrating across the continent of America, but was confident in the qualifications, as I was animated by the desire, to undertake the perilous enterprize. The general utility of such a discovery, has been universally acknowledged; while the wishes of my particular friends and commercial associates, that I should proceed in the pursuit of it, contributed to quicken the execution of this favourite project of my own ambition: and as the completion of it extends the boundaries of geographic sci-

ence, and adds new countries to the realms of British commerce, the danger I have encountered, and the toils I have suffered, have found their recompense; nor will the many tedious and weary days, or the gloomy and inclement nights which I have passed, have been passed in vain. The first voyage, he adds, has settled the dubious point of a practicable north-west passage; and I trust, that it has set that long agitated question at rest, and extinguished the disputes respecting it for ever. In this voyage, I was not only without the necessary books and instruments, but also felt myself deficient in the sciences of astronomy and navigation: I did not hesitate, therefore, to undertake a winter's voyage to this country, in order to procure the one and acquire the other. These objects being accomplished, I returned, to determine the practicability of a commercial communication through the continent of North America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which is proved by my second journal. Nor do I hesitate to declare my decided opinion, that very great and essential advantages may be derived by extending our trade from one sea to the other.

These voyages, the author modestly observes, will not, I fear, afford the variety that may be expected from them; and that which they offered to the eye, is not of a nature to be effectually transferred to the page. Mountains and vallies, the dreary waste, and wide spreading forests, the lakes and rivers succeed each other in general description; and, except on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, where the villages were permanent, and



and the inhabitants in a great measure stationary, small bands of wandering Indians are the only people whom I shall introduce to the acquaintance of my readers. The beaver and the buffalo, the moose deer and the elk; which are the principal animals to be found in these countries, are already so familiar to the naturalists of Europe, and have been so often as well as correctly described in their works, that the bare mention of them, as they enlivened the landscape, or were hunted for food, with cursory account of the soil, the course and navigation of lakes and rivers, and their various produce, is all that can be reasonably expected from me. I do not possess the science of the naturalist; and even if the qualifications of that character had been obtained by me, its curious spirit would not have been gratified. I could not stop to dig into the earth, over whose surface I was compelled to pass with rapid steps; nor could I turn aside to collect the plants which nature might have scattered on the way, when my thoughts were anxiously employed in making provision for the day that was passing over me. I had to encounter perils by land and perils by water; to watch the savage who was our guide, or to guard against those of his tribe who might meditate our destruction. I had, also, the passions and fears of others to controul and subdue. To day I had to assuage the rising discontents, and on the morrow to cheer the fainting spirits of the people who accompanied me. The toil of our navigation was incessant, and oftentimes extreme; and in our progress overland we had no protection from the

severity of elements, and possessed no accommodations or conveniencies but such as could be contained in the burden on our shoulders, which aggravated the toils of our march, and added to the wearisomeness of our way.

So much candour and moderation intitle the author to the highest praise; and it is but just to observe that, if his materials were scanty and his means few, he has yet contrived to make his narrative interesting, and to keep curiosity perpetually alive, not by studied graces of description, or the affectation of profound research, but by an ingenuous narrative of difficulties every day renewed, of toils surmounted only to be recommenced; of casual intercourse with irritable, suspicious, and fickle savages, whose good-will was frequently converted into hatred without an apparent cause, and whose good offices were capriciously withdrawn at the very moment when they were become most essential.

As an introduction, Mr. Mackenzie gives a general history of the fur trade from Canada to the north-west, in which he shews a thorough knowledge of his subject, points out the reasons why it has not hitherto been more prosperous, and indicates the means by which it may be pursued with the utmost advantage. The following is his account of the general mode of carrying on the fur trade. The agents are obliged to order the necessary goods from England in the month of October, eighteen months before they can leave Montreal; that is, they are not shipped from London until the spring following, when they arrive in Canada in the summer. In the course of the following



lowing winter they are made up into such articles as are required for the savages; they are then packed into parcels of ninety pounds weight each, but cannot be sent from Montreal until the May following; so that they do not get to market until the ensuing winter, when they are exchanged for furs, which come to Montreal the next fall, and from thence are shipped, chiefly to London, where they are not sold or paid for before the succeeding spring, or even as late as June; which is forty-two months after the goods were ordered in Canada; thirty-six after they had been shipped from England, and twenty-four after they had been forwarded from Montreal; so that the merchant, allowing that he has twelve months credit, does not receive a return to pay for those goods, and the necessary expences attending them, which is about equal to the value of the goods themselves, till two years after they are considered as cash, which makes this a very heavy business. There is even a small proportion of it that requires twelve months longer to bring round the payment, owing to the immense distance it is carried, and from the shortness of the seasons, which prevents the furs, even after they are collected, from coming out of the country for that period\*.

\* This will be better illustrated by the following statement:

We will suppose the goods for 1798;			
The orders for the goods are sent to this country	-	-	25th Oct. 1796.
They are shipped from London	-	-	March, 1797.
They arrive in Montreal	-	-	June, 1797.
They are made up in the course of that summer and winter.			
They are sent from Montreal	-	-	May, 1798.
They arrive in the Indian country, and are exchanged for furs the following winter,	-	-	1798-9.
Which furs come to Montreal	-	-	Sept. 1799.
And are shipped for London, where they are sold in March and April, and paid for in May or June	-	-	1800.
			men,

The articles necessary for this trade, are coarse woollen cloths of different kinds; milled blankets of different sizes; arms and ammunition; twist and carrot tobacco; Manchester goods; linens, and coarse sheetings; thread, lines, and twine; common hardware; cutlery and ironmongery of several descriptions; kettles of brass and copper, and sheet iron; silk and cotton handkerchiefs; hats, shoes, and hose; calicoes and printed cottons, &c. &c. &c. Spirituous liquors and provisions are purchased in Canada. These, and the expence of transport to and from the Indian country, including wages to clerks, interpreters, guides, and canoe-men, with the expence of making up the goods for the market, form about half the annual amount against the adventure.

This expenditure in Canada ultimately tends to the encouragement of British manufactory, for those who are employed in the different branches of this business, are enabled by their gains to purchase such British articles as they must otherwise forego.

The men employed in the concern are fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters and clerks, one thousand one hundred and twenty canoe men, and thirty-five guides. Of these, five clerks, eighteen guides, and three hundred and fifty canoe-



men, were employed for the summer season in going from Montreal to the Grande Portage, in canoes, part of whom proceeded from thence to Rainy Lake, as will be hereafter explained, and are called pork-eaters, or goers and comers. These were hired in Canada or Montreal, and were absent from the first of May till the latter end of September. For this trip the guides had from eight hundred to a thousand livres, and a suitable equipment; the foreman and steersman from four to six hundred livres; the middlemen from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty livres, with an equipment of one blanket, one shirt, and one pair of trousers; and were maintained during that period at the expence of their employers. Independent of their wages, they were allowed to traffic, and many of them earned to the amount of their wages. About one-third of these went to winter, and had more than double the above wages and equipment. All the winterers were hired by the year, and sometimes for three years; and of the clerks many were apprentices, who were generally engaged for five or seven years, for which they had only one hundred pounds, provision and clothing. Such of them who could not be provided for as partners, at the expiration of this time, were allowed from one hundred pounds to three hundred pounds per annum, with all necessaries, till provision was made for them. Those who acted in the two-fold capacity of clerk and interpreter, or were so denominated, had no other expectation than the payment of wages to the amount of from one thousand to four thousand livres per annum,

with clothing and provisions. The guides, who are a very useful set of men, acted also in the additional capacity of interpreters, and had a stated quantity of goods, considered as sufficient for their wants, their wages being from one to three thousand livres. The canoe men are of two descriptions, foremen and steersmen, and middlemen. The two first were allowed annually one thousand two hundred, and the latter four hundred livres each. The first class had what is called an equipment, consisting of two blankets, two shirts, two pair of trousers, two handkerchiefs, fourteen pounds of carrot tobacco, and some trifling articles. The latter had ten pounds of tobacco, and all the other articles: those are called north men, or winterers; and to the last class of people were attached upward of seven hundred Indian women and children, victualled at the expence of the company.

This first class of people are hired in Montreal, five months before they set out, and receive their equipments, and one-third of their wages in advance; and an adequate idea of the labour they undergo may be formed from the following account of the country through which they pass, and their manner of proceeding.

The necessary number of canoes being purchased, at about three hundred livres each, the goods formed into packages, and the lakes and rivers free of ice, which they usually are in the beginning of May, they are then dispatched from La Chine, eight miles above Montreal, with eight or ten men in each canoe, and their baggage; and sixty-five packages of goods; six hundred



hundred weight of biscuit, two hundred weight of pork, three bushels of pease, for the men's provision; two oil-cloths to cover the goods, a sail, &c. an axe, a towing line, a kettle, and a sponge to bail out the water, with a quantity of gum, bark, and watape, to repair the vessel. An European, on seeing one of these slender vessels thus laden, heaped up, and sunk with her gunwale within six inches of the water, would think his fate inevitable in such a boat, when he reflected on the nature of her voyage; but the Canadians are so expert that few accidents happen.

A description follows of the course of the voyage pursued in this trade, and the manners and customs of the natives, interspersed with free and judicious animadversions on the nature of the intercourse of the Europeans with them.

The first voyage was begun on the third of June, 1789. We embarked, Mr. Mackenzie says, at nine o'clock in the morning, at Fort Chipewyan, on the south side of the Lake of the Hills, in latitude 58. 40. north, and longitude 110. 30. west from Greenwich; and the compass has sixteen degrees of variation east, in a canoe made of birch bark. The crew consisted of four Canadians, two of whom were attended by their wives, and a German; we were accompanied also by an Indian, who had acquired the title of English chief, and his two wives, in a small canoe, with two young Indians, his followers, in another small canoe. These men were engaged to serve us in the twofold capacity of interpreters and hunters. This Indian was one of the followers of the chief who conducted

Mr. Hearne to the copper-mine river, and has since been a principal leader of his countrymen, who were in the habit of carrying furs to Churchill factory, Hudson's-Bay, and till of late very much attached to the interest of that company. These circumstances procured him the appellation of the English chief.

We were also accompanied by a canoe that I had equipped for the purpose of trade, and given the charge of it to M. Le Roux, one of the company's clerks. In this I was obliged to ship part of our provision; which, with the clothing necessary for us on the voyage, a proper assortment of the articles of merchandize, as presents, to ensure us a friendly reception among the Indians, and the ammunition and arms requisite for defence, as well as a supply for our hunters, were more than our own canoe could carry, but by the time we should part company, there was every reason to suppose that our expenditure would make sufficient room for the whole.

It would be tedious and superfluous to trace the course of his progress, affording, from the causes already mentioned, but little diversity, and often threatened with impediment, not only from the natural difficulties, and the dispositions of the natives, but from the timidity and irresolution of his own associates, who allowed themselves to be terrified by the apprehension of unreal dangers, and to be seduced from perseverance, by the desire of returning to their abodes.

Some few anecdotes and observations from the two voyages may, however, be selected, both as ob-

jects



jects of instruction and amusement, and as favourable specimens of the author's style.

I was threatened, he says, with a very unpleasant event; which, however, I was fortunately able to controul. Two young Indians being engaged in one of their games, a dispute ensued, which rose to such an height, that they drew their knives, and if I had not happened to have appeared, they would, I doubt not, have employed them to very bloody purposes. So violent was their rage, that after I had turned them both out of the house, and severely reprimanded them, they stood in the fort at least for half an hour, looking at each other with a most vindictive aspect, and in fullen silence.

The game which produced this state of bitter enmity, is called that of the platter, from a principal article of it. The Indians play at it in the following manner.

The instruments of it consist of a platter, or dish, made of wood or bark, and six round or square, but flat pieces of metal, wood, or stone, whose sides or surfaces are of different colours. These are put into the dish, and after being for some time shaken together, are thrown into the air, and received again into the dish with considerable dexterity; when by the number that are turned up of the same mark or colour, the game is regulated. If there should be equal numbers, the throw is not reckoned; if two or four, the platter changes hands.

On the 13th, one of these people came to me, and presented in himself a curious example of Indian superstition. He requested me to furnish him with a remedy that

might be applied to the joints of his legs and thighs, of which he had in a great measure lost the use for five winters. This affliction he attributed to his cruelty about that time, when, having found a wolf with two whelps in an old beaver lodge, he set fire to it and consumed them.

The following passage exhibits a curious instance of deceptive superstition. We had no sooner laid ourselves down to rest last night, than the natives began to sing, in a manner very different to what I have been accustomed to hear among savages. It was not accompanied either with dancing, drum, or rattle; but consisted of soft, plaintive tones, and a modulation that was rather agreeable: it had somewhat the air of church music. As the natives had requested me not to quit them at a very early hour in the morning, it was five before I desired that the young men, who were to proceed with us, should depart; when they prepared to set off: but, on calling to our guide to conduct us, he said, that he did not intend to accompany us any further, as the young men would answer our purpose as well as himself. I knew it would be in vain to remonstrate with him, and therefore submitted to his caprice, without a reply. However, I thought proper to inform him, that one of my people had lost his dag, or poignard, and requested his assistance in the recovery of it. He asked me what I would give him to conjure it back again; and a knife was agreed to be the price of his necromantic exertions. Accordingly all the dags and knives in the place were gathered together, and



and the natives formed a circle round them; the conjurer also remaining in the middle. When this part of the ceremony was arranged, he began to sing, the rest joining in the chorus; and after some time he produced the poignard, which was struck in the ground, and returned it to me.

The treatment of the sick, by one of the tribes near the sea, is thus described. At an early hour this morning, I was again visited by the chief, in company with his son. The former complained of a pain in his breast; to relieve his suffering, I gave him a few drops of Turlington's balsam on a piece of sugar; and I was rather surprised to see him take it without the least hesitation. When he had taken my medicine, he requested me to follow him, and conducted me to a shed, where several people were assembled round a sick man, who was another of his sons. They immediately uncovered him, and shewed me a violent ulcer in the small of his back, in the foulest state that can be imagined. One of his knees was also afflicted in the same manner. This unhappy man was reduced to a skeleton, and, from his appearance, was drawing near to an end of his pains. They requested that I would touch him, and his father was very urgent with me to administer medicine; but he was in such a dangerous state, that I thought it prudent to yield no further to the importunities, than to give the sick person a few drops of Turlington's balsam, in some water. I therefore left them, but was soon called back by the loud lamentations of the women, and was rather apprehensive that some inconvenience might result

from my compliance with the chief's request. On my return, I found the native physicians busy in practising their skill and art on the patient. They blew on him, and then whistled; at times they pressed their extended fingers with all their strength on his stomach: they also put their fore-fingers doubled into his mouth, and spouted water from their own, with great violence into his face. To support these operations, the wretched sufferer was held up in a sitting posture; and when they were concluded, he was laid down and covered with a new robe, made of the skin of a lynx. I had observed that his belly and breast were covered with scars, and I understood that they were caused by a custom prevalent among them, of applying pieces of lighted touch-wood to their flesh, in order to relieve pain, or demonstrate their courage. He was now placed on a broad plank, and carried by six men into the woods, where I was invited to accompany them. I could not conjecture what would be the end of this ceremony, particularly as I saw one man carry fire, another an axe, and a third dry wood. I was, indeed, disposed to suspect, that as it was their custom to burn the dead, they intended to relieve the poor man from his pain, and perform the last sad duty of surviving affection. When they had advanced a short distance into the wood, they laid him upon a clear spot, and kindled a fire against his back, when the physician began to scarify the ulcer with a very blunt instrument, the cruel pain of which operation, the patient bore with incredible resolution. The scene afflicted me, and I left it.



If any yet remain who in their pretended philosophical dreams, affect a preference of savage to civil life, they should read this writer, and others, who speak from actual knowledge, and do not disfigure their works with fiction, or deprave them by absurd speculation; and then these reasoners might at least enjoy a chance of rousing from their delusive and injurious reveries.

The author concludes with an able geographical description of his course, and with the following statement of the results of his two voyages.

The discovery of a passage by sea, north-east or north-west from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, has for many years excited the attention of governments, and encouraged the enterprising spirit of individuals. The non-existence, however, of any such practical passage being at length determined, the practicability of a passage through the continents of Asia and America, becomes an object of consideration. The Russians, who first discovered that, along the coasts of Asia no useful or regular navigation existed, opened an interior communication by rivers, &c. and through that long and wide-extended continent, to the strait that separates Asia from America, over which they passed to the adjacent islands and continent of the latter. Our situation, at length, is in some degree similar to theirs: the non-existence of a practicable passage by sea, and the existence of one through the continent are clearly proved; and it requires only the countenance and support of the British government, to increase in a very ample proportion this national advantage, and secure the trade of that country to its subjects.

Experience, however, has proved, that this trade, from its very nature, cannot be carried on by individuals. A very large capital, or credit, or indeed both, is necessary, and consequently an association of men of wealth to direct, with men of enterprize to act, in one common interest, must be formed on such principles, as that in due time the latter may succeed the former; in continual and progressive succession. Such was the equitable and successful mode adopted by the merchants from Canada, which has been already described.

The junction of such a commercial association with the Hudson's Bay Company, is the important measure which I would propose, and the trade might then be carried on with a very superior degree of advantage, both private and public, under the privilege of their charter, and would prove, in fact, the complete fulfilment of the conditions on which it was first granted.

It would be an equal injustice to either party to be excluded from the option of such an undertaking; for if the one has a right by charter, has not the other a right by prior possession, as being successors to the subjects of France, who were exclusively possessed of all the then known parts of this country, before Canada was ceded to Great Britain, except the coast of Hudson's Bay, and having themselves been the discoverers of a vast extent of country since added to his Majesty's territories, even to the Hyperborean and the Pacific Oceans?

If, therefore, that company should decline, or be averse to engage in, such an extensive, and perhaps hazardous, undertaking, it would not, surely, be an unreasonable



reasonable proposal to them, from government, to give up a right which they refuse to exercise, on allowing them a just and reasonable indemnification for their stock, regulated by the average dividends of a certain number of years, or the actual price at which they transfer their stock.

By enjoying the privilege of the company's charter, though but for a limited period, there are adventurers who would be willing, as they are able, to engage in, and carry on the proposed commercial undertaking, as well as to give the most ample and satisfactory security to government for the fulfilment of its contract with the company. It would at the same time, be equally necessary to add a similar privilege of trade on the Columbia River, and its tributary waters.

If, however, it should appear that the Hudson's Bay company have an exclusive right to carry on their trade as they think proper, and continue it on the narrow scale, and with so little benefit to the public as they now do; if they should refuse to enter into a co-operative junction with others, what reasonable cause can they assign to government for denying the navigation of the bay to Nelson's river; and, by its waters, a passage to and from the interior country, for the use of the adventurers, and for the sole purpose of transport, under the most severe and binding restrictions not to interfere with their trade on the coast, and the country between it, and the actual establishments of the Canadian traders.

By these waters that discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay at Port Nelson, it is proposed to carry

on the trade to their source, at the head of the Saskatchewan River, which rises in the rocky mountains, not eight degrees of longitude from the Pacific Ocean. The Taccoutche or Columbia river flows also from the same mountains, and discharges itself likewise in the Pacific, in latitude 46. 20. Both of them are capable of receiving ships at their mouths, and are navigable throughout for boats.

The distance between these waters is only known from the report of the Indians. If, however, this communication should prove inaccessible, the route I pursued, though longer, in consequence of the great angle it makes to the north, will answer every necessary purpose. But whatever course may be taken from the Atlantic, the Columbia is the line of communication from the Pacific Ocean, pointed out by nature, as it is the only navigable river in the whole extent of Vancouver's minute survey of that coast: its banks also form the first level country in all the southern extent of continental coast from Cook's entry, and, consequently, the most northern situation fit for colonization, and suitable for the residence of a civilized people. By opening this intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and forming regular establishments through the interior, and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands, the entire command of the fur trade of North America might be obtained, from latitude 48. north to the pole, except that portion of it which the Russians have in the Pacific. To this may be added the fishing in both seas, and the markets of the four quarters of the globe.



globe. Such would be the field for commercial enterprize, and incalculable would be the produce of it, when supported by the operations of that credit and capital which Great Britain so pre-eminently possesses. Then would this country begin to be remunerated for the expences it has sustained in discovering and surveying the coast of the Pacific Ocean, which is at present left to American adventurers, who without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, look altogether to the interest of the moment. They, therefore, collect all the skins they can procure, and in any manner that suits them, and having exchanged them at Canton for the produce of China, return to their own country. Such adventurers, and many of them, as I have been

informed, have been very successful, would instantly disappear from before a well-regulated trade.

It would be very unbecoming in me to suppose for a moment, that the East India company would hesitate to allow those privileges to their fellow-subjects which are permitted to foreigners, in a trade that is so much out of the line of their own commerce, and therefore cannot be injurious to it.

Many political reasons, which it is not necessary here to enumerate, must present themselves to the mind of every man acquainted with the enlarged system and capacities of British commerce, in support of the measure which I have very briefly suggested, as promising the most important advantages to the trade of the united kingdoms,



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*The Preliminaries of Peace discussed in the House of Lords. Previous Conversation respecting Portugal. Observations of Lords Grenville, Pelham, Thurlow, Hobart, and the Lord Chancellor. The Lords proceed to the order of the Day. The address moved by Lord Romney; seconded by Lord Limerick; opposed by Earl Spencer; supported by the Duke of Clarence; Lords Pelham and Westmeath; speech of Lord Grenville against it; answer of the Lord Chancellor; who is supported by Lord Moira; the Earl of Warwick opposes the peace; it is defended by Lord Mulgrave and the Duke of Bedford; condemned by the Bishop of Rochester; applauded by the Bishop of London; attacked by Earl Fitzwilliam; justified by the Earl of Westmoreland, Earl St. Vincent, and Lord Nelson; censured by the Marquis of Buckingham, and Lord Caernarvon; general reply of Lord Hobart. The address carried by a great majority.* [21

## C H A P. IV.

*Debate on the Preliminaries in the House of Commons. The Address moved by Sir Edward Hartopp; seconded by Mr. Lee; the peace disapproved by Lord Levison Gower; vindication of the treaty by Lord Hawkesbury; censure of it by Mr. Thomas Grenville; defence by Lord Castlereagh; it is opposed by Lord Temple; approved by Mr. Banks, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Address voted without a division.* [41

## C H A P. V.

*Debate renewed in the House of Commons on bringing up the Report of the address; Question by Earl Temple; observations of Mr. Lascelles; speech of Mr. Windham against the Preliminaries; Answer of Mr. Wilberforce; observations of Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Eliot; Reply of the Secretary at War; observations of the Irish members; the debate closed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.* [63

## C H A P.



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## C H A P. VI.

*Reasons why the preceding debates are of peculiar importance. The opposition not factious; the ministry moderate and forbearing. View of the treaty. The great ends of the war not apparently attained by the war; yet the contest necessary and not without glory to Great Britain; and her situation at the conclusion of peace, far more glorious and advantageous than that of any other country affected by the French Revolution; the destruction of the British Constitution and power, the constant aim of the French during the revolution; glorious resistance of England; and honourable termination of the contest. Statement of the Negotiation afterward published by France. Circumstances attending that Negotiation. Note from Lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto in April 1801; terms then proposed; rejected by France; the Negotiation assumes an official form; affairs of Portugal introduced; proposition of a species of status quo ante bellum; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; further correspondence; proposals of France; answer of the British government; conference; the treaty concluded; observations on the possession of Malta; on the cessions made by Portugal; on the Prince of Orange; the King of Sardinia; and the French Royalists; general observations; strength and respectability of the new opposition in Parliament.*

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## C H A P. VII.

*Debates on the Northern convention; address moved in the Upper House by Lord Darnley; seconded by Lord Cathcart; opposed by Lord Grenville; supported by the Lord Chancellor; observations of several other Lords; the Address carried without a division. Proceedings in the House of Commons on the same subject; address moved by Lord Francis Osborne; seconded by the honourable Mr. Ryder; the treaty disapproved by Mr. Grey, and Lord Temple; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; objections of Dr. Laurence; answered by Lord Glenbervie, Mr. Sturges, Mr. Erskine, Sir William Scott, and Mr. Tierney; the address voted without a division. Naval and military estimates voted; explanations given by the Secretary at War. Thanks to Sir James Saumarez, moved by Earl St. Vincent; seconded by Lord Nelson; thanks to Captains Hood and Keates, and other officers, moved by Earl St. Vincent; seconded by the Duke of Clarence; similar thanks voted in the House of Commons. Thanks to Sir John Hely Hutchinson and the British army in Egypt moved by Lord Hobart, who bestows high commendation on the Marquis of Wellesley; the motion supported by Lords Nelson and Pelham and the Duke of Clarence; Thanks also voted to Lord Keith; Rear Admiral Blankett; Sir Richard Bickerton, and Sir John Borlase Warren. Christmas Reces.*

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## C H A P. VIII.

*Transactions on the Continent of Europe; magnificence of the Marquis Cornwallis; he sails for Calais; is joyfully received; proceeds to Paris; has an audience of the First Consul. Festival at Paris in celebration of the peace; compliments to Bonaparte; his proclamation; observations of French writers on recent transactions; respect shewn to the Marquis Cornwallis; he departs for Amiens. State of Martinique; of Guadeloupe; insurrection there; squadron dispatched in 1801; La Crosse appointed governor; his unfitness for the office; his proclamation; his exertions to restore order; their effects doubtful; sentiments of the French government on the subject. State of Saint Domingo; the chief command in the hands of Toussaint L'Ouverture; decline of produce, trade and population; character of Toussaint; he convokes an assembly; who form a constitution; its principal articles; Toussaint accepts the government, and transmits the constitution to France; suppresses a dangerous insurrection; his narrative and proclamation. Sensation occasioned in France by these events; a fleet and army prepared in France; speculations on this subject in England; strength of the squadron; it sails from various ports of France. The subject mentioned in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville; answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; observations in the upper House by the Earl of Carlisle; answer of Lord Pelham; Mr. Elliot makes further inquiries in the House of Commons; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Dr. Laurence; and other members; a British squadron sails for the West Indies; mutiny among the sailors suppressed; the ringleaders punished.*

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## C H A P. IX.

*Proceedings of the Cisalpine republic; decree for holding a Consulta at Lyons; formation of that body; Talleyrand goes to Lyons; preparation for the reception of Bonaparte; great homage paid him; deputations attend from various departments; proceedings of the Consulta; mode of forming a constitution for the Cisalpine republic; a committee appointed to prepare lists of public officers; their report; the presidency offered to Bonaparte; a deputation attends him; he accepts the situation; public sitting; his speech; the name Cisalpine, changed for that of Italian republic; outline of the new constitution; observations on it; it is received with general satisfaction; code for regulating ecclesiastical affairs; which is also approved; the Christian Calendar restored in Italy; appointment of Vice-president and Grand Judge; Bonaparte returns to Paris; medal struck at Lyons. Importance of these transactions to Bonaparte; he is received in Paris with great joy; circumstances which before his departure, had given him offence; publication of a civil code; discussion of its contents before they are submitted*



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*submitted to the legislative; several parts are rejected both by the tribunate and legislative body; the code withdrawn; anger expressed by Bonaparte; on his return to Paris the opposition members are excluded from the Legislature; several of their adherents banished or otherwise punished. The proceedings at Lyons alarming to Europe; proclamation in vindication of them; observations; Prussia and Austria satisfied. Secret treaty between France and Spain published; changes effected by it; Parma, the Isle of Elba, and Louisiana ceded to France; the infant Duke of Parma created King of Etruria; his visit to Paris; general views of France.* [129]

## C H A P. X.

*Frequent adjournments of Parliament; conversation on the subject in the House of Commons; and in the House of Lords. Sir John Mitford, the Speaker, created a peer, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland; Eulogy on him by the Master of the Rolls; who proposes as his successor Mr. Charles Abbott; seconded by Mr. Baker; Mr. Sheridan proposes Mr. Charles Dundas, who is supported by Lord George Cavendish and Mr. Courtenay, but declines the nomination; Mr. Abbott chosen. General anxiety respecting the definitive treaty; observations of Mr. Eliott on the subject in a discussion on the army estimates; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Mr. Cornwallis, Mr. Windham, Mr. Baker, Lord Castlereagh, Dr. Laurence and the Attorney-General. Observations of the Earl of Carlisle on the same subject; answer of Lord Pelham. Progress of the definitive treaty; delays at Amiens; propositions respecting Malta; propositions on other subjects introduced and withdrawn by France; on salutes at sea; on sequestered property; on Indian possessions; on fisheries; on indemnities to the Prince of Orange; on the Ottoman Porte; lofty tone assumed by France; naval preparations in England; the treaty concluded; principal points in which it differed from the preliminaries; prisoners; Portugal and Malta; the peace proclaimed in the British metropolis with great demonstrations of satisfaction.* [144]

## C H A P. XI.

*Systematic attack on the definitive treaty, by motions previous to the general discussion. Lord Grenville's demand of papers respecting log-wood and mahogany. Question by Mr. Eliott respecting former treaties, and the claims of France in India. The definitive treaty laid on the table in both Houses; notice of motion respecting it by Lord Grenville; observations of Lord Auckland on the renewal of former treaties; day fixed for a motion. Mr. Windham gives notice of a motion similar to that of Lord Grenville. He moves to postpone the general consideration of the definitive*



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*definitive treaty; his speech; answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who moves an amendment; is supported by Mr. Pitt; the amendment carried. Similar motion by Lord Grenville; Lord Pelham moves an amendment; observations of Lord Thurlow, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Lord Chancellor; the amendment carried. Motion of the Earl of Carlisle respecting the Prince of Orange; observations of the Marquis Cornwallis; Lord Pelham; Lord Auckland. The motion withdrawn. Mr. Elliott's motion for papers; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Dr. Laurence; papers granted. Earl Temple moves for some papers relative to Malta; asks for a copy of the treaty of Lunéville; observations of Mr. Pitt; the statutes of the order of Malta also demanded and refused. Motion by Earl Spencer respecting Malta; observations of Lord Hobart; motion agreed to. Motion of Lord Holland respecting Portugal; papers refused. Motion of Lord Minto respecting the Italian republic and the isle of Elba; answer of Lord Pelham; motion rejected. Motion of General Gascoyne on British property in the restored settlements; rejected, with several others. Motion of Dr. Laurence on India; answer of Mr. Dundas; motion rejected. [166*

### C H A P. XII.

*Proceedings in the House of Lords on the definitive treaty. Prefatory caution by Lord Stanhope; speech of Lord Grenville on the treaty; address moved by him; amendments proposed by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Pelham; speeches of those Peers; Lord Mulgrave; Lord Auckland; the Earls of Caernarvon and Westmoreland; Lord Ellenborough; Lord Darnley; the Earl of Roslyn; the Lord Chancellor; Earl Camden; the Duke of Richmond; Lord Hobart; Lord Pelham's amendment carried; Motion by Lord Holland, negatived. [192*

### C H A P. XIII.

*Debate on the definitive treaty in the House of Commons. Speech and motion of Mr. Windham; seconded by Lord Folkestone; defence of the peace by Lord Hawkesbury; he moves an amendment; which is seconded by Mr. Wellesley Pole; speech of Mr. T. Grenville; Mr. Dundas; Mr. Pitt; Mr. Grey; Sir William Young; Lord Castlereagh; General Maitland; Lord Temple; the Master of the Rolls; Dr. Laurence; Mr. Bond; Mr. Williams Wynne; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Mr. Sheridan; he moves an amendment, which is rejected; that of Lord Hawkesbury adopted. [209*



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## C H A P. XIV.

*Sir Edward Law appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench on the death of Lord Kenyon, and made a peer, by the title of Lord Ellenborough; Mr. Perceval Attorney-general, and Mr. Manners Sutton Solicitor-general. Death of Francis Duke of Bedford, Eulogy on him by Mr. Fox. Notice of a motion for an inquiry into the Conduct of the late Administration given at an early period of the Session by Sir Francis Burdett; the motion often deferred; at length made; speech of Sir Francis Burdett; his motion seconded by Mr. Sturt; opposed by Earl Temple, and Mr. Archdall; the motion negatived. Notice of motion by Lord Belgrave, in approbation of the conduct of the late administration; and of one by Mr. Nicholls, thanking the King for having dismissed them. Speech of Mr. Nicholls in support of his motion; of Lord Belgrave in proposing an amendment conformable to his notice of motion; Sir Henry Mildmay proposes another amendment, but withdraws it; Mr. Erskine also proposes an amendment and withdraws it; the amendment supported by Mr. Wilberforce and Sir Robert Peel; the original motion by Mr. Grey; Lord Hawkesbury speaks in favour of the amendment; Mr. Fox against it; observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Belgrave's amendment carried; and a motion by Sir Henry Mildmay for separate thanks to Mr. Pitt. His birth day celebrated by a very numerous company.*

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## C H A P. XV.

*Proceedings of Parliament on the subject of Finance. The outstanding Exchequer Bills funded; secret service money reduced; purchase of one third of the Duke of Richmond's annuity; indemnification of Earl St. Vincent's and Lord Grey; opposition to these measures. General measures of supply; description of the supplies voted; the ways and means; terms of the loan; the taxes opposed; debates on the tax on malt, hops, and beer; on the increase of the assessed taxes; on the tax on imports and exports. Lottery; measures taken to prevent illegal insurance; highly applauded; additional duties on lottery office licences; act for suppressing little-goes. Repeal of the Income-tax; and of the additional duty on printing paper and milled boards. Project of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for consolidating the sinking funds; adopted. Resolutions respecting finance moved by Mr. Tierney and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; those of the latter adopted. Statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the civil list; the King's Message to Parliament on the subject; claims of the Prince of Wales in respect of the Duchy of Cornwall submitted to the House by Mr. Manners Sutton; observations of Mr. Fox on the occasion; answer of Mr. Pitt; Mr. Sutton postpones his motion till after the debate on the King's Message;*



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*Message; debate on the King's Message in the House of Lords; speech of Lord Pelham; his motion; amendment moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, supported by Lord Holland and the Earl of Caernarvon; opposed by Lord Hobart, Lord Moira, and the Earl of Westmoreland; and rejected. Debate in the House of Commons; speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; his motion; opposed by Mr. Fox; speech of Mr. Pitt; Mr. Tierney; and Dr. Laurence; the motion carried. Mr. Manners Sutton moves for a Committee on the claims of the Prince of Wales; the order of the day voted; the claims referred to the Court of Chancery. Provision made for the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge. Other matters of inferior importance. Financial measures for Ireland; Sums voted for public purposes; terms of the Loan. Restrictions on the Banks of England and Ireland continued.*

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## C H A P. XVI.

*Miscellaneous proceedings in Parliament. Non-residence of the clergy; observations of Mr. Dickenson on the act for suspending prosecutions on this subject; the act renewed. Sir William Scott moves for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Statute of Henry VIII.; his speech; leave given to bring in a bill; its progress; objections against it by Mr. Simeon, and Mr. M. A. Taylor; answered; but the bill does not pass; observations on the state of the clergy by Lord Grenville. Thanks voted to the army, navy, marines, militia and volunteers; annuity settled on Lord Hutchinson. Scheme for new-modelling the militia, proposed by the Secretary at War; the bill passes the House of Commons; is objected to in the Lords, by Earl Fitzwilliam; the Earl of Caernarvon; and Lord Romney; they are answered by the Marquis of Buckingham; Lord Clifton; the Earl of Radnor, and Lord Pelham; the bill is amended in a Committee; conference; it passes. Acts passed for improving the militia in Scotland and Ireland; the King enabled to accept the services of volunteer corps. Proceedings on the subject of provisions. Stale bread act repealed; Sir William Curtis brings in a bill respecting the assize of bread, which is lost; other measures; returns of population laid on the table. Measures for relief of the poor; repeal of a Statute of William III. proposed, but fails; other acts passed, particularly one relating to parish apprentices. Mr. Dent brings in a bill for suppressing bull-baiting; debate on the second reading; speech of Sir Richard Hill; Mr. Windham; Mr. Courtenay; Mr. Wilberforce; Mr. Frankland; and Mr. Sheridan; the bill lost. Remunerations voted to Dr. Jenner, for the discovery of vaccine inoculation; to Mr. Greathead for the invention of the life-boat; and to Dr. Carmichael Smith for the nitrous acid fumigation. Relief afforded to some sufferers in the West Indies. Alien Law modified. Measures adopted respecting elections. Close of the Session; King's Speech. Dissolution of Parliament.*

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## C H A P. XVII.

*Speculations on the State of Saint Domingo, and the French expedition; Progress and arrival of the squadrons; state of Guadaloupe and Saint Domingo; Toussaint professes friendly intentions; not credited; distribution of the fleet and army at Saint Domingo; a frigate sent in fired at; message sent by the black General Christophe, answer of Le Clerc; Bonaparte's proclamation; his letter to Toussaint; use made of Toussaint's children; Christophe prevents the proclamation from being published; Cesar Telemaque and other friends of the French go on board the fleet; they return and publish the proclamation; Le Clerc disembarks at Limbé, a landing also effected at Mancenille; the negroes burn the town of Cape François; Le Clerc forms a new municipality; the French troops well received at the town of Santo Domingo; the French resisted at Port-au-Prince; but gain possession of the town, and of Port-de-Paix; defection of Clervaux, a negro chief; many people of colour join Le Clerc. Views and hopes of Toussaint; his interview with his children; he refuses to submit. Angry proclamation of Le Clerc, putting Toussaint and Christophe out of the protection of the law. Force and description of Toussaint's troops. Le Clerc receives supplies of men and money from the Spaniards. His application to the British Admiral at Jamaica; answer. Measures taken to prevent the negroes from obtaining supplies from America. Proceedings of the French army; difficulties attending their first movements; they negotiate with the negroes; defection of Dumesnel, and of La Plume; distress of Toussaint; battle of the Ravine-à-Couleuvre; defection of General Maurepas; La Plume publishes a letter written by Toussaint. Le Clerc removes to Port-au-Prince; siege of La Crête à Pierrot; it is taken after a long resistance. Injudicious Proclamation of Le Clerc. Toussaint makes an incursion into the northern province; commits great devastation, and retires. Conduct of Rigaud, a mulatto chief; he is sent prisoner to France. Confidence of Le Clerc; he issues a new proclamation; which produces a great defection of the followers of Toussaint; Christophe negotiates, and obtains a pardon; Toussaint also surrenders, and is banished to an estate of his own at Gonaïves. Le Clerc goes to Tortuga for his health; he issues frivolous and oppressive orders; his proceedings injurious to liberty and commerce; many dissatisfied; Toussaint seized, and sent prisoner to France; many of his friends executed; he arrives in France and is closely imprisoned, in a place separate from his family; an intention professed to bring him to trial; no documents transmitted; Le Clerc establishes military law; general dissatisfaction; prevalence of disease. Transactions in Guadaloupe. A party of the insurgents headed by a mulatto named Pelage; they seize and banish the French governor La Crosse; he is landed at Dominica, and issues a proclamation; proceedings of the mulattoes; they massacre the whites; arrival of the French expedition; the command of the troops in Guadaloupe given to General Richépanse; they disembark,*

*and*



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and are joyfully received; Pelage promises the submission of the whole island; but Ignace, another coloured general, refuses to submit; Richepanse reembarks his troops, and goes to Basseterre; his landing opposed; he defeats the negroes at the river Des Peres; takes Fort Charles; the negroes pursued by Generals Foubert and Gobert, and constantly defeated; attack on the Parc and Matoubas, which are taken, and the negroes there destroyed; the residue offer to surrender on terms, which are refused; the negroes reduced to submission. Observations; death of Richepanse; further observations; France re-establishes the Slave-trade. State of the British islands; black troops; insurrection in Tobago; suppressed by General Carmichael. Mutiny of a black regiment in Dominica; Colonel Cochrane Johnstone marches against them; they resist; but are quickly subdued. Succours sent to Jamaica; application of the lieutenant-governor to the legislature of the island to pay 5000 troops; refused by the assembly; the governor requires a discretionary power with respect to the barrack department, which is refused. Observations. Affairs of Sierra Leone. Retrospective view of the Colony; settlers from Nova Scotia introduced; misfortunes of the settlement; exertions of the colonists; they send an expedition to the interior; establish a factory; are obliged to contract their operations; bad conduct of the Nova Scotia negroes; state of their affairs in 1798; insurrection of the people from Nova Scotia; the colony reinforced; aids granted by Parliament; the Maroons from Jamaica received at Sierra Leone; they assist in suppressing an insurrection of the Nova Scotians; some of whom instigate the natives to attack the Colony; they are repulsed; second attack, also defeated. Application to Parliament for relief; ten thousand pounds granted. [310

## C H A P. XVIII.

*View of affairs on the Continent of Europe. The Italian Republic; Tumult at Bologna; the people disarmed; military law established. The king of Sardinia abdicates his throne; Piedmont incorporated with France; proclamation on that occasion; organization of the new department. Death of the Duke of Parma; his dominions annexed to France. Effect of these acquisitions injurious to the Emperor of Germany. The reduction of his power more strenuously pursued in the diet at Ratisbon; Proceedings in that body; Ratisbon declared neutral; the diet agrees to the peace concluded by the Emperor; vote of the ecclesiastical states; answer of the Emperor; vote requesting the Emperor to take on himself the task of making final arrangements; he refuses. Death of the Elector of Cologne; Prussia requires that the election of a new Bishop of Munster shall be suspended; France declares the same opinion; protest of the Minister of Cologne and Munster; answer of the Chapter of Munster to the King of Prussia; the Archduke Anthony, brother of the Emperor elected;*



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*elected; other protests on the occasion; Correspondence between Count Stadion and Haugwitz. General proposition of secularizations for the purpose of indemnity; enforced by a peremptory message of the French Minister to the Diet; the Diet resolves to transfer its powers to an extraordinary deputation; its formation. Measures taken by Prussia and France preparatory to its meeting; Interview of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia; Treaty between France and Wirtemberg; the Emperor assembles the States of Hungary; their loyal proceedings; Prussia marches troops into the Bishopric of Munster; submissive proclamation of the Dean and Chapter. The extraordinary deputation summoned; on its meeting a plan of indemnities is presented by Russia and France; its principal arrangements; observations; Treaty between France and Bavaria; Reasons why France particularly favours the Electors of Baden, and Wirtemberg; dissatisfaction of the Emperor; Bavaria attempts to occupy Passau; is prevented by the Emperor; proceedings of France and Prussia; their treaty with Bavaria; note of the imperial Minister to the deputation; answers of France, Russia, Prussia and Saxony; modification of the indemnities. Compensations to the Prince of Orange; their insufficiency; observations on this subject as applicable to England. View of the State of the United provinces; new Constitution. France still keeps an army in Holland. Definitive treaty between France and the Porte. Complaints of France against Algiers; a French squadron sent there; letter of Bonaparte; submissive answer of the dey; the squadron proceeds to Tunis; is equally well received. View of the State of France; Bonaparte re-elected First Consul for ten years, after the expiration of his first ten; the Consuls decree that the people shall decide whether or not he shall be Consul for life; the affirmative generally voted; Carnot votes in the negative; a bill circulated recommending that Bonaparte shall be Emperor; deputation informing Bonaparte of the election; his answer. Measures for the re-establishment of the catholic worship; Cardinal Caprara goes to Paris as legate; organic laws prepared for carrying the Concordat into effect; recommended in speeches by Portalis, Lucien Bonaparte and others, and adopted; its principal regulations; Cardinal Caprara admitted to an audience by the First Consul; celebration of the restoration of the catholic religion. Legion of honour established. Senatus Consultum for organizing the Constitution; all power centered in the First Consul, who is also authorized to nominate his successor. Celebration of Bonaparte's birth-day; ambitious views of the French government; the army augmented; rigour of government. Bonaparte's jealousy of Moreau; his uneasiness at publications in England; virulence of the press in France against this country; other subjects of discontent between the two Countries; the French government adverse to the renewal of commercial intercourse; long interval between the signature of the definitive treaty, and the mission of ambassadors; General Andriossi at length sent to London, and Lord Whitworth to Paris; many Englishmen visit Paris; introduction of Mr. Fox to Bonaparte. Brief view of  
affairs*



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THE END.





### ERRATA.

P. 161, col. 2, line 21, (Hist. of Europe), *for* Naples *read* Sardinia

P. 229, col. 1, line 10, (Hist. of Europe), *for* Nycias *read* Theseus



















